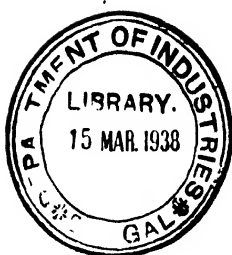


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January, 1937.

The Century Social Science Series

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

THEIR RELIEF AND PREVENTION

BY

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"SOCIAL PATHOLOGY," AND JOINT AUTHOR
OF "OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY" AND
"SOCIAL PROBLEMS"



THIRD EDITION

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PREFACE

Every year gives fresh emphasis to the importance of the problems of poverty and dependency. Definite knowledge of the amounts which the public relief authorities spend for dependents has shocked those unaware of the burden thus imposed on the taxpayers. Recent studies have shown an unexpected amount of poverty. We have been so obsessed by the belief that in rich America there is little poverty, except that of the inefficient, that it was startling to learn that a growing number of fairly capable, industrious, and frugal people have been pushed into the quagmire. The War and the Depression with their disturbance of price levels and their psychological effects have quickened our perception of such problems. The draft revealed to us the scandalous volume of physical and mental deficiency in our population. When viewed with a magnifying glass, the events growing out of the War have shown us conditions menacing our prosperity and welfare, the maladjustments in our machinery for managing employment, stabilizing industry, caring for the dependent, and preventing the propagation of the inefficient.

The time is ripe for an appraisal of the urgent problems of poverty and dependency. In this book I have tried to present the salient facts concerning these closely related problems. Quantitative measurement of them has been attempted, so far as our present knowledge will permit. In the light of the experience of the last two centuries the methods hitherto used have been critically studied and suggestions for improvement have been made. The discussions of social workers and social philosophers in the National Conference of Social Work, the largest body of people interested in such matters in the United States, have been drawn upon extensively in the preparation of the book. The suggestions of experts in the treatment of dependents and in the prevention of poverty have not been overlooked. Years of experience as "participant observer" and teacher have gone into the content and method of presentation. Counsel has been taken of economics and social philosophy. Failing to find in any one or two books the materials with which it seemed to me, after teaching the subject for many years in two universities, a college student should become familiar, I have tried to bring together in this book the gist of discussions for which I have had to send my students to a large number of publications. Since some of these

are not available in most college libraries, I have quoted extensively. I cannot hope that out of the wealth of writings upon the subject I have always chosen just those passages which another would consider most illuminating, but I do cherish the hope that this attempt to survey the literature in a comprehensive way will make the teaching of this important subject easier, and will inspire students to a more serious consideration of problems of the greatest moment.

The book is intended primarily as a textbook for classes giving three hours a week to class work during one semester. By using the topics for reports at the ends of chapters it will not be difficult to make the text serve for a five-hour course. If the course is limited to two hours a week, certain chapters may be omitted. Since this work is intended as a textbook, I shall appreciate any helpful criticisms and suggestions from my fellow-teachers.

My obligations for suggestions which have borne fruit in the book are numerous beyond any possibility of mentioning or even remembering. Students and colleagues for years have been helping to shape the ideas and methods of treatment which here find expression. So far as I have gained from printed materials of sociologists and social workers, I have tried to make acknowledgments in the foot-notes. I am under special obligation to my friend and colleague, Professor Edward A. Ross, who has unstintedly given of his time and energy to read the manuscript, and who has made many valuable suggestions.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

Fifteen years have passed since the publication of this book. The experience of the writer and his colleagues in the colleges and universities of the country has indicated some changes which will make it better adapted to the classroom. Much new material has appeared which should be used. New developments in psychology and psychiatry, in the technique of case work and in community organization have occurred in the last two decades, account of which must be taken. Moreover, in that period there has been published an abundance of case records, formerly almost entirely lacking. These supply concrete illustrative material of the greatest value in teaching. The Depression has taught many lessons. In this revision the effort has been made to use this new material.

The questions and exercises have been rewritten and the bibliography enlarged and brought up to date.

Madison, Wisconsin.

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POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

POVERTY and dependency, we believe, did not appear as social problems—not even in primitive cultures—until tribal society began to give place to civil society, that is the society of city-states. The reason is not far to seek. As long as society consisted of groups of blood-relatives, individual capacity served for the advantage of all and, if it were not ruthlessly eliminated, shared in the welfare of all. Only by group solidarity and mutual aid could anyone survive in conflict with unconquered Nature and hostile groups, where wealth consisted largely of the fruits of Nature, which the individual had not yet learned to appropriate to himself. Most goods, such as fuel, water, pasturage, etc., were free. With the growth of population, the invention of a medium of exchange, and a growth in the number of wants to be satisfied; with the domestication of animals, their appropriation by individuals, families and small groups, and the development of agriculture followed by a demand for fertile land; with the development of individual prestige, the appropriation of certain scarce articles for purposes of social distinction by individuals with prestige, and the consequent growth of commerce, came a strain upon the old tribal relationships which in the course of time broke them down and created a form of social organization with an entirely different basis. As a result, classes arose; control not only over luxuries but also over necessities developed. On the one hand appeared individual wealth; on the other hand, individual poverty. The growth of ways for developing and privately controlling natural resources resulted in a greater aggregate of wealth, but interfered with the old, tribal customs of distribution. Poverty and dependency appeared in quite new forms and with changed meanings.

Furthermore, in tribal and in early city-state societies, there were two institutions which took care of many dependents who would now be public charges; these institutions were concubinage and slavery. The former involved elements that operated as an early form of mothers' pensions; the latter of unemployment insurance; and both provided a kind of health insurance. Likewise, feudalism—based on wealth in cattle or in land—by the

relationship of vassal and lord, assured to the former the economic care of the latter. When these institutions gave way to economic individualism, poverty and pauperism appeared in their stark nakedness and terror. The economic order meant greater productiveness, bought, however, at the cost of greater individual suffering. In a word, society paid "the costs of progress." Poverty and dependency, however, are not so much costs of progress, as costs of the failure of social invention and social arrangements to keep pace with the exploitation of Nature, economic organization, and the development of individual initiative.

The importance of poverty and dependency lies not alone in the fact that they involve vast suffering for those immediately concerned, but also in the fact that their effects spread into all parts of society. They increase crime, and lessen prosperity, both through the economic burden which dependency involves and through the destruction of ambition and an independent spirit among the poor. They impair the health of very large numbers of people. They hamper educational and other public programs, taking public money for the care of dependents and forcing into work children who should be in school. They lead to vice through overcrowding in houses and through the denial of the satisfaction of wants by normal means. Through divorce and the desertion of families and by cutting the roots of prudential restraint on the size of the family they result in breaking up the home. They prevent the development of culture and the social use of leisure time; they threaten civilization itself. Poverty and dependency must be controlled if the very foundations of democracy are not to be destroyed.

METHOD OF PRESENTATION

In treating the subject let us attempt to measure the extent and cost of poverty and dependency, though, of course, no adequate measure of their blight upon ambition, independence of spirit, hope of success, etc., is possible; at best we can only ascertain what proportion of the population of a country is in poverty, what part of society is supported by the rest. This is undertaken in Part I.

If remedies for poverty and dependency are to be found, we must first learn their causes—natural, economic, social, and political. Conditions in nature affect the capacity of people to adjust to the present social order, and also affect their economic welfare. Economic causes touch the incomes of various classes in the population, distribution of wealth, and conditions in industry; social causes include unthrifty habits, unwise spending of money, and unsound standards of living; political factors operate through laws and

methods of administration which place unequal burdens upon different classes of the population. The conditions of poverty are discussed in Part II.

In order to find means of lessening poverty and dependency, it is best to review the history of society's efforts to deal with these problems. In economic and social affairs, progress is made most rapidly by building upon past achievements. Something certainly may be learned from a study of man's experiments extending over thousands of years. This historic survey constitutes Part III.

Dependents are of various kinds and classes. Certain basic principles apply to all classes but experience shows that special principles and methods must be applied to each special class—the aged, widows, feeble-minded, epileptics, the sick, etc. The extent of each of these special classes, the usual methods of treating them, the principles of treatment which experience has approved, and suggestions as to improvements on present methods are set forth in Part IV.

No study of these problems would be complete without a discussion of preventive agencies and methods. If we hope to reach a reasonably adequate solution we must consider whether, in addition to the ambulance at the bottom of the precipice, we should not provide a fence at the top in order to lessen the number who fall over. Further, the kind of fence must be considered. Study shows that poverty and dependency are resultants of very diverse and complex social and economic maladjustments. Industry, legislation, social institutions, schools, churches, customs, group habits, attitudes and ideals all affect the problem. These are considered in Part V.

These problems are problems of sociology. The principles of sociology are involved in their comprehension and solution. A study of them helps us to understand our social organization and something of the social processes, since in a cross section we see the way in which society functions. Here we see the social organization developing and changing to fit new situations; the disorganization resulting from the failure of the organization to fit the situation. Just as in physiology the study of pathological conditions throws light upon the functions of the healthy human body, just as in psychology we better understand the normal by exploring the abnormal mind, so in sociology, the study of poverty and dependency—abnormal social phenomena—teaches something concerning the nature and functions of normal society.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why did the problems of poverty and dependency not appear in tribally organized societies? In early city-state societies?
2. What other social problems are affected by poverty and pauperism?
3. Look over the Table of Contents and describe the outline according to which the subject matter of the book is presented.

PART I

THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY



CHAPTER II

APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

CHARITY is the historical term used to describe the efforts of society to relieve the distress of individuals. "Charity" is an outgrowth of the principle which Kropotkin called "mutual aid," evolved by animals and early men in the struggle for existence in a hostile world. As an unconscious product of group struggle, the helping of a kinsman was grounded in the emotional nature of man, and it survives as the profoundest sanction of charity. Other grounds developed later as men thought on the problem, and as experience revealed the results of charity in action.

HISTORICAL MOTIVES OF CHARITY

The Sympathetic Motive. Sympathy—Kropotkin's "mutual aid"—originated and developed in the social group, because sympathy was necessary for survival; and as soon as poverty had become a problem, no doubt certain persons in every society gave some thought to it. Distress naturally evoked response on the part of sympathetic persons; this reaction to distress grew out of what may be called the sympathetic motive. It is largely an instinctive reaction to visible suffering. If there was any rationality in it, it was an imagining of the consequences—to oneself—of being in similar circumstances of distress. The sympathetic reaction to distress was fairly well suited to situations in which the giver and recipient were well acquainted, and connected by ties of blood or long continued fellowship in the community, but it worked badly when it touched those whose circumstances and personal history were unknown to the giver. It resulted in confirmed beggary, because poverty can be so well counterfeited that the really deserving and the impostor cannot easily be told apart.

The Religious Motive. Religion historically has always been a very important matter. Soon after poverty became a problem in men's minds, religion gave its attention to the relief of the unfortunate. Since early religion was closely connected with group-survival, and group-welfare was closely connected with individual welfare, religion readily took upon itself the relief of poverty, and an act of charity came to be considered as an act well pleasing to God. The Psalmist, writing in the Old Testament many

centuries before Christ, says, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor"; and again, "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord."

Throughout the Christian centuries, also, this motive is not less powerful. Saint Cyprian, one of the Apostolic Fathers, went so far as to say that almsgiving washed away sin. Giving to beggars assumed such importance in the religious life of the Middle Ages that the Order of Begging Friars arose, partly from the opportunity which the friars afforded to pious people for doing good and thus laying up a treasure of good works. In the first quotation from the Psalmist, the idea involved in the word "considereth" is often overlooked; experience shows that giving, without consideration for the character of the recipient or the consequence of the gift, demoralizes rather than benefits. The religious motive of charity resulted in little more than sanctifying mendicancy for the sake of those who desired to do penance for their sins. This motive is essentially selfish, and blind not only to the welfare of the mendicant, but to the social consequences of such acts.

The Political Motive. Another motive leading to charity was the political. As soon as society had developed to the point where the favor and votes of people made possible political preferment, opportunity arose for the crafty politician to win followers by means of largesses to the needy. In the decadent days of Rome, these consisted of family allotments of free, government wheat (the tithe from senatorial or imperial provinces, e.g., Egypt) and free public "games"—the thrilling spectacles of the Colosseum at Rome. To the faithful followers of ward bosses in our large cities, such largesses come in the shape of political "plums," Thanksgiving turkeys, gifts of money and other things in time of need. Here again, the motive is mixed; doubtless the politician is sorry for the poor, but, like the sympathetic and the religious giver, he does not consider the effect of the gift either upon the individual or upon society. The politician's motive springs not from any consideration of the welfare of the individual or of society, but from his own selfish interest. The total effect of the political motive in charity has always been to corrupt the foundations of democracy. The respective weaknesses in each of these three motives are clear. In the complex conditions of modern civilized society not one of these motives served to end or greatly lessen pauperism; rather, each tended to encourage it.

The Social Motive. A fourth motive leading to almsgiving, the social, grew out of society's unsatisfactory experience with indiscriminate giving for sympathetic, religious, or political motives. The social motive grows out of a desire—first, to promote the welfare of the individual who is given help, to prevent his demoralization, and to promote his independence; and, second, to promote the general welfare. The social motive is sympathetic

but not indiscriminate; religious but not ecclesiastical; political in its aim but not partisan.

THE MODERN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

The modern approach to the problem of poverty and dependency does not depend on ancient philosophic theories or on sentimental or religious appeals. It rests upon two fundamental propositions: (1) that the problem, as to its causes, must be understood in the light of all the knowledge which modern science has made available; (2) that all treatment must be based on this understanding and knowledge and must relate: a) to handling individual cases and, b) to changing general social conditions.

Endeavors to Understand the Problem. In the modern approach to this problem two fundamental inquiries are made: (1) What is the extent and character of the problem of poverty and dependency? (2) What are the conditions under which people become poverty-stricken and dependent? Although present statistics are in a very unsatisfactory state, every year new knowledge of the extent of the problem is made available. The United States Census, reports of Federal, State, and city agencies of various sorts, provide information never before available. The Depression forced widespread attention to these matters—attention hitherto largely academic. Mounting taxes have interested taxpayers in the increasing cost of supporting public dependents. Relief has become one of our major financial concerns. Hence, the public is demanding methods of accounting as good as those we now employ in banking, commerce, etc. At last we may expect rather accurate figures rather than guesses as to the size and cost of the problem.

Consciousness of the importance of the problem has forced us to examine more closely the factors which produce poverty and dependency. The Depression called attention sharply to the economic factors in unemployment. But, when the President of the United States tried to distinguish between the needy due to the unemployment emergency and those due to other factors, it became clear that other factors had to be considered—no new discovery to social workers who had been familiar with poverty-stricken people before the Depression. The case-working agencies long ago learned that other factors affect the problem. With the recent development of psychological and psychiatric knowledge, much light has also been thrown upon the various traits of character which result in poverty and dependency. The case worker, dealing with the dependent family, is coming to rely more and more upon the results of examinations made by psychologists and psychiatrists. In some defect of personality they find a factor causing demoralization. Also, with our increasing knowledge of social factors sur-

rounding men and women and of their effects upon personality, we are able to understand better the interplay of environment and personality in the making or marring of a life. The conviction grows, that although defective and warped personalities are—more than in their fair proportion—prone to go astray in life, to what extent they act at all as normal human beings depends very much upon their home and community influences during childhood. Poverty and dependency, then, happen when a person either because of heredity or early conditioning is poorly adjusted to this civilization with its many complex relationships; or when our organized relationships fail to provide arrangements whereby these inadequately equipped persons may support themselves, or even the capable are unable to find employment for which they are equipped by native capacity and training.

Treatment Is Based Upon an Understanding of the Factors Causing Poverty and Dependency. (a) If we are properly to treat those who have fallen into poverty or dependency, we must understand past methods of treatment and motives that lay back of them. But, in dealing with poverty-stricken and dependent individuals we discover ourselves face-to-face with institutions and agencies which grew up before the rise of modern knowledge. For example, we have today the poorhouse and public, outdoor relief—the latter term referring to relief given outside of the poorhouse. We have, also, many other institutions, handed down from the past—those for the insane, feeble-minded, and orphaned. Are they suited to the new understanding, or are they impediments? When shall we use them and when shall we try other means? Nor can we begin the treatment and prevention of poverty and dependency without a clear understanding that the old motives and attitudes persist long after modern knowledge has rendered them obsolete. They are embedded in the folkways and mores, and thus determine the actions of men and women of today. (b) As rapidly as these ancient attitudes can be modified treatment must be based upon the facts as revealed by careful study. We cannot ignore either the factors of personal defect or of social maladjustment. Both sets of factors must be taken into consideration. Our treatment must be based upon the part which each has played in the development of poverty or dependency in each case involved. That knowledge, if we are to rehabilitate the person, will indicate to us what measures we must take, just what sort of stimuli must be applied, what changes must be made in living conditions, how to secure greater income, and how spend it more efficiently, what processes shall be used in the case in order to bring about a better adjustment to the circumstances of life.

In Contrast to the Historical Motives Cited Above, Modern Sociology Stresses the Social Motive of Charity. The social motive

implies rehabilitation of the poverty-stricken and the dependent. Throwing a crust to a beggar or giving indiscriminately (i.e., without knowledge of the circumstances of the person to whom the gift is made) does not rehabilitate. It may, indeed, even further pauperize the person concerned. Experience shows that rehabilitation is possible only when each case of poverty or dependency is taken separately and its difficulties handled with strict regard for all the attendant circumstances. This is what we call social case work; it must be done in terms of the individual, for it cannot be done *en masse*.

The social motive includes also a program of prevention. No longer can we be satisfied with trying to repair the broken lives and maladjusted personalities, which are produced by our civilization. Prevention must begin by controlling the defective personality as early as possible. This means that the school and the church, as well as the social worker, must understand the nature of mental defect and emotional unbalance. Many lives are unsuccessful, not only because of defective germ-plasm, but also because of experiences met in the home, on the playground and in school during early years. Therefore, around the defective, as well as around the normal personality, society must place a wholesome, constructive environment, which will develop the best traits in each one, train him for a life of economic independence and social usefulness, and thus prevent the operation of forces which demoralize and drive him down to poverty and pauperism. In short, the modern motive of philanthropy is constructive and preventive.

Once—indeed, until quite recently—a strange fatalism marked all discussion of this problem. It was assumed that some, the “fit,” were destined to be rich and powerful, to have leisure and culture, while others were doomed to lifelong toil, to meager if any culture, to want, to a haunting fear of pauperism, and to all the train of evils attendant upon penury. Both this smug philosophy on the part of the fortunate and the patient acceptance of a hard lot, as a dispensation of a wise Providence or a remorseless Fate, on the part of the poor, are now questioned. Formerly economics and Darwinian science joined hands in consecrating, as a law of progress, the doctrine that the poor and the weak deserve no consideration, that the struggle for existence is Nature's method of perfecting the race, and that the poor and the weak must be allowed to suffer and perish—the sooner, the better. Now, however, economists and scientists have become humanists and have discovered that the social forces which produce weakness and want, not only crush the “unfit,” but also injure the potentially “fit.” The great English economist, Alfred Marshall, says: “The dignity of man was proclaimed by the Christian religion; it has been asserted with increasing vehemence during the last hundred years; but it is only through the spread

of education during quite recent times that we are beginning at last to feel the full import of the phrase. Now at last we are setting ourselves seriously to inquire whether it is necessary that there should be any so-called 'lower classes' at all; that is, whether there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for others the requisites of a refined and cultured life; while they are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any share or part in that life."¹

Likewise, modern science recognizes that in society other factors than "natural selection" must be considered. Thus, Thomson, the biologist, has written:

By analogy, then, it seems on *a priori* grounds legitimate to expect that biological analysis applied to the life and history of societary forms will be fruitful; . . . But the analogy also suggests that the result of analysis in terms of lower categories will in the long run be to bring the distinctively social into stronger relief, and that certain progress in the utilization of biological formulae will depend on the relative completeness with which the biological factors operative in social activity can be discovered. A chemico-physical analysis of organic processes which left out electrical factors would be inept, indeed; a biological analysis of social processes which left out, say, the "mutual aid" instinct, would, we venture to think, be equally fallacious.²

He further remarks:

Not a few sociological writers have echoed the warning of Herbert Spencer that modern hygienic and therapeutic methods interfere with the natural elimination of the weaklings whose survival consequently becomes a drag on the race, and there is doubtless some force in the argument, especially if we could confine ourselves to an entirely biological outlook. It appears to us, however, that the practical corollary that we should cease from interfering with natural selection, as the phrase goes, is as fallacious as it is impossible. It seems a little absurd to speak of, say, the prevention of an artificially exaggerated infantile mortality as if it were an interference with the order of nature. Much weakness which may readily become fatal is simply modificational, due perhaps to lack of nutrition at a critical moment; many weakly children grow up thoroughly sound; and even if we do keep alive some whose constitutions are intrinsically bad, we are at the same time saving and strengthening many whose intrinsically good constitutions only require temporary shelter. One enthusiast over microbic selection says, "The higher the infantile death-rate which medicine so energetically combats, the surer is the next generation of being purged of all the weakly and sickly organisms." But he omits to record the fact that the infantile maladies also affect the intrinsically strong and

¹ Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, London and New York, 1891, p. 3.

² Thomson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, p. 513.

capable, and often weaken them, one might say, quite gratuitously. Many of the microbic agents which thin our ranks are very indiscriminate in their selection, and even if we believed that in warring against microbes we are eliminating the eliminators who have made our race what it is—as the enthusiastic apologists for Bacteria declare—it is surely open to us to put other modes of selection into operation. It were a sad confession of incapacity if man could not select better than bacteria.

Finally, since we cannot keep the biological outlook, is it ridiculously old-fashioned to plead that even when the physical constitution is miserable, the weakling may be a national asset worth saving, for its mental endowment, for instance, and for other reasons? *That the weakling is to be allowed to breed more weaklings if it can, is another matter.* Everyone agrees that the reproduction of weaklings should be discouraged in every feasible way—in every way compatible with rational social sentiment.³

In the face of our world-wide experience of the past few years, the arguments of the rigid selectionists, refuted by Thomson on purely biological grounds, and of the rigid adherents to *laissez faire* economics, need little further refutation. Was it the "fit" who fell into poverty and often into abject dependency during the Depression? Consider only for a moment the millions of capable workers in all our factories who could get no job; the bankers, lawyers, physicians, engineers, architects, dentists and nurses who have been on relief during the years from 1930 to 1936. Then ask whether poverty and dependency are due entirely or chiefly to individual incapacity. It must be clear that our economic machinery and our social arrangements are defective in the face of such a crisis. Only less clear is it that in ordinary times, when from eight to twelve per cent of our population is unemployed, that our social organization is at least in part responsible for the plight of these people.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Results of the Religious Motive in Almsgiving. Warner, *American Charities*, Third Edition, pp. 5-8; Lecky, *History of European Morals*, Vol. II, pp. 79-101.
2. A Sketch of Roman Charity. Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 73-75; Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, pp. 36-39.
3. Motives and Methods in the Care of the Poor in the Book of Psalms.
4. A Sketch of Jewish Charity in the Middle Ages. *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1883, pp. 323 ff.
5. Jesus' Attitude toward the Dependent. *The Gospels*.

³ Thomson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, pp. 531, 532.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What was the original root of charity?
2. What are the four historical motives of charity?
3. Point out the good and evil results of each of these motives.
4. What characteristics mark the modern approach to the problem of poverty?
5. Discuss the proposition that charity and medicine tend to keep alive the unfit members of society.
6. Why should we not allow the brute struggle for existence to go on without interference?
7. Cite evidence that our social organization is partly to blame for poverty and dependency.

CHAPTER III

DEPENDENCY, PAUPERISM, AND POVERTY

WHAT does the word "dependent" mean to each of us, when we hear it said that a certain person is dependent? A dependent may be a child, dependent for its support upon its parents; a helpless cripple, dependent upon parent, husband, wife, or some other kin; a man or woman pauperized, but still actually capable of self-support, though so lacking in self-respect and ambition as continuously to accept public support instead. Certainly there are different kinds of dependents. Some present no problem, but others are a challenge to our social machinery. Likewise, the terms "pauperism" and "poverty" have certain meanings to one person, but quite other meanings to another. As popularly used, all these terms are vague. Sometimes "dependency" and "pauperism" are used synonymously; at other times "poverty" and "pauperism" are synonyms. In the interest of clear thinking, definite meanings must attach to these terms.

DEPENDENCY

As indicated above, there are varieties of dependency: A child supported by its parents is not dependent in the same sense as the inmate of an almshouse. A wife "supported" by her husband is legally a dependent, but not in the same sense as if—on the death of her husband, lacking relatives and unable to support herself, because of sickness or a family of small children—she must be supported through some public relief department or by a private, charitable organization. An aged father, supported by his son, is dependent, but not in the same sense as a lazy father, still able to work, who insists that his son support him, because he is his son. A skilled and industrious workman, who has always supported himself and family, may be suddenly rendered dependent by unemployment resulting from economic depression; or he may become a chronic panhandler. One may become dependent, because he has lost his job through technological changes which make his skill no longer industrially useful; or he may never have been capable of any work in demand by industry. All these are cases of dependency. What differentiates one from the other? How shall we classify them?

For purposes of sociological analysis, there are several different classes of dependents, viz:—natural, customary, and legal; cutting across these three, also, are normal and abnormal dependents.

Natural Dependents. Natural dependents are such because of the ties of nature: parental, filial, or marital. A child is naturally dependent upon its parent. Birth makes that dependency upon the mother most direct; natural selection has determined that the young is also dependent upon the father, although to a less extent, especially in the more primitive tribes of men. The aged parent may be dependent upon the child. This dependency is less directly natural than that of the child upon the parent, in that the child's support of the parent is not often the result of natural selection, but of social motives. However, this dependency may rather be considered natural than customary or legal. The wife and husband also are bound to each other by natural ties—the ties of sex. Perhaps natural selection has had something to do with the establishment of spouse-dependency, although social customs and traditions account for its continuance. Again, the blood-relative is supported in certain circumstances by relatives. This dependency is more remotely natural than either that of the child or the parent. Social factors, such as intimate acquaintanceship, customary group sanctions, and fear of the gods, all enter to produce the sense of obligation to help the unfortunate relative. But here again there is a natural bond between the benefactor and the beneficiary, and natural selection probably has produced in some degree this sense of obligation.

Customary Dependency. Customary dependency arises from social custom in the care of the unfortunate. As associations developed in social groups, such as secret societies, lodges and churches, special obligations of these groups to assist unfortunate members grew up. We shall see in a subsequent chapter how the church and the medieval guilds undertook this task. In modern society such associations recognize similar obligations. Also, with the development of civil society, neighborhood groups, even when kinship ties are lacking, recognize the obligation to care for unfortunate neighbors. All these are examples of customary dependency.

Legal Dependency. Legal enactments are of two sorts. Those things which have been sanctioned by custom finally are enacted into law, provided they are of such nature that they are of interest to the whole group and provided that the customary sanctions alone are not sufficient to compel universal obedience. After society has developed to such a degree that problems, new to the experience of the group, arise, and for which there are no customary sanctions, such cases are then regulated by law. The first of these generalizations is illustrated by the legal regulation of the support of one's

own kindred; the second by the enactment of laws governing the support of strangers.

A man's child is a natural dependent upon him. It is also a legal dependent, and a customary dependent. A man's wife is a natural and a customary dependent. However, the law in most countries has made her also a legal dependent. In Russia either spouse needing assistance may legally claim it from the other. In some states other relatives than child and parent are a legal obligation to support; in others, other near relatives are customarily looked upon as having the duty of supporting dependents, but there is no legal obligation to do so. Thus, all natural and some customary dependents are legal dependents. The tendency is for all customary as well as all natural dependents to be made legal dependents of the individual obligated by nature and by custom to support them. That tendency was checked, however, in the development of the care of the unfortunate in the case of certain customary dependents, by the state's taking over the functions of guild and church.

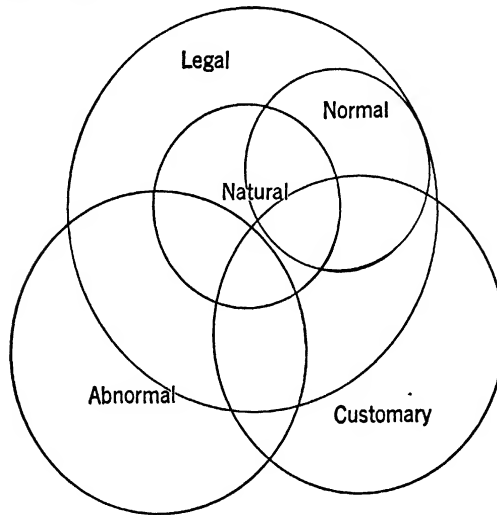
The church and the guilds failed to meet the problem of dependency. When—as will be noted in a later chapter—the state developed a more complete sovereignty, laws were passed, which still left with private individuals and private organizations the responsibility to care for their own members, but provided for the public support of those who were without relatives or relieving organizations. Hence, legal dependents fall into two classes: (1) those whose next of kin or remoter kin are obliged by law to support them, and (2) those who are without private means of support, but who must, in the interest of the general welfare, be supported by the state.

Normal and Abnormal Dependency. Dependents may also be cross-classified into normal and abnormal. The child supported by his parent, during the period of his childhood when unable to support himself; the wife supported by her husband, and the aged parent cared for by his child are normal dependents. In the ordinary circumstances of life such people are dependent. With the growth of social legislation, based upon the theory that the state must assume increasing responsibility for the care of those who cannot care for themselves many of those who formerly would have been thrust upon public relief and dubbed "paupers," are looked upon as normal dependents. Examples are dependent children cared for under "mothers' assistance," the aged supported by pensions, and the unemployed sustained by "emergency relief" or unemployment insurance. So also are pensioned soldiers, sailors, blind and deaf. Hence, *by normal dependent we mean one who, because of incapacity due to age, physical disability, or*

unemployment must be aided by either a natural supporter or by a private or public agency, provided he has not lost his spirit of independence.

On the other hand, the abnormal dependent is represented by the old rounder who lives off the public, as Washington Gladden said, "making a living by looking for work and successfully failing to find it," and by those pensioners and recipients of public or private aid who are glad of an excuse to be relieved of their own support.

The different varieties of dependents may, therefore, be represented by the following diagram:



This diagram indicates that both natural and normal dependents are legal obligations of the close relative able to support them; that a part of the abnormal and customary dependents is outside a person's legal obligations; and that the various kinds of dependents overlap, except normal and abnormal, which are mutually exclusive of each other.

These distinctions are not just so much terminology. They help us understand dependency and they indicate a basis for treatment. Natural dependency creates no social problem, for it is not pauperizing in its effects. Customary dependency gives us the problem of the pauperized individual and family as soon as it exists in complex social relations where one does

not know quite well every person he meets. Abnormal dependency thrusts upon the sociologist problems in the technique of administering relief in such ways that the individual and the family are not pauperized but rehabilitated.

Abnormal dependency is the only sort which gives us a social problem. It may be defined as *that condition in which a person prefers to depend for his sustenance, in whole or in part, upon someone other than his natural supporter rather than to earn his own living*. He is a dependent without an independent spirit. He corresponds to what in ordinary parlance, but not in a legal sense, is a pauper.

PAUPERISM

The terms "pauperism" and "pauper," as we have noted, are often used vaguely. Is the poor person always a pauper? Is the dependent person always a pauper? Is the person who wants the world to give him a living without work, the only pauper? The term "pauper" has been used in all these senses. Sometimes, but not always, the poor person is a pauper. Sometimes the person who is dependent upon others is a pauper, but one's little child, though dependent upon him, is not a pauper. Certainly the adult who possesses the spirit of willing dependency is a pauper, but is not he also a pauper who, however unwilling, depends upon other persons than his natural supporters?

In the sense in which the abnormal dependent was defined above the pauper in the sociological sense is only that dependent who has lost his independent spirit. However, the term has been used differently in the statutes providing for the public support of dependents. According to the legal definition the helpless widow unable to support her little family, who receives part of her support from public relief officials, is a pauper. It makes no difference according to the law whether she has the pauper spirit or not. The little child supported in a state institution for dependent children, or boarded out at public expense under the law of most states is a pauper. The legal definition, however, does not correspond with the sociological definition of abnormal dependency. The sociologist must take into account not merely the legal status of the individual but his attitude and his emotional reactions to his economic status.

Gradually the legal concept of pauperism is yielding to a more understanding spirit. Evidence of this is shown by the public attitude toward mothers' pensions, old age pensions, and the emergency unemployment relief. The public generally does not feel that these people should be stigmatized by the term pauper. Gradually therefore, both in public par-

lance and the legal definition, the term pauper is being reserved for what we have defined as the abnormal dependent! ¹

POVERTY

Ppverty is another loosely used term which for purposes of careful thinking must be given a definite meaning. Does poverty mean dependency? Is it synonymous with pauperism? A few years ago in New York died an old man who had begged upon a certain street for many years. He feigned blindness and had acquired the trick of turning his eyeballs so that the whites showed, in order to appear to be blind. When he died, he was found to be worth several hundred thousand dollars. Was he in poverty? Certainly not. Was he a pauper? Just as certainly he was. On the other hand, I once knew a man in New York City who was dying of tuberculosis. He and his family were working in every way possible to support themselves; they lived in a basement on an income insufficient to support even one person; they received no aid from any source, and were undernourished. They were not paupers; they were, however, in poverty.

Again, an average family has an income which would be sufficient to support it. Let us say that the income is \$1,385 a year, for the support of a man and wife and three children. However, because of bad management they do not have sufficient to eat, proper clothing, and a decent place to live. The result is lack of vitality, frequent sickness, the demoralization of family life and a gradual descent in the scale of family life, economic productivity, and citizenship. Are these people in poverty? Yes, they are in poverty, not because of inadequate income, however, but because of unwise expenditure. Therefore, we can say that poverty is due to one or both of two sets of conditions. It results either from inadequate income or unwise expenditure, or both. We shall therefore define poverty as *that condition in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, does not maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for his physical and mental efficiency and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which they are members.*

The Standard of Living. This definition of poverty is based upon a certain concept of the *scale of living*. In the effort to establish a *standard of living* it has become clear that there is here, too, a confusion of terms.

¹ This definition departs from those usually given which are based upon older concepts and practices both public and private. See Hollander, *Abolition of Poverty*, p. 2. "The condition of those who are in chronic need of public aid or private relief to maintain existence is described more accurately as pauperism."

The latter expression has been used to indicate both (1) what people at various economic and social levels actually consume, and (2) what is necessary to enable a person to function successfully in a given station in life. The former should be called *scale of living*, while the expression *standard of living* should be used to designate the sum total of goods and services necessary to successful functioning in one's economic and social class. Four scales of living are recognized in every society: (1) the poverty scale, which is the mode of living of those who have barely enough to keep them from going into debt or receiving charity; (2) the minimum, or subsistence scale, based upon the necessities of mere existence with little or nothing for social needs; (3) the health and comfort scale, which represents a slightly higher level with not only the necessities of existence but also provision for comfort, self-respect and decency, for insurance against "the buffetings of outrageous fortune," for education of the children, a certain amount of recreation, and self-development; and (4) the luxury scale.² The *standard of living* means at least the second of these, and there is a tendency to insist that it be used to designate the third. As a matter of fact, there are two standards, (1) a subsistence standard and (2) a decency or comfort standard. Below these standards it is impossible for most people to function successfully as members of society.³

In determining a standard of living it must be remembered that man does not live by bread alone. He must have something besides the bare necessities—food, clothing, housing, heat and light—to keep himself in physical condition. He must have sufficient to enable him to keep in good mental health, for his physical efficiency is dependent not only upon a full stomach and a warm back, but upon contentment and mental development as well. Also he must have sufficient to enable him to keep the respect of others in the social class in which he moves, else his ambition is strangled and economic and social achievement is impossible. Therefore, the definition includes mental and social efficiency as well as physical. This close connection of the mental and physical is pointed out by Alfred Marshall as follows: "And in addition to the Residuum, there are vast numbers of people, both in town and country, who are brought up with insufficient

² *Tentative Quantity and Cost Budget Necessary to Maintain a Family in Washington, D. C. at a Level of Health and Decency*, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, 1919, p. 5; Comish, *The Standard of Living*, New York, 1923, pp. 62-64.

³ For recent discussions see Comish, *op. cit.*, Chaps. I-VI; McMahon, *Social and Economic Standards of Living*, Boston, 1925, Chaps. I-III, XVII-XIX; Lescohier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1920, p. 95; *Standards of Living, A Compilation of Budgetary Studies* (Revised Ed.), Bureau of Applied Economics, Bulletin No. 7, Washington, 1920.

food, clothing, and house-room, whose education is broken off early in order that they may go to work for wages, who thenceforth are engaged during long hours in exhausting toil with insufficiently nourished bodies, and have therefore no chance of developing their higher mental faculties."

Relation of Poverty and Pauperism. It is very difficult, when it comes to particular cases, to draw any sharp line between poverty and pauperism. Some who fall below the poverty line receive assistance from charity, while others just as necessitous do not, but somehow struggle along. Strictly speaking, the former are paupers, because they are dependent for a living upon someone other than a natural supporter. Yet, if they are given the right kind of treatment they will most willingly become self-supporting. They are in poverty and are dependent, and are actually paupers, but they are not chronic paupers. Therefore, in that indefinite territory between poverty and pauperism of the chronic sort, there is a class of dependents who in themselves, under changed circumstances, are potentially able to rise from both pauperism and poverty.

Since poverty usually precedes pauperism, our most hopeful objective is the cure and prevention of poverty. If we could eliminate insufficiency of income and wasteful or unwise expenditure, the only residuum of pauperism would be those who are dependent because they have no wish to support themselves. By the abolition of the conditions which produce poverty, we would not entirely eliminate pauperism, but we would go a long way in that direction. We would deprive the willing pauper of the chief justification of his dependency. We would remove from him the possibility of protesting that he is the victim of social and economic conditions. By reducing poverty we would eliminate a large part of the conditions which generate the dependent spirit. Then, only those would be paupers who *chose* to depend on others for their living, or who were incapable of self-support.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. A Comparison of Various Definitions of Poverty and Pauperism, Hollander, *The Abolition of Poverty*, Chap. I; Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, New York, 1907, Secs. 255, 256; Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents*, Boston, 1901, pp. 8-11; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Prevention of Destitution*, New York, 1912, Chap. I.
2. From the Code of Your State Get the Legal Definition of a Pauper; a Dependent Child; a Neglected Child.
3. Read the references in the first two of the last three footnotes and point out the differences and similarities between a "scale of living," a "budget level" and a "standard of living."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is a student 22 years of age who is supplied money by his father to attend the university (1) a dependent, (2) a pauper?
2. Is a woman receiving a mother's pension (1) a dependent; (2) a pauper? If either, classify according to the scheme in the text.
3. An old father who has plenty of money lives with his son and family without paying his board. Classify him.
4. A man is boarding with a boarding house keeper, falls sick and is unable to pay his board. Is he a dependent? Is he a pauper?
5. A lady 23 years old and her foster sister 27 years of age are teaching in the same school. The foster sister becomes ill with tuberculosis; has to go to a sanitarium. After spending all her savings her foster sister sent the money for her care. Is she dependent? Is she a pauper?
6. How would you determine the "scale of living" of a given economic class, say the families of the members of a given union? How determine the "standard of living" for that class?



CHAPTER IV

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND PAUPERISM

NO exact nation-wide measurement of the volume of dependency and pauperism has been made in the United States. The Census reports state the number of inmates of almshouses, but give no figures on outdoor paupers. The difficulty of securing reports concerning even the number of indoor paupers is so great that no one has had the temerity to attempt to secure nation-wide statistics on outdoor relief. The nearest approximation to the number on relief was the figure published by the F.E.R.A. during the Depression.¹

Still greater is the difficulty of securing information concerning the number of people who are in poverty. The difficulty does not inhere in the mechanics of counting the number, but grows out of the fact that a poverty line must be established. To establish a poverty line it is necessary to determine a standard of living that is essential for an average family, let us say, of five people. Since prices of food and other necessities of life vary in different parts of the country and since the amount of clothing and fuel and the kind of houses that are demanded vary with the climate, in practice it has been necessary for societies dealing with dependent families to determine a standard of living for each locality. The difficulty of establishing such a standard for the entire country is very great and when once established it may before long be upset or severely shaken; students of economics know that, since 1930, scales of living, for millions in the United States, have been lowered, as compared with those of the decade 1921-1930. However, after it is established, there is the gigantic task of discovering how many actually fall below this level.

EFFORTS TO ESTIMATE THE EXTENT OF POVERTY

In spite, however, of the difficulties, various cross-sectional studies of the population have been made which reveal, in the localities where made, the proportion of people in poverty. These studies are valuable as indications of the situation; they are only samples, with all the merits and shortcomings of samples.

¹ The reader will understand that *indoor* and *outdoor* refer respectively to relief within poorhouses or to persons in their own homes.

1. **Poverty in England.** One of the first attempts on an intensive scale to measure pauperism and poverty was made by Charles Booth, in London. This study was made by Mr. Booth and a large number of assistants carefully trained for the work. It covered a number of years and the results were published in a series of seventeen volumes, the last in 1903.

This monumental study on the *Life and Labour of the People in London* was the first careful attempt to measure accurately the conditions in which the poor of that great city lived. Booth commenced the study at a time described as one in which there was the greatest social awakening since the Chartist movement; social unrest was rife. Sensational pamphlets such as Besant's *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, and *Children of Gideon*, as well as magazine articles, describing the awful conditions among the London poor, were stirring the English conscience. Also it was in that same decade of the eighties that the English Socialist organizations came into being, that the English social settlement movement began, and that the Salvation Army under "General" William Booth opened its first food and shelter depot. Even politicians like Joseph Chamberlain were declaring that never before had "the misery of the poor been more intense or their daily life more hopeless and degraded." Parliamentary investigations had been carried on in response to this unrest, and partisan spirit had been evoked both for and against the correctness of the sensational pictures of London's misery. It was at such a time that Mr. Charles Booth, a retired merchant, decided to devote his money and energy to ascertain the facts. In that investigation, begun in 1886 and finished in 1902, we have the first serious and the most satisfactory survey, scientifically measuring the problems of poverty and dependency, as to causes, extent and character.²

Mr. Booth divided the people he studied into eight classes as follows:

- A. The lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers and semi-criminals.
- B. Casual earnings—"very poor."
- C. Intermittent earnings
- D. Small regular earnings
- E. Regular standard earnings—above the line of poverty.
- F. Higher class labor.
- G. Lower middle class.
- H. Upper middle class.³

² Abbott, "Charles Booth, 1840-1916," *Journal of Political Economy*, February, 1917, pp. 195-200.

³ *Life and Labour of the People in London*, London and New York, 1892, Vol. I, p. 33. He defined his terms as follows: "By the word 'poor' I mean to describe those who have a sufficiently regular though bare income, such as 18s to 21s per week for

In 1901, Rowntree published his study of the poor in York, England. In both of these studies a minimum income was established below which a family could not maintain a decent standard of living. Mr. Rowntree's investigation covered 11,560 families, about two-thirds of the population of York. Booth's figures were samples from the wage-earning classes of East London.

On the basis of these investigations an estimate was made of the proportions of the population, of London and of York, below the poverty line. Booth's investigations show that those either already in distress or sinking into want constituted 30.7 per cent of the whole population of London, while the classes that were either in comfort or rising to affluence constituted 69.3 per cent of the population. Rowntree found that 15.46 per cent of the wage-earning class in York and 9.91 per cent of the entire population of that city were in "primary poverty," i.e., did not have sufficient income to maintain physical efficiency. In addition, he found that 17.93 per cent of the population were living in "secondary poverty," i.e., while the income was sufficient, it was spent either for some other useful purpose than living expenses or wasted on drink or the like. Thus, he found that 33.4 per cent of the wage-earning class and 27.84 per cent of the city's total population were poverty-stricken.⁴

These English surveys are significant, because they are intensive studies, based on a house to house canvass, and a careful investigation of family budgets; also because one is from a large and one from a small city. Also, although they were conducted some years apart, they show percentages of poverty remarkably close in the two cases.

Later Mr. Bowley and Mr. Burnett-Hurst published the results of their studies, made in 1912 and 1913, of four different communities in England. They considered Rowntree's weekly standard of twenty-one shillings eight pence, the minimum amount needed to maintain a family of five, but established a new and more elastic one of their own.⁵ The findings of these investigations are of interest in this connection. They say: "The proportion of working-class families living below either Mr. Rowntree's standard or the New Standard ranges, therefore, from (roughly) one-seventeenth in Stanley

a moderate family, and by 'very poor,' those who for any cause fall much below this standard. The 'poor' are those whose means may be sufficient, but are barely sufficient for decent independent life; the 'very poor,' those whose means are insufficient for this according to the usual standard of life in this country."

⁴ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, London, 1901, pp. 111-117.

⁵ For details of this standard see Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*, London, 1915, pp. 79, 80.

to one-twelfth in Northampton, one-eighth in Warrington, and actually just over one-fifth in Reading. It must be remembered that besides these families there are the actual paupers living in the workhouse and in other Poor Law Institutions."⁶ They continue: "An examination of this Table brings to light certain very remarkable facts. *First*, if we take the whole working class population of both sexes and all ages in each of these four towns, and ask what proportion of it is above and what proportion of it is below the minimum standard, we find that the percentage below is, in the case of Northampton, 9; in the case of Warrington, 15; in the case of Reading, 29; in the case of Stanley 60 out of 975, or 6 per cent."⁷

They sum up the investigation as follows: "Let us for a moment obliterate the boundaries between the different towns which we have described, and regard them as merged into one large city. The city contains about 2,150 working-class households and 9,720 persons. Of these households 293, or 13½ per cent—of these persons, 1,567 or 16 per cent—are living in a condition of primary poverty."⁸

On the basis of his findings in Reading, and Rowntree's in York, Bowley ventured to make an estimate of the extent of poverty in Great Britain as a whole. He says, "Assuming about the same amount of poverty, due to other causes, as in Reading and York, we shall find, I think, somewhat over 13 per cent of the *industrial* working-class population of Great Britain below the standard at any one time as compared with 15½ per cent in York and 25 to 30 per cent in Reading."⁹

On the basis of these figures, we shall probably not be far wrong if we conclude that up to 1914 from *one-fifth to one-fourth of the people in England were not able to maintain such a state of physical efficiency as would keep them in health and constantly at work earning an income.*

For more recent data one has to get such facts as are available in the abbreviated reports to the House of Commons as to the extent of poverty in that country. The most significant figures available are those on unemployment. In 1923 there were 10,132,380 persons who received unemployment benefits at a cost of £41,500,000. In addition, 889,000 received old age pensions, while an additional 1,613,879 paupers were relieved. Thus

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 40

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43, 45

⁸ Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*, London, 1915, p. 46.

⁹ Bowley, "Working-Class Households in Reading," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, June, 1913, pp. 672-701

in the neighborhood of 12,000,000 of her population were at or near the poverty line.¹⁰

The situation during the depression beginning in 1929 turned decidedly for the worse in all countries in the Western world. A paralysis of business such as never before in the experience of living men had occurred set in. In Great Britain and Northern Ireland in 1932, 17.6 per cent of the population were wholly unemployed and an additional 4.5 per cent experienced temporary stoppages of work.¹¹ What proportion of the population this situation threw below the poverty line we are unable to say, but manifestly it meant an increased proportion.

Charles Booth always hoped that his inquiry would some day be repeated before the memory of his methods had faded. Before the depression beginning in 1929 the initiative of certain members of the staff of the London School of Economics, and generous research grants of public spirited people, made possible a *New Survey of London Life and Labour*. It was not easy to arrive at a valid comparison between the extent of poverty shown in the two studies forty years apart. Hence, quick and incisive figures and statements are not possible on the whole, but the authors of the new study show a most interesting fact that "the reduction of the proportion of persons in poverty in the forty years is enormous . . . and there is no doubt that the measurements are approximately comparable."¹²

It is possible that there had been an absolute decrease in the number below the poverty line. It must be kept in mind, however, that the poverty line is a relative matter and probably in the forty years intervening between Booth's original study and the new study it had gradually been rising and that, therefore, the relative proportion below the poverty line, as that was established in the first study, was no greater than the proportion below the present poverty level. The standard of living has been rising as well as the scale of living. Says a recent writer: "On the whole, the urban populations are living on a higher level; in a less degree also the rural populations. Average wages measured in real values are much the same as before the War; but somehow much more is spent on amusements and comforts. The diminished consumption of beer and spirits does not explain the power to spend money in these directions, as, owing to the great rise in price, these drinks take up practically the same percentage of wage income."¹³

¹⁰ *Public Social Services*, Return to House of Commons, No. 12, 1925, p. 5.

¹¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, January, 1935, p. 220.

¹² *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, London, 1932, Vol. III, p. 80.

¹³ Slater, *Poverty and the State, A Study of English Conditions*, New York, 1930, pp. 447-448.

The explanation, thinks this writer, is to be found partially in State provision for dependency, particularly for the aged, and partly in the diminished number of dependents relative to the whole population due to the decrease in the number of children in the total population. While it may be that poverty has diminished, Sir William Beveridge has shown that in the opening decade of this century the economic progress of the working classes in Great Britain suffered a serious check.¹⁴

2. **Poverty in the United States.** In the United States the problem has been attacked in various ways. The methods of Booth and Rowntree have been followed in surveys of districts in large cities and in a few cases in surveys of entire communities. In addition to these surveys, studies on a more extensive scale have been made.

During the closing years of the Nineteenth Century and the opening years of the Twentieth, a great interest was manifested in the extent of poverty and several estimates were made. These estimates vary all the way from 4 per cent by Charles D. Kellogg, Professor Ely and Professor Bushnell to 50 per cent by Professor Parmelee.¹⁵ A more careful study was that reported by Mrs. Louise Boland More, who in 1905 and 1906, made a study of 200 families in Greenwich Village, New York City. She found that only one-fourth lived on the earnings of the father alone; that about one-fourth were in debt at the end of the year, one-fourth had a surplus, and the remainder came out even. Of the 23 families who managed to get along without any outside help, although they had less than \$600 for an average family of four, she found that the expenditures were insufficient to maintain physical efficiency, and that they suffered physically and morally because of their small expenditure.¹⁶

A much more extensive study is that of the Bureau of Labor of the United States which in 1903 published the results of a study of the incomes and expenditures of 25,440 wage earners and other persons who had salaries not above \$1,200. These figures were for the year 1901. The families were distributed over 33 states and lived chiefly in the industrial centers. The total number of persons in these families was 124,108. The average size of family was 4.88; 16.18 per cent of them reported a deficit at the end of the year and not all of the remainder had an adequate income. Of the 11,156 "normal" families—i.e., families having a husband at work, a wife,

¹⁴ *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry*, London, 1930, pp. 382, 383.

¹⁵ Kellogg, *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, New York, 1908, p. 934; Ely, *North American Review*, April, 1891; Hunter, *Poverty*, New York, 1904, p. 21; Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity*, New York, 1908, p. 390; Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, New York, 1916, p. 93.

¹⁶ More, *Wage Earners' Budgets*, New York, 1907, p. 267.

not more than five children (and none over 14 years of age), no dependents, boarders or servants—2,567 were families with an average of 5.31 persons and with an average income of \$827.19 per year. Of these nearly one-fifth had a deficit.¹⁷

Such was the situation at the opening of the century. The War produced tremendous disturbances which had direct consequences, immediate and more remote, upon the welfare of the masses of the people. The immediate effect of the War was to increase wages and prices. These figures show that a large proportion of the workers in unskilled industries at that time probably did not have enough to maintain an adequate standard of living. If these figures gave any indication of the actual situation at that time among the wage-earning classes of this country, the condition was serious indeed.¹⁸

The studies of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., indicated that up to 1919, in terms of dollars, persons having an income above \$2,000 had increased from 4 per cent in 1910 to 14 per cent in 1919, while those having an income of less than \$2,000 decreased from 96 per cent in 1914 to 86 per cent in 1919. In 1918 the Federal income tax returns showed that over one-third (34.28 per cent) of those reporting had incomes between \$1,000 and \$2,000, and received only 14.02 per cent of the national income. Or, put in other words, the most prosperous 5 per cent of the income receivers got 26 per cent of the total, the most prosperous 10 per cent received nearly 35 per cent of the total. On the whole, however, the result of the War was to reduce slightly the inequality in the distribution of the national income.¹⁹ When, however, we take into account the fact that the amount necessary to maintain a family rose from \$825 in New York City in 1907 to \$1,386 in July, 1918, to \$2,262.47 in Washington in 1918, to \$2,243.94

¹⁷ *Eighteenth Annual Report, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, 1903.*

¹⁸ F. H. Streightoff, in his study on the distribution of incomes in the United States, published in 1912, placed the cost of a minimum standard of living in cities of the Northeast and West of the United States at \$650, and for the cities of the South at \$600 yet he says that there are five million industrial workmen who are earning \$600 a year or less in the United States.

Nearing, in a study published in 1911, covering wages in the United States from 1908 to 1910, comes to the conclusion that the average wages in all industries for all employees are from \$500 to \$600 a year. He believes that in view of all the evidence, it is fair to conclude that the adult male wage-earners in the industries of that portion of the United States lying east of the Rockies and north of the Mason and Dixon Line receive an annual wage of about \$600. He says: "Three-fourths of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn less than \$600 a year." As we shall see from other figures to be given in a moment, this was an inadequate wage in view of the cost of living.

¹⁹ Mitchell, King, Macauley, and Kosauth, *Income in the United States*, New York, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 112, 117, 147.

in the bituminous mining towns in 1919, and to \$2,445.65 in Chicago in 1921, we can easily see that a large per cent of the population was on the poverty margin.

Nevertheless, it has been shown that many groups of workers have received a real increase in income. Thus, per capita income in the United States increased from \$318 in 1909 to \$506 in 1918, or reduced to terms of prices in 1913, from \$333 in 1909 to \$372 in 1918, an increase of 11.7 per cent. The National Industrial Conference Board, reporting on 1,678 plants of 23 leading industries, employing 700,000 workers, said that there has been an increase of real wages of 35 per cent between 1914 and 1923.²⁰ Even so, Professor Seager said that even if there were an equal distribution of income, there would be but "a small margin for the normal family above the amount needed to maintain a decent standard of living."²¹

During the depression beginning in 1929 a serious slump in the economic welfare of the people of the United States occurred. The "depression" has revealed a new phase to poverty in the United States; it will be many years before its total effect can be well understood, and yet more years before the peak of its effects has truly subsided. The depression has seen a multiplicity of efforts—from coast to coast—to "do something about it." The early efforts were by private relief agencies, followed by the efforts of various local public agencies such as counties, etc. Later the gravity of the situation, which continued to involve ten to twenty millions of our population, received State attention in an increasing amount, and subsequently Federal aid was called in to help the States.

A number of facts throw some illumination upon what happened. The shrinkage in the number of people who received reportable income under the Federal income tax is one sign of the condition of the times. While the number of individual returns by net income classes from 1923 to 1929 increased in all of \$5,000 and over, the number of individual returns in the net income classes under \$5,000 had decreased in 1930 and 1931. The number of individual returns in all income classes showed a remarkable drop. This shows that from 1923 up to 1929 the number of returns by those who had net incomes under \$3,000 were gradually going up into the classes with larger net incomes. For example, while in 1923 there were 368,502 individual returns with net incomes of under \$1,000, by 1929 the number had decreased to 126,172. In 1923 the number of individuals reporting net incomes of over \$5,000 and less than \$10,000 was 387,842. By 1929 they had increased to 658,039. Similar if not greater increases had occurred in each

²⁰ Burritt, "Preventing Poverty," *The Survey*, April 15, 1925, p. 79.

²¹ Seager, "Income in the United States," *The Survey*, November 19, 1921, p. 27.

of the net income classes above \$10,000. In 1923 the number reporting \$1,000,000 net income numbered 74; in 1929, 513. Since 1929 just the reverse has happened. The numbers reporting net incomes of under \$1,000 has increased, while in every case the number reporting incomes in the higher classes have decreased. For example, in the million dollar and over class the number fell from 513 in 1929 to 77 in 1931. The same thing is shown if the total amount of incomes is considered in each of the income classes by years from 1923 to 1931.²²

Another indication of the terrific increase of those below the poverty line is the enormous growth of the number of people on unemployment relief in this country from 1930 to 1935. With certain fluctuations due to the season of the year and to business fluctuation, the number of people upon relief in this country steadily grew until in January, 1935, a total of 20,652,240 or 17% of the total population was receiving emergency relief besides those who were aided by private agencies and individuals. In spite of an increase in employment under the NRA and in spite of some recovery in certain lines of business, an increasing number of people had to accept relief. Doubtless this means that many people who were able to maintain themselves on accumulated savings or who were able for a time to obtain credit or help from relatives and friends finally had exhausted all their resources and were forced to accept public relief.²³

What proportion of the people of the United States even in ordinary times are in either primary or secondary poverty it is impossible to say. What proportion of the people in the times of depression live below the poverty line it is even more difficult to estimate. However, from every indication we can get it is clear that for the welfare of the country in every period there is much too large a number on the ragged edge. The country cannot afford to underfeed, under-clothe, and under-shelter millions of its people. *If a certain proportion, say a fifth, do not have the bare necessities of life, how many millions more do not have a sufficient income to enable them to make the most of their lives, and rear children to be good citizens? Lack of recreation, a poverty-stricken social life that gives no outlook beyond the bare necessities, no opportunities for those social contacts that ennoble personality, create an aspiration for better things, inspire a sentiment of patriotic devotion to the country, and tend to make a useful citizenry devoted to the great democratic ideals for which America theoretically stands—such conditions are a menace to our institutions.*

²² *The World Almanac*, 1935, p. 302.

²³ *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration*, January 1st through January 31, 1935, p. 3.

THE EXTENT OF DEPENDENCY

Darker in significance, although perhaps less widespread in extent, are the phenomena of dependency. Usually representing an advanced stage of poverty, dependency is the term applied to the condition of those who have not only fallen below the poverty line, but also have become the recipients of aid from charitable organizations or from public funds. It includes the hopeless, chronic pauper who is no longer willing to fight against adverse circumstances but eats his bread at the hands of the public or philanthropic organizations. Pauperism, one might suppose, is more easily measured than poverty, but it is difficult to secure accurate figures covering it.

1. **Pauperism in England.** England makes very much more careful studies of its paupers than does the United States. The central government of the United Kingdom gathers statistics of the number of paupers in institutions and also the number given outdoor relief. In 1907 and 1908, 2½ per cent of the population were daily in receipt of poor relief.²⁴ On January 1, 1913, the rate had fallen to 2.1 per cent of the population. These were in addition to those who were in receipt of Old Age Pensions, who on March 31, 1913, numbered 967,921 or a little more than 2 per cent of the population.²⁵ Thus, the paupers and Old Age Pensioners together at that time constituted over 4 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom. Excluding the insane and idiot poor, the rate was 2.3 per cent of the population. Due to the industrial decline in England following the World War the dependency rate rose rapidly. For example, the number of persons relieved under the Poor Laws in England and Wales rose from 576,418 in 1920 to 1,205,267 in 1925. In addition, nearly 900,000 people were given old age pensions in the latter year. In that year, those on relief and the Old Age Pensioners constituted 3.11 per cent of the population. In addition the Government spent great sums to relieve unemployment, £2,355,010 on work for the unemployed, besides £845,000 advanced to local authorities for unemployment work.²⁶

The world-wide depression following 1930 was associated with a great increase in the number of dependents in England and Wales indicated by the number on relief, the number receiving Old Age Pensions, and the number receiving Widow's Pensions. On January 1, 1934, the total number of

²⁴ British Blue Book on *Public Health and Social Conditions*, 1909, p. 51.

²⁵ Hazell's *Annual*, London, 1914, pp. 429, 430.

²⁶ *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1925, p. 33; *Persons in Receipt of Poor Relief*, Return to the House of Commons, No. 164, 1925; *Estimates for Civil Services for the Year Ending March 31, 1926*, House of Commons No. 35—VIII, 1925, pp. 4 and 5; *Persons in Receipt of Poor Relief*, Return to the House of Commons, No. 164, 1925.

persons, men, women and children, in receipt of poor relief in England and Wales amounted to 3.48 per cent of the population. This number represented an increase of 2 per cent over the corresponding number for the preceding January 1st. In addition to those on poor relief in 1934 in England and Wales there was a total of 1,413,339 old people above the age of seventy who were receiving old age pensions. If this number is added to the 1,402,725 who were on poor relief, about 7 per cent of the population of England and Wales were either on poor relief or old age pensions.²⁷

It is clear, therefore, that the dependency rate for England and Wales in 1934 was higher than ever before in the history of the country, since statistical accounts were kept. The jump from 2 per cent in 1913 to 7 per cent in 1934 shows a remarkable increase in the number for whom public provision for their support was made in England and Wales.

2. **Dependency in America.** In America before the figures furnished by the FERA during the depression beginning in the latter part of 1929 we had no complete figures on dependency from all states. There was no central body in the Federal Government which gathered together from the various states the statistics relating to the number of people relieved.

Early in this century we had some figures from certain investigations that had been made in various cities and of several states of the Union. In the cities these range from 2.8 per cent of the population receiving relief from either public or private sources in Springfield, Illinois in 1912 to 5 per cent in Newburgh, New York. In the states studied, the range was from 2.33 per cent of the population of New York State in 1911 to 3.8 per cent of the estimated population of Indiana on January 1, 1916.²⁸

In contrast with this situation, appears that represented by the figures of FERA in the early part of 1935. At that time 17 per cent of the entire population was in receipt of Emergency Relief in United States.²⁹

A comparison between the poverty and pauperism rates of Great Britain and the United States, even though it is not an accurate comparison, may

²⁷ *Persons in Receipt of Poor Relief* (England & Wales), Return to an Order of the Honorable The House of Commons dated the 25th of June, 1934, No. 35, p. 5; *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*, Cmd. 4801. London, 1935, pp. 76, 77.

²⁸ *Newburgh Survey*, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, 1913, p. 71; McLean, *The Charities of Springfield, Illinois*, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1915, p. 57; *Forty-Fifth Annual Report, State Board of Charities*, Albany, 1912, Vol. I App., p. 190; *Indiana Bulletin of Charities & Correction*, September, 1916, p. 286; Butler, *Indiana: A Century of Progress*, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis, 1916, p. 139; *Annual Report, Board of State Charities of Indiana*, June, 1923, p. 8.

²⁹ *Monthly Reports of the Federal Relief Administration*, March 1, through March 31, 1935, Washington, 1935, p. 2, Table A.

not be unprofitable. It usually has been assumed that the United States has less poverty and pauperism than Great Britain. That assumption is now seen to have had no basis before the War. As we have seen, the pauperism rate in Great Britain was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the population, while in the United States it was about the same.

Since the War the disparity between England and Wales and the United States in the dependency rate up to the depression of 1929 is evident. The 7 per cent of dependents in England and Wales cited above did not include the number of dependents provided for by private agencies. Since the depression set in the advantage seemed to be with England and Wales because of the various forms of social insurance.

THE COST OF PUBLIC DEPENDENCY

Another measure of the importance of the problem of dependency is what it costs the independent members of society to care for these less fortunate ones. Only indicative figures and estimates can be given. These, however, may be helpful in giving us an approximate measure of the burden which dependency entails upon society. If emotional appeals could have solved the problem, it would have ceased to be a problem long ago. Its tragedy for the individual has long aroused humanity's pity. Such appeals have not, however, touched the business sense of the world. Men must be touched in what is said to be their most sensitive spot, the pocket-book, before many of them will give much serious attention to the matter.

No way has yet been found by which the cost of poverty can be estimated accurately. However, some figures on the cost of supporting dependents are available.

1. *Cost in England.* The total expenditure for the support of the poor in England and Wales in 1912 was £14,463,902, or about \$72,310,000. In addition, there was paid out in old age pensions £12,200,000, or about \$61,000,000. These two items, which leave out of account all expenditures for the poor by private organizations, make a total of over \$133,000,000.⁸⁰ To supply this large amount, over a pound sterling had to be levied in taxes for every man, woman and child in England and Wales. Since many of the population are able to pay little if any taxes, it is not hard to see that the burden was no small one upon the taxpayers. From 1900 to 1907 in England and Wales the cost of poor relief averaged one shilling four pence per pound of ratable value of the property of England and Wales, or more than 5 per cent. After the War the cost of public dependents very greatly in-

⁸⁰ Hazell's *Annual*, 1914, pp. 429, 430.

creased in Great Britain. Thus, in 1923, the relief of the poor cost £41,934-437. In addition, old age pensions cost £19,868,603, a total of £61,803,040, or about the equivalent of \$298,508,683, an increase of almost two and a half times that of 1912. In addition to this huge sum England and Wales spent £41,573,058 for unemployment benefits. Since, however, a part of this came from the contributions of the workers themselves, not all of it should be counted in as the expense of the relief of dependents.³¹

Since the world-wide depression set in in England as elsewhere, there has been an enormous increase in the amount of money necessary to keep people from starving. From the following figures it must be kept in mind that the figures on the cost of old age pensions, mother's pensions, and unemployment insurance, include contributions from the beneficiaries. Nevertheless, the increase is very significant. Thus in 1933 England and Wales expended £38,923,852 on poor relief, £28,529,000 on health insurance. In 1934 on old age and mother's pensions, £35,996,000 were spent and £101,609,000 for unemployment insurance. This is a total of £205,057,852. This amounts to about \$1,025,289,260 which is about double the amount spent for the same classes in 1923.

2. *Cost in the United States.* The cost of poor relief in America is very much more difficult to ascertain. A few of the states before the economic crisis of 1929 kept statistics of the amount expended by the public poor relief authorities. There was no nation-wide census of the number relieved or the cost of their care. The economic depression beginning in 1929 in the United States forced for the first time in this country a nation-wide inquiry and accounting as to the number in need of financial assistance and the cost of their support. By the close of 1930 it had become apparent that the private agencies could not carry the burden. States began to provide assistance to the local units and private agencies began to give up the burden of the unemployed to the public agencies. In 1931 the Bureau of the Census sent out inquiries and received returns from cities of over 30,000 population representing 89.2 per cent of the total population of all cities and incorporated places, and 57.4 per cent of the total population of the United States. They supplemented this inquiry from cities by others from county governmental relief agencies. The counties reported comprised 34.2 per cent of the total population of the United States. The total expenditures including cost of administration reported by governmental and privately organized agencies for family relief and for relief to homeless men in the areas for which returns were received increased from \$22,338,144 for the first three months of 1929 (before the crisis) to \$73,757,300 during the first

³¹ *Public Social Services*, Return to House of Commons, No. 12, 1925, p. 5.

three months of 1931. For the cities of over 30,000 population this increase represented an increase of 240 per cent.³²

In 1930, the Federal Children's Bureau attempted to ascertain the expense for various types of family relief in the United States. They attempted to get reports from 345 agencies and 38 participating cities. 319 of these agencies furnished either monthly or annual reports. This material for the year of 1930 enabled the Children's Bureau to estimate that the entire relief bill for the area covered by these 33 cities for 1930 was \$28,000,000. These areas covered an urban population of 15,994,308. Of this amount, 77.4 per cent was for general family relief, 18.8 per cent for mother's aid, and 3.08 per cent for veteran's relief.³³

As the depression continued, the number of people requiring assistance increased. Credit was exhausted, savings disappeared, and in spite of all the efforts made by the New Deal to spread employment there was an increasing number of dependent persons with an increasing cost. Consequently, the Public Emergency Relief funds, comprising Federal funds, State funds and local funds, increased from \$792,763,027 in 1933 to \$1,478,406,446 in 1934. During those two years Federal funds supplied 68.2 per cent, State funds 13.2 per cent and local funds 18.6 per cent.³⁴ In addition to these huge sums private philanthropy in 1934 raised approximately \$71,000,000.³⁵

In addition we should have figures for the support of dependents in institutions of various kinds. As long ago as 1910 the Census Bureau of United States found that the cost of supporting 4,815 different benevolent institutions in this country was \$111,498,155.³⁶ It was estimated that in 1920 the total charity budget for the United States was \$1,700,000,000.³⁷

While these figures give one some vague idea of the amount of the money cost of dependency in the United States both in ordinary times and in times of industrial depression they are at the best only approximations. We have to confess that we do not know how much dependency costs in this country. We know enough, however, to enable us to say that there are vast numbers of people under our present economic system who must be cared for by the taxpayers and philanthropic people of the country. It can further be said

³² *Special Report, Relief Expenditures by Governmental and Private Organizations 1929 and 1931*, Bureau of Census, Washington, 1932, pp. 5, 6.

³³ Steele, *Family Relief, Summary of Expenditures for Relief, General Family Welfare and Relief, Mother's Aid, Veteran's Aid*, separate from Bureau publication No. 209, p. 2.

³⁴ *Information Service*, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Vol. 14, No. 10, May 11, 1935.

³⁵ Art. "Community Chests," *Social Work Year Book*, New York, 1935, p. 82.

³⁶ *Benevolent Institutions*, Bureau of the Census, Washington 1913, p. 16.

³⁷ Paul and Dorothy Douglas, and Carl S. Joslyn, "What Can a Man Afford," *The American Economic Review*, December 1921, Supplement 2, p. 8.

that the economic burden of this cost in all countries where fairly adequate care is given is very large.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Poverty and dependency are twin social evils. They signify lack of adjustment between the people composing a population and the economic and social circumstances in which they live. They indicate that our social machinery has not kept pace with our industrial development and our scientific knowledge. They indicate a gap between wages and the standard of living which society has set up as desirable for all our people. They indicate lack of a certain minimum among the people who do not have the individual qualities necessary to compete successfully in life. Some of this is due to defective stock and the rest to inadequate education and imperfect adjustment to the industrial demands of our day. Moreover, poverty and dependency are enormous drains upon our productive capacity since the great army of our population is living on a scale which does not permit decent living and which denies children the opportunity for proper development. Overcrowded dwellings and inadequate and improper food, the lack of sufficient money to provide the necessary provisions for health lay the foundation for disease, the increase of disabilities which affect productive capacity, good citizenship and happiness. The poverty-stricken congregate in slums where children are denied proper recreation facilities, associate indiscriminately in streets and alleys, form habits of irregularity, dissipation, vice and crime. The poverty-stricken form the great army of those who are on the verge of unemployment, constitute the surplus labor reserve, the members of which can scarcely make a decent living, and furnish the army of tubercular and other diseased members of our society who fill the hospitals and require the services of an army of social service workers to prevent their utter demoralization. Furthermore, the enormous expenditures necessary to prevent further degeneration of those on the verge of dependency require the expenditure of money and of energy and thus constitute a very considerable drain upon the economic and social resources of a community. If we as a people were far-sighted, we should begin to see that the prevention of poverty and dependency is one of the first steps to economic independence and prosperity. The sums we pay for the care of the pauper measures the price of our neglect and constitutes an indictment of our social stupidity. The neglected poor and the demoralized pauper take their toll on the prosperous and happy members of the community both in happiness and in money. We shall some time learn that it pays to stop the progress of demoralization consequent upon inadequate income and improper preparation for the business of life. Perhaps we

shall yet learn that a society which binds up the wounds of the broken, cheers the disheartened, heals the sick, provides conditions in which happy homes may exist, secures proper recreation and associates for children, provides guidance for use in the time of adjustment to life, trains wives and mothers for homemaking, helps young men to be good husbands and fathers and good business men, and inculcates in every possible way the spirit of independence in the population is not sheer folly and visionary idealism, but is hard-headed common sense. Until we learn that, we shall continue to pay the price of our neglect.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Compare the Scope of Rowntree's *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* with Booth's *Life and Labor of the People of London*
2. Review More, *Wage-Earners' Budgets*
3. Extent of Pauperism in Massachusetts, 1918. *Fortieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts*, Part III, pp. 87-91.
4. The Cost of Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1918. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-115.
5. Extent and Cost of Emergency Relief in the U. S. *Monthly Reports of F.E.R.A.*

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Distinguish between primary and secondary poverty.
2. Suggest a program for the cure of primary poverty, of secondary poverty
3. From the discussion in the book select the best figure indicating the amount of poverty in the United States at the present time, in England and Wales.
4. Has poverty increased or decreased (a) in the United States, (b) in England and Wales since the War?
5. Has pauperism increased in the United States since the War (a) in numbers of paupers; (b) in cost of support?
6. Why did pauperism increase in England to a greater extent than in the United States from 1900 to 1929?
7. Why did the number on relief under the FERA increase after recovery began?
8. What are the most important social effects of poverty and pauperism?

PART II
CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

CHAPTER V

HISTORICAL EXPLANATIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

AS WE have pointed out, so long as tribal life continued to be the organization of a people, vast differences in economic status did not exist; in bad times all were poor together. But, after the passing of tribal life, and as soon as individual property became common, poverty naturally became the subject of discussion. Certainly we cannot date the first explanation of individual poverty, but men probably began to speculate on its causes soon after it became common. In the early literature of almost every people are references to personal poverty; when poverty appears in literature, reflections on its causes also appear.

Poverty Sent by God or Gods. Primitive man's explanation of all natural phenomena was in a broad sense religious; his prosperity and his poverty alike were sent by his god or gods. Like every other primitive people, the Hebrews carried over from tribal life these concepts of the close interrelation of sin and suffering, *i.e.*, poverty. Thus the Prophets explained the calamities that befell the Israelites in drouth and pestilence, locusts, blasting and mildew.¹ After they had settled in Canaan, there is evidence of a belief, common to many others, that besides one great tribal god there were different gods for various natural objects and for different vocations; the shepherds had one god, the agriculturists another, and since their god was their own peculiar possession, he must be concerned with their subsistence. This idea was strengthened by the fact that primitive people shared with their occupational god the fruits of their flocks or fields.² The relationship was so intimate, and yet the nature of the god was so uncertain, that any pestilence or crop failure was attributed to either the anger or the pettishness of the god. Hence, when a whole people suffered from lack of food or from disease, it was a certain sign of the displeasure of the tribal deity; while they might not understand why he was displeased, nevertheless it must be because of some fault on their part.

This religious concept was most naturally carried over into the later explanation of individual poverty, where the sinner was thought to be punished

¹ Amos 4:6.

² The "firstlings" and the "first fruits" of Scripture

for his unrighteousness. Familiar examples of this explanation of poverty—as well as of other misfortunes—are to be found in the Bible. The Psalmist reflects this idea, saying, “I have been young and now I am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread.”³ The connection between poverty and dissipation is indicated in, “He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man; he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich.”⁴ Licentiousness as a cause of poverty is indicated in, “For on account of a harlot is a man brought to a piece of bread.”⁵

Poverty Due to Social Injustice. In the course of Hebrew history, eventually it was seen that these were inadequate explanations of poverty. With the growth of social classes, the development of rich and poor, and oppression of the poor by the rich, there grew up with the Prophets the explanation—still religious—that poverty was due to social injustice. It represents a common-sense reflection upon the causes of poverty. Thus, a Hebrew proverb ran, “The rich ruleth over the poor, and the borrower is servant to the lender.”⁶ Consequently, through Hebrew history, concurrent with other explanations and growing more important in the thought of Israel’s teachers, was this important concept.

Poverty Due to Heredity. Very early in social development the foundation was laid for an hereditary explanation of poverty. The solidarity of the tribal group was one basis of the belief that “the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children even to the third and fourth generation.” The belief in heredity as a cause of poverty has continued intermittently all through the period of the Christian Church.

Survival of These Explanations. Even in a more completely developed society, many of these primitive explanations remain, refined, yet essentially the same. Thus, the religious explanation, developing from the ideas rooted in primitive conditions, continues, and sin or unworthiness is still considered by many to be the cause of poverty. Usually, since the birth of natural science, some attempt is made to connect the sin with the violation of some natural law.

On the other hand, the important explanation of poverty as being due to social injustice has also developed with the evolution of society. This concept of the Hebrew Prophets, as many subsequent chapters will show, has its fruit in the economic and social explanation of poverty accepted at the present time.

³ Psalms 37:25.

⁴ Proverbs 21:17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6:26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 22:7.

With the beginning of modern science and the scientific theory of heredity, a new impetus was given to the doctrine that explains poverty on the basis of inheritance. Emphasis was now laid, however, upon the inheritance of certain *defects* as *causes* of poverty. Thus, in the struggle for existence, the weak would be eliminated and the strong would perpetuate themselves. It was assumed that the weak were hereditarily weak and the only way to solve the problem of poverty was to eliminate them.

The modern theory of the relation between hereditary defect and poverty moves chiefly in the direction of a more careful description of *what* is inherited. While modern biologists do not assume in general terms that poverty is inherited, they have put their fingers on certain inheritable characteristics which tend to produce poverty. Their studies of mental defect have gone far enough to make us quite certain that by itself the heredity-theory of poverty is *not* sufficient to explain the problem. Detailed consideration of this comes up in our next chapter.

Later Survivals. Later when the study of poverty was seriously undertaken, various explanations continued to be given. Usually, in the search for the causes of poverty, some person or group pursued a one-sided line of inquiry, or attention was directed to a certain set of facts. Hence, during the past sixty years, in the literature bearing on poverty, several unilateral explanations of the problem have been current. These include some very old, and some newer, explanations and fall under two different heads: fault of the individual himself, and economic maladjustment.

INDIVIDUAL FAULT EXPLAINS POVERTY

Since, in the minds of some, all individual fault is more or less "sin," we must expect that all faults here to be suggested are sins in the mind of one or another person.

1. The individual is poor simply because he is "sinful." This is a continuation of the primitive explanation.

2. The individual is poor, because he is "unworthy," that is, he "does not wish to make an honest living" or "he is inefficient, because of his own fault." This is a modification, in more rational terms, of the first. Probably here should be included "laziness," often cited in explanation in a given case. Like other "causes," it is itself a *result* of conditions either in the heritage or in the environment.

3. Drinking is assigned as the cause of poverty. Early temperance advocates, attempting to use this as the only explanation, claimed that 75 per cent of poverty was due to drink.

4. The drug habit is often cited to explain poverty and pauperism. Such

a habit, however, can be induced by conditions outside the control of the individual. To allege this kind of habit as a cause of poverty is to overlook, by attention to a surface indication of results, conditions which actually account for the habit.

5. The individual is poor, because he is immoral. The tendency in the early discussion of the consequences of immorality was to offer it as a complete explanation of poverty.

In all such explanations there is little satisfaction to the serious student who is looking for objective conditions which explain why people fall into poverty. Hence, while the phrase "causes in the individual himself" has been widely used to head one category of the causes of poverty, in this book such explanations are eschewed as unscientific makeshifts. Back of each failure to achieve independence there are causes in the individual himself which either are inherited or else, arising in his environment, so affect him that he becomes destitute. "Sin," laziness, drinking, drug habits, and immorality are due either to inherited weaknesses, or to domestic, social and politico-economic conditions which affect a person adversely and eventually cause poverty.

ECONOMIC AND BIOLOGICAL MALADJUSTMENTS EXPLAIN POVERTY

The following paragraphs are not presented in chronological or any other order, for the reason that they overlap in time, importance and in other ways, as the reader will discover.

1. One of the early theories of economic maladjustment was offered by Karl Marx, the German Socialist, who, building his economic philosophy partly on Ricardo's "Iron Law of Wages," asserted that the tendency of the present economic system is to retain for the capitalist all but a mere subsistence wage. As one of Marx's interpreters has put it, "Labor is paid for, but not paid." That is to say, while the capitalist is willing to pay the laborer, he is not willing to give him all he produces. Consequently, poverty exists because the wages paid are only those that will enable the most hardy of the workers to subsist.

2. Henry George's theory of poverty was that the rent of land is taken by the land owners. As soon as the good land is all taken up, then land owners can live from the "unearned increment" of the land, while the landless man must sell his labor for what it will bring, and produce enough to keep both the landlord and himself. He advocated as a remedy for this situation the so-called "single tax." He believed that by this means the economic rent of land would be absorbed by the Government and thus there

would be no object in owning land; consequently, there would be land for anyone who wished to use it.

3. The English classical economists made some very important contributions to the theory of poverty, but offered no thoroughgoing explanation. Adam Smith early called attention to the part that the Poor Laws played in causing pauperism. He was followed by practically all of the English economists who, even more clearly than he, saw the evils of the English Poor Laws. Malthus explained poverty as due to the tendency of population to outrun food supply. According to him therefore, poverty is the inevitable result of want of prudence in limiting the size of families.

4. Spencer's explanation of poverty was closely allied to that of Malthus, but was further extended: Population is made up of those fitted by nature to survive in a given situation and of others less fitted; the worst of the latter make up the poverty-stricken and the paupers. According to this theory, the poor are a species of the unfit; they should be let alone, and natural selection will eliminate them as soon as possible; poverty is the result of the action and reaction of natural forces which tend to evolve a type of human being ever more adapted to the circumstances of life.

These Explanations Inadequate. In all these explanations of poverty, doubtless there has been some truth. Without a doubt, sins of certain kinds and human weaknesses, lead to poverty. It is also true that, as economic forces operate under our present system of government and industry, the laborer does not get his just dues. There is truth, also, in Henry George's assertion that because land owners take the increment of rent, which is produced not by their own improvement of the land, but by the growth of population, with an increasing demand for the land's products, people who do not own land are burdened to some degree with the support of the non-working land owners.

These explanations alone, however, are not adequate, because cases occur where even a favored son who is charged with no rent could not make a living on the farm. It is also true that there are poor people even when labor gets its just share of the product.

The Modern Scientific Explanation of Poverty. As the result of serious discussion regarding this question, the conviction has grown that no one explanation of poverty is adequate; each of the factors that make people poor must be taken into consideration. Hereditary physical defects, the varying natural endowments of individuals, environment, over-population, maladjustment of production and distribution, social maladjustments, such as inadequate education, lack of proper hygiene, etc.—all of these must be

included in order to explain poverty. Thus, the modern theory of the causes of poverty has passed beyond any one-sided explanation to a many-sided theory; poverty is a phenomenon much more complex than the earlier theorists imagined.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Religious Explanation of Poverty among the Hebrews. Deut., Chaps. 28-30; The Book of Proverbs.
2. The Single Tax Explanation of the Causes of Poverty. Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, Introduction and Bk. V; Craig, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1897, p. 272.
3. Early Attempts at the Scientific Explanation of Poverty. Lindsay, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1899, p. 369.
4. Malthus' Theory of the Cause of Poverty. *Essay on the Principle of Population*, Bk. IV, Chap. III.
5. The Marxian Theory of Poverty. Marx, *Capital*, Parts IV and VII.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Read Amos 4:6-13, and state the cause of poverty there set forth by the prophet Amos.
2. What conception of the cause of poverty and distress is pictured in Deuteronomy, Chapter 28?
3. What are some of the other important historical explanations of poverty?
4. In what sense is the individual responsible for his poverty?
5. In order to have a complete explanation of all the causes of poverty, what factors must be taken into consideration?
6. Discuss *pro* and *con* Marx's theory of the cause of poverty.

CHAPTER VI

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND HEREDITARY INCAPACITY

WE HAVE already called attention to a number of explanations of poverty and dependency, but we have seen that search for the causes of poverty and the condition surrounding it has led away from the adoption of any one theory as all-sufficient to explain it. While sin, shiftlessness, drink, licentiousness, poor judgment, lack of thrift, etc.—all relative or loose terms—may each account for a certain amount of poverty, no one of them is sufficient to account for all of it.

Attention has been called to the attempt made in the last half-century to ascertain what factors enter into the large numbers of cases of poverty that come to the attention of relief agencies. Even in what may be called normal times these figures give us an indication of surface causes, but serious students of the question cannot be content with the case-counting method. For, back of some of these causes,—as revealed by social workers working with families—lie deeper causes which perhaps cannot be treated statistically as yet, but which are important in the explanation of poverty. These causes must be recognized and understood before the battle against poverty and pauperism can even be started, but it is not necessary absolutely to know what part each plays, before we endeavor to correct the conditions which lead to poverty.

I. INFLUENCE OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

From the time of man's prehistoric origin as *homo sapiens* he has been engaged in the task of overcoming Nature and subduing her to his service. We have a passage in the first chapter of the Bible, describing God's blessing on man: "And God blessed them: and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens and over everything that moveth upon the earth;" this reflects the Hebrew religious concept of the greatness of the conquest already won when that passage was written, with an explanation of how it had been won. From the ages long before that—the dim, prehistoric ages, restored to us only by the scientific imagination working upon chipped flint and painted cave wall, upon ceremonial burial,

and the bones of cave bear and wild horses found in the camping places of paleolithic man in Europe—comes to us evidence of the long and painful struggle of man to subject Nature.

Man has domesticated some of the animals; he has selected and developed for his use some of the plants. In the sciences and arts and in the resulting achievements in manufacturing, transportation, and commerce man has done much.

Yet, with all these triumphs of his cunning and skill, and in spite of the way in which he has begun to organize mankind so that the calamities of Nature shall not fall wholly upon the immediate sufferer, his achievements have not been sufficient to insure that no individual shall suffer from widespread war or economic depression, or from dumb and terrible Nature. The titanic forces which he has harnessed to his service still often burst forth, like only partially tamed wild animals, to maim and destroy. The sky is still often above him as brass; he cannot make it rain; nor when it rains can he stop it. Floods and fire, tornado and lightning, earthquake and pestilence still sweep away man and his works like chaff.

1. **Poor Natural Resources.** In the settlement of different parts of a country, people often have first occupied the poorer, rather than the richer, agricultural lands nearby. Sometimes it has been the influence of a sheltering forest or a spring or a river that led them to such a choice. Then, with the development of a country and the appropriation of the best land, it becomes necessary for later settlers to occupy less desirable land on the margin of cultivation. In either case, the occupant of the marginal land—land that produces very little more, and sometimes less, than enough to pay for the labor expended upon it—is poor in comparison with his more fortunate neighbors. He may, by engaging in truck gardening or dairying rather than extensive farming, be able to make his land produce as good an income as his more favored neighbors. However, upon this poor land men settle who are unable to use it efficiently; consequently they are in poverty. They live on the margin of subsistence as truly as the poorly paid wage worker in a city; if any disaster comes, they drop into the dependent class.

Often this factor of poor land is complicated by poor judgment on the part of the occupant. Sometimes it is poor judgment that leads him to choose this land for his home. Sometimes it is merely uninstructed judgment, and he is won by the artifices of the real estate agent. Not understanding the value of land, and sometimes lacking the native ability to learn how to use such land, he goes on from year to year with a precarious existence that may be termed poverty-stricken, and sickness or old age may pauperize him eventually.

2. Adverse Climate. As influential as the soil, on the economic welfare of humanity, is climate. Because of characteristic cold, too much rain, exceeding drouth, or intense heat, an inhospitable climate may cause low vitality in its inhabitants. Such climates will not mature good crops. It may be so dry, or so cold, as in certain parts of Alaska and Canada, Northern Asia, and Northern Europe, as seriously to prevent successful farming. In such countries hunting, fishing and mining must take the place of other industries suited only to a temperate climate. Certain people cannot stand such a climate; sickness ensues, sometimes death. In either case, the population is often reduced to poverty if not to pauperism.

On the other hand, a climate may be so warm and moist as to enervate the inhabitants and cause them to lose their habits of industry, if they ever had such, and to live from hand to mouth without proper regard for times of need. In various places where Nature has been very prolific with her gifts, we find some of the most poverty-stricken people in the world.

Over long periods of time, changes in climate have affected whole peoples. Ellsworth Huntington, in his book on *Civilization and Climate*, has endeavored to explain the decay of important civilizations in Western Asia as due to the gradual desiccation of those regions.¹ Whole populations were forced gradually to leave their homes and migrate into other parts of the earth. These changes, he believes, gave rise to the great historic migrations from Central and Western Asia into Europe.² In any event they often produce serious destitution.

3. Adverse Weather. In our country we know that people can be reduced to poverty by adverse weather, especially is this true when weather is bad for two or three consecutive years. In parts of our Central West, now and again the prospect for a fine crop is blasted by two or three days of hot winds, which dry out the ground and shrivel the corn and wheat. Elsewhere a frost destroys a truck-garden or fruit crop which promised thousands of dollars to the producers; again it is a matter of too light or too heavy precipitation, especially as to rains during the growing season; again, hail causes crop destruction. Such crop failures, due to adverse weather, characterize every agricultural country on earth.

Adverse weather conditions not only destroy the crops of the farmer and reduce him to poverty, but they affect those who are dependent upon the farmer's crops for their livelihood, such as the buyers who handle his grain and those who sell him his goods. Once very common in the United States

¹ Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, New Haven, 1915

² It is possible that they also account for the migration of prehistoric man from Asia into Europe.

was the sight of the settler returning to his old home—with all that he had in a covered wagon—because of a crop failure due to the exigencies of the season. In spite of dry-farming methods and drouth insurance, this condition is still a real possibility.

4. *Insect Pests, etc.* Another factor in the natural environment, destructive of economic independence, is the pests which destroy crops or other natural resources. The cotton boll weevil, for example, has forced some cotton-raisers into bankruptcy. The army worm, on occasion, has caused the destruction of the farmers' crops. For years settlers in Kansas and Nebraska were brought to poverty by the grasshoppers. Wheat smut and rust, the Hessian fly, and other enemies of the farmers' crops, have brought many a poor man who was struggling for a living, to dependency. The fish diseases have much the same effect upon the lot of fishermen. Animal diseases affect very appreciably the economic welfare of the farmer in the dairy and stock business. Many young farmers have lost not only their homes, but their small capital, because of an epidemic of hog cholera. Tuberculosis in a dairy herd, until the state came to insure against tuberculosis in cattle, brought some dairymen to bankruptcy.

5. *Disasters.* Everyone is familiar with the disasters due to floods, fires, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tornadoes, ocean and lake storms, etc. From time immemorial those who have gone down into the sea in ships have had their families made dependent upon neighbors and friends by the storm that wrecked the vessel, and drowned the supporter of the family. Floods like those which occur in the Mississippi Valley, and the valleys of its tributaries, cause the loss of enormous amounts of property and necessitate relief measures not only for the supply of immediate necessities, but often also for the continued relief of those who have lost their property by the flood. In wooded districts forest fires destroy homes and entire towns and villages. Volcanic eruptions overwhelm cities and even whole districts, killing thousands of people and rendering homeless and propertyless thousands of others. Every summer in the Mississippi Valley tornadoes sweep away property worth millions of dollars. In 1924 tornadoes caused an estimated loss of \$29,875,000 in the United States. Every year crafts on the Great Lakes and ocean-going vessels are destroyed by storms. Those who lose their lives often leave utterly helpless and dependent families. It is apparent that in these disasters we have a cause of poverty and pauperism the extent of which has not yet been carefully estimated.³

³ For the best book on the subject see Deacon, *Disasters*, New York, 1918. It discusses the various types of disaster, describes how the distress was met in typical cases and formulates principles of help and methods of organization for the relief of the sufferers.

6. **Illness and Diseases.** The diseases, chiefly bacterial in origin, to which mankind is subject, constitute another adverse factor in the natural environment. They cause sickness, unemployment, incapacity and often the death of the worker, entailing large expenses for doctors' bills and burials. Investigations by charity organization societies in various parts of this country show that from 40 to 75 per cent of the cases come to the organization immediately because of sickness.⁴ In these cases illness was the last straw that broke the camel's back. It has been estimated that the loss to the United States from preventable illness amounts to \$2,000,000,000 per year.

Just what weight to allow these external factors of the physical environment it is impossible to say. They vary from place to place in any country, from occupation to occupation, and with the concurrence of other factors in the network of causation. Their importance varies also with the development of insurance and sanitation, safety devices and organizations for the protection of the health and safety of people. In the absence of data showing their statistical importance, we may say that common observation indicates that they play a considerable part in causing poverty and pauperism.

II. HEREDITARY FACTORS

No less important, perhaps, but more subject to man's control, are the hereditary factors which cause incapacity resulting in poverty. Most of what we are potentially, depends upon the capacity we inherit. With every child born there comes a heritage of abilities and incapacities which form the groundwork on which a life is built. On that foundation may be reared the achievement which makes a rich and useful personality. But inherited weaknesses and tendencies to weakness may, in spite of all that can be done by society, render the individual incapable of the success possible to one of a better heritage. Enough studies have been made to prove that certain mental traits are hereditary.

Francis Galton in his studies of the influence of heredity on men of genius, and F. A. Woods, in his study of royalty, have shown that achievement runs in families.⁵ In discussing the general results of his investigations of hereditary genius, Galton observes: "The general uniformity in the distribution of ability among kinsmen in the different groups is strikingly manifest. The eminent sons are almost invariably more numerous than the eminent

⁴ See Table at end of Chapter IX and Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, New York, 1909, p. 54.

⁵ Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, New York, 1871, especially Chap. XIX; *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, London, 1883 and 1907; F. A. Woods, *Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty*, New York, 1906.

brothers, and these are a trifle more numerous than the eminent fathers. On proceeding further down the table, we come to sudden dropping off of the numbers at the second grade of kinship, namely, at the grandfathers, uncles, nephews, and grandsons. . . ." He concludes, "There cannot, therefore, remain a doubt as to the existence of a law of distribution of ability in families."⁶

Physical Inheritance. Remarking upon these observations of Galton, Thomson, the biologist, says: "The great generalization known as Galton's Law of Ancestral Inheritance, according to which inheritances are on the average made up of a half from the two parents, a quarter from the four grandparents, an eighth from the great-grandparents, and so on, may require some adjustment as regards the precise fractions, and in relation to cases of inter-crossing, but the general fact seems to have been well established, and it is eloquent. Taking it along with Professor Karl Pearson's evidence that the inheritance of psychical characters can be formulated like that of physical characters, we are in a better position to understand what is called 'social solidarity' and 'social inertia.' We are able to realize more vividly how the past has a living hand on and in the present, even to feel, perhaps, that there is a danger of fallacy in insisting too much on either past or future, when we have to deal with the continuous stream of life. Mr. Galton's generalization makes reversions, survivals, recapitulations, and the like, more intelligible." He adds, "Now, the differences in hereditary endowment—of strength or intelligence, of stature or longevity, of fertility or social disposition—have a certain regularity of distribution, so far as we can measure them at all."⁷

Mental Inheritance. Woods, in his study of inheritance in royalty, found that parents and offspring show a higher coefficient of correlation of mental ability than even Galton's Law would lead one to expect. In order to test whether this similarity is due to heredity, or to the influence of similar environments, he correlated the mental ability of grandparents and their grandchildren. He says: "These give a correlation coefficient of $r = .1528 \pm .0332$. This is much higher than the theoretical $r = .0750$. Here for the first time we are able to observe the intellectual achievements of two groups of human beings who lived about a century apart from each other, usually in other surroundings, and frequently in parts of Europe quite remote from each other, yet who *are* associated with each other in one point, and that blood connection."⁸

⁶ Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, p. 318.

⁷ Thomson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, pp. 522, 523.

⁸ F. A. Woods, *Heredity in Royalty*, New York, 1906, p. 277.

Certainly these studies, together with those of Karl Pearson (of the Galton Laboratory in London) do show that *ability* is inherited in a remarkable manner. Is lack of ability (or capacity) for the important work of life also inherited? From all the evidence at hand now from the study of defectives of one kind or another, it seems that the answer is "Yes." It is not held that all incapacity or defect of either physical or mental nature is inherited, but that some of it is inherited. The rest is due to prenatal, or later environment.

Degenerate Families. Studies of degenerate pauper families when first made confined themselves quite closely to pointing out that the characters of the progenitors were such-and-such, and that just so many of their descendants had such-and-such, similar characters. One of the first studies, which attracted wide attention both in this country and in Europe, was of the now well-known Juke family, by Dugdale, published in 1877. This study, while vitiated in some of its conclusions by the assumption that poverty and crime are inherited as such, brings out very strikingly that in the Juke family there was a weakness which was handed down in ever-increasing proportions when inbreeding occurred, and which led to a corresponding increase of pauperism. With this hereditary weakness went the diseases entailed by vicious lives, and increasing dependency."

Discussing his findings in the Juke family, Dugdale says, "Comparing by sexes the almshouse relief of the State at large with that of the 'Jukes,' we find seven and a half times more pauperism among their women than among the average of women for the State, among their men nine times more, while the average for both sexes of the 'Juke' and X blood (*i.e.*, outsiders with whom the Jukes intermarried) together gives six and three-quarters times more paupers than the average for the State."⁹

In 1892, Charles Booth published his studies of pauperism in London under the title of *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*. In these studies, made on the basis of records of the relieving officers of various poor-law unions in London, Booth gives a number of stories of the cases which had been relieved over a period of years. One chapter is entitled "Stories of Stepney Pauperism." These stories, taken from the facts in the case records of the Stepney Union Workhouse and allied institutions, reveal the interrelation of bad surrounding social conditions and bad heredity. Story after story shows how the tendency to laziness, immorality, irregular employment, drunkenness, and sickness—with resulting recourse to the public poor relief authorities—runs in certain families. Incapacity runs like a thread from

⁹ Dugdale, *The Jukes*, New York, 1910, pp 28-39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

father to son, or daughter, and on down the line, as well as in the kinship.¹¹

In various parts of the world, other families studied—such as the Zeros in Switzerland, the Tribe of Ishmael in Indiana, the Smoky Pilgrims in Kansas, and the Hill Folk and the Nam Family studied by Davenport—show how incapacity runs from generation to generation. Of the Hill Folk, one of the more recent of these studies, Davenport and Danielson say: "We are dealing with a rural community such as can be found in nearly, if not quite, every county in the older states of the Union, in which nearly all of the people belong to the vague class of the 'feeble-minded'—the incapable. The individuals vary much in capacity, a result which follows from the complexity of their germ plasm. Some have capacities that can be developed under proper conditions, but for many more even the best of environmental conditions can do little."¹²

Miss Danielson studied the number and expense for the relief of the Hill people in this town for two decades. She says, "In the first decade 9.3 per cent of the town's bill for paupers was paid for the Hill families. In the second decade 29.1 per cent of the total bill was paid for the same families or their descendants. During the thirty years covered by these decades, the total aid given to paupers increased 69.4 per cent, but that given to the Hill families increased 430 per cent."¹³

In another study of a degenerate rural community, called the Nam Family, in New York State, Davenport and Estabrook investigated 1,795 persons in the kindred. They studied the trait of indolence in this group. They say concerning the results of this study, "Our data afford us a number of families where both parents are indolent, others where both are industrious. We have tabulated the fraternities, 30 in number, derived from two industrious

¹¹ See, for example, Booth's story of the now famous Rooney family. This is only one of almost a score of families of similar history in debauchery, drunkenness, and pauperism. Booth, *Pauperism*, pp. 14-15.

¹² Miss Danielson says of this study, "The following report is the result of an investigation of two family trees in a small Massachusetts town. It aims to show how much crime, misery and expense may result from the union of two defective individuals—how a large number of the present court frequenters, paupers and town nuisances are connected by a significant network of relationship." She adds, "Into the corner of this attractive town there came, about 1800, a shiftless basket maker. About the same time an Englishman, also from the western hills, bought a small farm in the least fertile part of the town. The progeny of these two men, old Neil Rasp, and the Englishman, Nuke, have sifted through the town and beyond it. Everywhere they have made desolate, alcoholic homes which have furnished the state wards for over fifty years, and have required town aid for a longer time." Davenport and Danielson, *The Hill Folk*, 1910, pp. 1, 5, 14, 15.

¹³ Davenport and Danielson, *The Hill Folk*, 1910, p. 1.

parents, without regard to grandparents. Of a total of 82 known children from such matings, 73, or 90 per cent, are industrious. When, on the other hand, both parents are indolent, no regard being had to grandparents, then out of a total of 34 known children, 26 are unindustrious, or 76.5 per cent."¹⁴

In order to ascertain whether these Nams were what they were because of their blood or because of their environment, a study was made of a branch of the family which migrated to Minnesota at an early day and has lived there ever since. The authors of this study conclude as follows on this question:

What, then, has been the effect of the changed environment on these individuals? Do the individuals and their offspring, reared in a new and better environment, resemble their parents and show the characteristics of the blood? Or has a new and better environment such as exists in this county in Minnesota (where an equal chance was given to all) improved their condition? . . . The same mental traits which characterize the Nams in New York State are reported in the new home of the Minnesota Nams independently by a reputable physician and also by a field worker. Yet those who migrated were of more ambitious make-up than those who stayed behind. The data in regard to those who were born and reared in an entirely different environment from that in which their parents were born, seem to show that it is the inherent mental traits present in the germ-plasm which plays a dominant part in determining the behavior and reactions of the individual.¹⁵

Another family of hereditary defectives has been studied by Dr. H. H. Goddard, of the Vineland Training School for the Feeble-minded, at Vineland, New Jersey. The facts are these: Martin Kalikak, Sr., a member of a good family, just before he came of age joined one of the companies of volunteers in the Revolutionary Army near New York City. While the company was stationed at a place near that city, he met at a tavern a feeble-minded girl and by her had a feeble-minded child, who is known as Martin Kalikak, Jr. After the close of the War, Martin Sr. returned to his home and there married a respectable Quaker girl and by her had a family, whose descendants have been traced as well as the descendants of his illegitimate son, Martin Jr. All the children on the legitimate side of Martin Sr.'s line married into respectable families. On this side Goddard says, "Indeed, in this family and its collateral branches, we find nothing but good representative citizenship. There are doctors, lawyers, judges, educators, traders, landholders; in short, respectable citizens, men and women prominent in every phase of social life. They have scattered over the United States and are prominent in their communities wherever they have gone. Half a dozen towns in New Jersey are named from the families into which Martin's descendants have married. There have been no feeble-minded among them;

¹⁴ Davenport and Estabrook, *The Nam Family*, Cold Spring Harbor, 1912, pp. 66, 67.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 84.

no illegitimate children; no immoral women; only one man was sexually loose. There has been no epilepsy, no criminals, no keepers of houses of prostitution. Only 15 children have died in infancy. There has been one 'insane,' a case of religious mania, perhaps inherited, but not from the Kalikak side. The appetite for strong drink has been present here and there in this family from the beginning. It was in Martin Sr. and was cultivated at a time when such practices were common everywhere. But while the other branch of the family has had 24 victims of habitual drunkenness, this side scores only two." From the feeble-minded illegitimate son, Martin Kalikak, Jr., have come 480 descendants; 143 of them were undoubtedly feeble-minded, and only 46 have been found to be normal, the rest being unknown or doubtful. Of the 480 descendants, 36 have been illegitimate, 33 sexually immoral, mostly prostitutes, 24 confirmed alcoholics, 3 epileptic, 82 died in infancy, 3 criminals, 8 keepers of houses of ill-fame.¹⁰

Goddard's treatment of this case has been rather severely criticized. It has been pointed out that no mental tests were made in this study. Furthermore, the sample was not complete on either side of the heritage. Goddard's theory is that those with good capacity seek the favorable environment and the mentally defective seek the poor environment. On the basis of this study, however, it cannot be determined whether that presumption is correct or not. Furthermore, no careful check was made on the differences between the environment of the Kalikak descendants and the descendants of the Quaker woman. Nevertheless, it is probable that while one cannot determine the mathematical proportion of these socially degenerate among the Kalikaks which is due to heredity and the proportion due to circumstances under which they live, it is certain that heredity has considerable to do with the dependency of this large class of degenerates.

Similar testimony is borne by other workers in this field of the inheritability of certain defects which make for incapacity. Thus, Rogers and Merrill in a study of the inhabitants of a certain remote valley among the hills of a district in Minnesota say, "It is not the idiot nor, to any great extent, the low grade imbecile, who is dangerous to society. In his own deplorable condition and its customarily accompanying stigmata, he is sufficiently anti-social to protect both himself and society from the results of that condition. But from the high-grade feeble-minded, the morons, are recruited the ne'er-do-wells, who, lacking the initiative and stick-to-it-iveness of energy and ambition, drift from failure to failure, spending a winter in the poorhouse, moving from shack to hovel and succeeding only in the reproduction of ill-

¹⁰ Goddard. *The Kalikak Family*, New York. 1912, pp.¹ 29, 30

nurtured, ill-kempt gutter brats to carry on the family traditions of dirt, disease and degeneracy."¹⁷

These studies indicate the strong probability that inheritance plays some part in the causation of poverty and pauperism. Whether incapacity is the result of the presence of an inhibitor carried over from parent to child in the germ plasm, or whether it is the result of the absence in the germ plasm of a determiner or determiners which produce industry and thrift, may still be the subject of debate. The fact that incapacity in the parents does sometimes carry over to the children is the important fact for us.¹⁸

Classes of Inheritable Incapacity Which Affect Poverty and Pauperism. The incapacity inherited from parents is not all of the same degree. Mental defect, of the degree which produces idiocy, in most cases renders the individual incapable of even the simplest care of himself. Many low-grade imbeciles are unable to do much work. The high-grade imbeciles, however, are able to work under supervision, but are not able to manage their affairs independently. The highest grade of mental defectives, the so-called morons, are often capable of making a fair living, if they are in surroundings where they have the advice and direction of capable people. Inherited physical incapacity also renders one unable to make a living. We may, for our purpose, divide the incapable into three different classes:

1. The hereditarily incapable who is unable to make a living because of his incapacity to do certain kinds of work, or a distaste for certain kinds of work, or some bodily weakness which renders him incapable of working at certain kinds of tasks. For example, some people are born with no capacity to run machinery. If they attempt to run machinery, they break it and are constantly in trouble with it. They cannot hold jobs long, where machinery is involved. Again, certain people are born with a positive distaste for certain kinds of work. If their distaste is manifested toward the more highly skilled kinds of labor, inevitably the individual's range of occupations is narrowed, and he must enter a field with a large number of competitors. Or bodily or mental weakness, certain defects, and some diseases like chorea and epilepsy, which may be inherited, may destroy an individual's efficiency, not only in the skilled trades and professions, but even for ordinary labor.

2. Another class of hereditary incapacity is a predisposition to certain

¹⁷ Rogers and Merrill, *Dwellers in the Vale of Siddem*, Boston, 1919.

¹⁸ For a brief but easily understood explanation of the mechanism by which a trait is inherited by a child from parents see Guver, *Being Well-Born*, Indianapolis, 1927. Thomson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, goes into the matter much more thoroughly, and has an unusually good chapter on the sociological bearings of biological findings, Chap. XIV, entitled "Social Aspects of Biological Results." See also Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, New York, 1930, Chapter 15.

diseases which unfit one for making a livelihood, or reduce one to dependency, such being a predisposition to tuberculosis, to insanity, and to neuroses of various kinds. These diseases are not inherited, but a predisposition to them, or lack of immunity from them, seems to be inherited. On this point Thomson says: "From the biologist's point of view, diseases are of two sorts: (1) They are abnormal or deranged processes, which have their roots in germinal peculiarities or defects (*variations*, to start with), which express themselves in the body to a greater or less degree according to the conditions of nurture; or (2) they are abnormal or deranged processes which have been directly induced in the body by acquired *modifications*; i.e., as the result of unnatural surroundings or habits, including the intrusion of parasites. Often, moreover, an inborn predisposition to some deranged function may be exaggerated by extrinsic stimuli, as in the case of gout, or when a phthisical tendency is aggravated by the intrusion and multiplication of the tubercle bacillus. That is to say, deranged processes which are primarily due to germinal variation often afford opportunity for equally serious disturbances which must be referred to as exogenous modifications. A rheumatic tendency may be fatally aggravated by inappropriate nutrition."¹⁹

In particular cases of these diseases, it is impossible to say whether heredity or external conditions are the more important, because we do not know the family histories of those attacked. It is quite possible that tuberculosis attacks people who do not have special predisposition to the disease, but who live under conditions so bad that the tubercle bacillus finds no resistance in their organisms. On the other hand, with epilepsy, it is probable that a larger per cent of those who are attacked by this disease have a tendency to it. The same is true of chorea and insanity, and perhaps also of the various neuroses. Under favorable conditions many of these innate tendencies will not manifest themselves in an outbreak of the disease; incapacity under those conditions will not appear.

What proportion of these diseases is due to inheritance, has not been definitely measured. Some of them, like tuberculosis, often result from poor nutrition, over-fatigue, and other conditions which devitalize the body. It is probable that the war-neuroses manifested themselves only because of the excessive strain that war threw upon the men's organisms. It is possible that diseases like epilepsy and chorea seldom, if ever, manifest themselves because of external circumstances apart from a defective germ plasm.

3. A third class of hereditary incapacity is due to the inheritance of a definite defect so pronounced in character that the individual cannot support himself in the competitive struggle of life. Such an inheritable defect is

¹⁹ Thomson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, pp. 252, 258.

mental defect, or feeble-mindedness. Varying as it does from idiocy to a slight mental defect shown in the high-grade moron, with an intellect of not more than twelve years of age, it is inherited in about half of the cases. The other half is due to diseases affecting the unborn infant, accidents at birth, or post-natal diseases preventing the normal development of the brain.²⁰

Extent of Pauperism Due to Mental Defect. In recent years studies have been made to ascertain the proportion of pauperism which is due to mental defect. Mr. Amos W. Butler, Secretary of the Board of State Charities in Indiana, says that 26.9 per cent of the paupers in the poor asylums of Indiana are feeble-minded, while 43 per cent of them are either feeble-minded, insane, or epileptic.²¹

Professor Elwood, of the University of Missouri, found that nearly half the almshouse population in that State was mentally defective. In a study made of the almshouse population of Iowa in 1911, the author found that 57.7 per cent of the inmates were defective in some way, while 21.1 per cent were distinctly feeble-minded. Therefore, we can probably say that 25 per cent of the almshouse paupers are mentally defective in one way or another.²²

The recipients of outdoor relief show a smaller percentage of defect. In 5,000 cases from the Charity Organization Society of New York City, studied by Dr. Devine, 5 per cent were found affected with mental disease, defect, or deficiency.²³

In a study of the outdoor relief in Newburgh, N. Y., 4 per cent of the recipients were found to be feeble-minded.

Summarizing this point, I venture to quote what I have said in another connection: "We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we estimate that 25 per cent of the cost of supporting the poor in almshouses is due to feeble-mindedness and that 10 per cent of the cost of public outdoor relief is due to the same factor. Perhaps 5 per cent of the pauperism met by private organizations is due to feeble-mindedness."²⁴ While these figures are only indicative, perhaps they suggest that inherited incapacity is a factor of poverty and pauperism to an extent which the public has not yet appreciated.

Very recent developments go to fix the belief that personality as a whole is due to heredity and environment; that *heredity especially influences the physical man*, while *environment particularly shapes character* (the psychico-social man), but the two interact, influencing each other's growth in the

²⁰ Guyer, *Bring Well-Born*, Indianapolis, 1927, pp. 345, 346; Rogers and Merrill, *Dwellers in the Vale of Siddem*, Boston, 1916, pp. 11, 12.

²¹ *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, pp. 358, 359.

²² *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 42, 43.

²³ Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, p. 207.

²⁴ Gillin, *Some Aspects of Feeble-Mindedness in Wisconsin*, Madison, 1918, p. 16.

shaping of the whole man or woman; that both the physical and psychic sides develop in accordance with an endocrine gland inheritance, plus a growth based upon that inheritance; finally, that personality, thus governed to a very considerable extent by endocrine conditions, eventuates as effective or ineffective, self-supporting or pauper, law-abiding or criminal, not in clear-cut categories, but merely to a greater or lesser degree.

Usually heredity and environment are hopelessly entwined, as where the children in a family are raised by their parents, possibly in close relationship with several grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. On the other hand, where one completely orphaned child is raised by non-relatives as an adopted, or as a foster child—or where an illegitimate child or a foundling is raised by utter strangers—we may believe that heredity is not re-enforced by, shall we say, its own environment. In the first it is quite impossible to disentangle heredity and environment; in the second it should be less difficult. It would almost appear that where heredity and also environment are from the same family, there is a condition probably analogous to the conditions attendant upon line breeding; the offspring stand to get a double dose of certain influences from virtually a single source.²⁵

Personality, then—tending to give types which are self-supporting or pauper, social or anti-social (i.e., criminal) etc.—is, we believe, a direct result of hereditary endowments, both physical and psychic; these are followed by a development induced by heredity and fostered by environment. For the first six or eight years of a child's life, environment is mostly a matter of home, though some children never have any home life, in the sense of a sheltering home; after that, environment is—as the case may be—a matter of home plus community, the latter an ever-increasing influence for most people.

Our contention is, not that every feature and phase of a human life is determined in advance by heredity, and later held (or not held) by environment to a growth in that heredity, but that much evidence points to this conclusion: many, if not most, human characteristics are to a certain but unknown proportionate extent influenced by hereditary and environmental forces, usually a tangled skein of delicate but powerful urges, which some persons regard as Fate or God.

It is probable that if we used the knowledge of heredity now available with respect to human beings we could prevent much of the poverty and dependency now existing. It would not solve the entire problem by any means.

²⁵ See Freeman, Holzinger and Mitchell, "The Influence of Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement and Conduct of "Foster Children," *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, pp. 103-117.

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It would affect only that part of it which is due to native incapacity to meet successfully the difficulties of our highly organized society. It would not touch that part of the incapacity which is due to other factors than heredity. With the knowledge that we have at present, attacking the hereditary causes of poverty will only help in the program of prevention. Whether that attack be made by means of segregation in order to prevent reproduction of defective strains, or by sterilization, the attack ought to be made in order to reduce the problem by that much. So far as we can see with our present knowledge this attack must be coupled with an attack upon the social and economic factors which have such direct bearings upon the way in which inheritance expresses itself in social life.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

- 1 The Relation of Physical Conditions to Poverty Buckle, quoted in Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress*, pp. 174-213
2. Disease and Pauperism. Folks, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1903, pp. 334 ff., Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, Chap. II.
3. Losses Due to Pests and Animal Diseases *Report, National Conservation Commission*, Senate Document No. 676 60th Congress, 2d session, Washington, 1909, Vol. I pp. 81-82, Vol. III pp. 301-316 341
4. Drouth and the Corn-Crop *Ibid*, Vol. III p. 227
5. Damage from Forest Fires *Ibid*, Vol. II p. 394
6. Heredity and Human Capacity Jennings *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, Chapters 6-9, Warner, *American Charities*, 3d ed., Chap. V
7. How to Deal with Disasters Deacon, *Disasters*
- 8 Heredity and Nervous Diseases Guver *Being Well-Born*, Chap. 19.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Point out the part played in the case of John Thomas (Chap. X) by the physical environment in reducing his family from independence to dependency.
2. What measures is society taking to prevent the operation of these external factors which operate to reduce to poverty?
3. If poverty and pauperism cannot be inherited biologically, in what sense do hereditary factors produce dependency?
4. In our hope that unfit members of society will be eliminated by the forces of natural selection, why can we not allow them to remain undisturbed?
5. What three classes of inheritable incapacity affect poverty and dependency? In what ways do they operate?
6. What proportion of pauperism is due to inherited defect?
7. What measures is society taking to prevent the poverty and pauperism due to inherited defects?

CHAPTER VII

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

FAR more important than physical environment or hereditary influences are socio-economic factors, some of which affect the income, others the expenditure, and still others the distribution of wealth, and the relations between population and the economic and social organization.

III. FACTORS AFFECTING THE INCOME

Unless there is a proper income so that a decent standard of living can be maintained, poverty is sure to ensue. Anything which affects the income inevitably has a bearing upon the welfare of the family. The influences which affect the income may be classified as those connected with the individual himself, such as incapacity or disability, and those which are due to economic conditions resulting in an income too small for family welfare.

1. Adverse Surroundings of Children. The causes of poverty and pauperism go further back than the circumstances which surround the working adult population of a country. Many of these adults are what they are partly because of conditions which surrounded them in childhood. Some of those without the physical stamina to withstand the strain of industry are weak and unfitted because of heredity, as we have seen. Some of them with good heredity are incapable because of bad environment. Adverse circumstances—pre-natal, natal and post-natal—explain in some measure their inability to fight the battle of life successfully. What are these conditions?

Inadequate living conditions set up a train of circumstances which often sap the vitality of the mother and developing child. In the next generation the child now developed into the adult is incapable of withstanding the strain of life. He is unable to make a living such as will insure his children a good physique and the vigor necessary to make a success of life.

In addition, the inadequate home is most often the ignorant home; modern science and skill are not available or are not used in providing the conditions which, before, at, and after birth will give the child the best possible chance in life. Under-nourishment, before and after birth, is often joined

with ignorance in the responsibility for weakness or defect due to accident at birth or neglect after birth.

In the birth-registration area of the United States, 46 per cent of the infant deaths occur during the first month of life. Either the conditions before birth or at birth, or immediately following birth, must have been very bad to cause this enormous loss. Miss Julia Lathrop says that "many of these children fail to survive because of conditions antedating birth."¹

What are some of the conditions which cause this enormous loss of life in the first month after birth? Lack of proper care of the mother during pregnancy without a doubt accounts for much. The Children's Bureau has made studies that throw light upon conditions which endanger infant development. A study made by the Children's Bureau in Manchester, N. H., shows that infant mortality rates decrease as housing conditions improve; for example, where the rent paid was less than \$7.50 a month, the rate was 211.4, or more than twice that in the registration areas of the United States in 1915. In the homes where the rent was from \$7.50 up to \$12.49 per month, the rate of infant mortality was 172.1, while when the rent was from \$12.50 to \$17.49, the infant mortality rate was only 156.7.

Over-crowding in the houses has a very direct relation to infant mortality. At Manchester the rate was 123.3 where the average was less than one to a room, 178.8 where the average was between one and two to a room, and 261.7 where the average number of occupants was between two and three. The mortality rate for infants is higher among the babies of wage-earning women than among others in the ratio of 188 to 117.6, as shown by the investigation of the Children's Bureau at Johnstown, Penn.²

If these conditions affect adversely the infant's welfare in the first month of life, it is also probable that the same conditions have an adverse effect upon the children who survive.

2. **Death or Disability of the Earner—Man or Woman.** The factors which cause death or disability are in part to be found in the home and neighborhood, and in part in the establishment in which the bread-earner makes his living. Here consider the home and neighborhood causes.

(a) *Aside from Industry.* In the home of a humble but independent worker, the death of the earner may be the beginning of poverty. The ordinary causes of death—disease, accident, and old age—operate in the families of workers as well as throughout the whole population. In humble homes, where the sole income is the earning of a single wage-earner, the death of

¹ Reprint from *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1919, pp. 270-274.

² "Income and Infant Mortality," *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1919, pp. 270-274.

that person, whether man or woman, is sure to shake or even break the financial security of that home. Upon such a death, the family often has to undergo a complete reorganization, frequently over some months or years; possibly a new wage-earner can be brought forward, maybe the widow, or a son or daughter, too early taken from school; the financial help of kin and of relief agencies may be needed for a time to keep the ship on an even keel. Failing in some such effort to continue as a family, its members may be scattered and the family broken up forever. Complete disability of the earner of a family may be even a greater misfortune than his death.

Accidents play an important part in the death or disability of the wage-earners of the United States. Accidents have a decisive bearing upon the ability to earn an income. In 1933 it was estimated that 90,000 persons were killed, and 8,730,000 non-fatal disabling injuries occurred. The wage loss, medical expense and cost of insurance in these cases aggregated \$2,135,000,000. More accidents occur at home than occur in industry. Of the 90,000 fatal accidents, 14,500 were occupational, 31,000 automobile, 29,500 at home and 17,500 not involving motor vehicles. Since 1926 the number occurring in industry has diminished relatively to those occurring elsewhere. Automobile accidents have steadily increased.¹

Illness often takes away the wage-earners and incapacitates many more. A study by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1915-1917, of 637,038 white and negro industrial policy holders and their families indicated that at a given instant slightly more than 2 per cent of the persons canvassed were ill. Of the total sick persons, 91 per cent were disabled for work. Brundage showed that one in ten industrially employed males suffer a disabling illness of one week or longer every year.² The committee on the costs of medical care cooperating with the United States Public Health Service took samples of 40,000 persons of the population of all ages at home and at work. This study indicated a decreased incidence of illness up to the age of 20 years and then a gradually rising trend. Furthermore, a study in Massachusetts indicated that about 12 per cent of the entire population of that State are ill with chronic disease at any given moment.³ For white persons the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's data indicate that on the average each of them lose 6.9 days per year on account of sickness.⁴

¹ *The Survey*, October 15, 1928, pp. 67, 68; *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1934, p. 333.

² "The Incidence of Illness among Wage Earning Adults," *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, Vol. 12, November, 1930, p. 342.

³ Sydenstricker, "The Vitality of American People," Chapter 12 in *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933.

⁴ Mills, *The Extent of Illness and the Physical and Mental Defects Prevailing in the United States*, The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, Publication No. 2, p. 26.

In addition to those affected by physical illness which interferes with family income, there is a considerable number who are so mentally defective or mentally diseased that their economic efficiency is seriously impaired. The estimates so far made vary so widely that it is impossible at the present time to form any adequate notion of how extensive is the impairment of economic efficiency on account of mental conditions. Sydenstricker on the basis of the statistics for New York State says that the expectancy of persons born in the State of New York of becoming so mentally diseased in one form or another as to be patients in institutions is 4.5 per cent. Pollock and Malzberg arrive at practically the same conclusion with respect to the population of the country in general.⁷

Professor Irving Fisher of Yale early in the century made an estimate of the loss to the people of the United States from death and disease. He says that there are a million and a half deaths in the United States each year, 42 per cent of which are preventable or postponable. He calculated that the average economic value of each person in the United States is \$2,900, or, considering the age distribution and the per cent of preventability of these deaths, the average economic value of each preventable death is \$1,700. On this basis he arrived at the conclusion that there is a preventable loss from death and sickness in the United States each year of one and a half billion dollars.⁸ Since that date the loss has not decreased.

Preventable and unpreventable sickness and death all affect the income of the families concerned. The large percentage of this premature death due to preventable sickness is ground for hope that this cause of poverty and dependency may yield to social measures.

Death of the Housekeeper. Thus far we have considered only the possible death of the wage-earner. Let us now consider the situation where not the male wage-earner, but his housekeeper dies. We may think of his home as having been in charge of his wife, mother, or sister. In either case her death may not be so directly felt in life on the outside, but certainly it can be a very upsetting matter to the family, the household. If the wife happens to be also the young mother of two or three children, her loss may upset the whole economy of the family, and poverty may enter where it was only feared before. In spite of every effort to reorganize, the young widower may be brought to poverty for several years if not for life. The young wife and mother has been a necessary partner in the family enterprise; in her

⁷ See Sydenstricker *loc. cit.* and Pollock and Malzberg, "Expectation of Mental Disease," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, October, 1928, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 549-570.

⁸ Fisher, "Report on National Vitality," *Report of National Conservation Commission*, Senate Document 676, 60th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. III, p. 742.

stead an equally efficient, paid housekeeper cannot be installed, but some other shift or makeshift must be resorted to.

(b) *In Industry.* A casual reading of our daily papers will inform anyone that, in spite of the newer safeguards of recent years, workers in our industries are subject to special death hazards that do not operate in non-industrial lives. These occupational hazards operate for men to a very considerable degree, but women workers too are subject to them. As evidence of the great hazards in certain occupations followed only by men, we have the refusal of life insurance companies to insure workers in powder plants, aviators, and others in extra-hazardous callings. Ships, trains, mines, and dangerous industrial and building trades such as steel-making, and bridge and sky-scraper erection are all in the hands of men, of whom a certain per cent are annually killed while at work. These are the cruder risks that do not touch the lives of women workers. The families of most men in these occupations depend upon their often none too regular wages; their savings are not great; in the case of a young man, there may be no savings, but only a widow and one, two, or three children left after the sudden funeral of the sole support of the hopeful little family.

1) *Accidents.* Dublin estimates that the death rate from accidental causes among industrial workers in the United States is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that for the non-industrial group. He estimates that industrial accidents shorten the life span of all workers about one year on the average.⁹

As to industrial accidents alone, a special committee of the National Association of Manufacturers estimated that there are 500,000 workers annually incapacitated or killed in the United States, half of whom might be saved by such preventive measures as were in general use in the industries of Germany before the War; and that the unnecessary loss to the nation from such accidents is not less than \$125,000,000 annually.¹⁰

The General Manager of the National Safety Council says that during the nineteen months of our participation in the late War, when a total of 47,949 persons were killed or fatally wounded, no less than 126,000 men, women, and children were killed in this country, 35,000 of whom were in industries, and 91,000 outside industry. A case study a few years ago in Boston showed that 13 per cent of the intake of the family social agencies of Boston was made up of families where industrial accident or industrial disease was a factor.¹¹

⁹ Dublin, *Health and Wealth*, New York, 1928, p. 275.

¹⁰ *Massachusetts Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living*, Boston, 1910, p. 222.

¹¹ Fear, "How Boston Meets and Supports Its Family Service Program," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1925, p. 489.

2) *Disease and Death.* The death rate for workers in industry is higher than the rate for the whole population of the same age group. A study made by the Bureau of Labor of the United States shows that comparing the death rate of the Metropolitan and Prudential Insurance Companies' insured workers with that of the general population of the same age groups, at ages of 15 and over, the male rate is 5 per cent higher than that of the general population, probably because these insured persons do not include many of the professional classes or of the better paid and skilled workers. "The maximum difference between the population and industrial insurance mortality rates is found in the age period 35 to 44, when the rate for males is 47 per cent higher than the corresponding rate for males in the population. The higher rates for the insured persons may well be expected in view of the general and special hazards to which working men and women of the country are exposed."¹²

It is difficult to arrive at the amount of poverty caused by preventable death and disease in the workingmen's families as apart from other families. Fisher estimated the cost for illness and death in workingmen's families alone in the United States as \$460,000,000; or, including loss of wages and care of the sick and burial of the dead, it amounts to \$960,000,000.¹³ Naturally we should expect that the amount of preventable death and disease would be greater in workingmen's families than in the general population.

How much economic efficiency is reduced by unwholesome conditions in the factory and in the homes of workingmen, we have no means of knowing.

3) *Fatigue.* Certain fatigue studies have been made in this and other countries which throw light upon the disablement of workers. During the War a British committee studied the conditions in the munition factories of Great Britain. In this country Josephine Goldmark made a contribution to the subject even before the War. These studies made clear that the efficiency of the workers depends very much upon whether or not fatigue is present. Under the conditions in the munition factories of Britain about 40 per cent of the women workers exhibited definite signs of fatigue. An even greater per cent registered the effects of fatigue under those conditions. The high-speed operations in modern industry often force people to such an extent that after repeated overwork with consequent fatigue they either become ill or stay out of work to rest. In addition it has been shown that the efficiency of the workman decreases as he becomes fatigued. Sickness follows upon

¹² *Causes of Death by Occupation*, Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Whole No. 207, Appendix A.

¹³ Fisher, *Report on National Vitality*, pp. 117-120.

too long continued weariness and leads to either irregular employment or unemployment.¹⁴

Only people who have injured their health by driving themselves or allowing a machine pace to drive them, understand how serious can be the fatigue due to keeping up with modern machine processes. Such fatigue is evident in later physical illness or in nervous failure, which of course may be the fore-runner of illness. Some people are unfit to cope with the severe demands of modern machine tending; women, especially young wives and young mothers, are special sufferers in this regard. Some shops are organized on the basis of driving their workmen; there is no intent to do other than over-drive them. Some of the assembly-line processes in auto manufacture are particularly open to the abuse of driving men. The spinning and weaving industries of our country, and many others, have frequently been guilty of overworking women and children. Any family which for two or three generations has had workmen in it can give you plenty of instances of men being overworked. It need not be overwork in point of hours; a man can be wrecked physically by an inhuman work pace or by inhuman work conditions.

A writer in the National Safety News in 1920 estimated the cost of over-fatigue in industry at \$2,400,000,000 per year.

4) *Unemployment.* Says Mr. Frank B. Sargent, of the United States Bureau of Labor, "The amount of unemployment reported at the beginning of the period covered by the table was very high, and during the four years from 1897 to 1900, the reported percentage of unemployment fell below 10 per cent only once. From 1901 to 1906 it was below 10 per cent at the end of each September, and it was above that mark at the end of March, except in 1906. Since September, 1906, it has not fallen below 10 per cent."¹⁵

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates on the basis of a study carried on in 1920, that normally 10 per cent of the working people of the United States are out of employment all the time. In times of prosperity this percentage decreases and in times of depression it is far above this figure.¹⁶ Both unemployment and under-employment seriously deplete the wage-earner's income, tend to depress his standard of living, and frequently lead to poverty and dependency.

¹⁴ *Industrial Health and Efficiency*, Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 249, pp. 44, 59, 66, 80, 129, 139; *Hours, Fatigue and Health in the British Munition Factories*, Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 221; *Industrial Efficiency and Fatigue in British Munition Factories*, Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 230.

¹⁵ Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Labor, No. 109, p. 19.

¹⁶ Bradford, *Industrial Unemployment*, Bulletin No. 310, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, 1922.

The Russell Sage Foundation in 1924 estimated that over a long period of years from 10 to 12 per cent of all workers are constantly unemployed.

These figures, while not satisfactory as a measure of the burden unemployment places upon the worker and his family, give us some indication that in those families whose incomes are only just enough for a decent standard of living if they work all the time, unemployment will mean want and the first step to poverty if not to pauperism.

5) *Lack of Proper Wages.* More important than any of these causes is the low wage which so many of our workers receive. Large numbers of our population have an income that is insufficient, even with the very best management, to keep them from poverty at least when a crisis comes in their affairs, and inevitably makes it impossible to save a sufficient amount to enable them to tide over the crisis or to support them in disability or old age. Says Miss Lathrop: "We still cling to the shaken, but not shattered, belief that this free country gives every man his chance and that an income sufficient to bring up a family decently is attainable by all honest people who are not hopelessly stupid or incorrigibly lazy. The fathers of 88 per cent of the babies included in the Bureau's studies earned less than \$1,250 a year; 27 per cent earned less than \$550. As the income doubled, the mortality rate was more than halved. Which is the more safe and sane conclusion, that 88 per cent of all these fathers were incorrigibly indolent or below normal mentality, or that sound public economy demands an irreducible minimum living standard to be sustained by a minimum wage and such other expedients as may be developed in a determined effort to give every child a fair chance?"¹⁷

There is evidence that after the War real wages increased. The National Bureau of Economic Research in 1921 showed that the per capita income of the people in the United States increased from 1909 to 1918 from \$318 to \$506, or reduced to terms of prices of 1913, there was an increase from \$333 in 1909 to \$372 in 1918, or an increase of 11.7 per cent. A later report by the National Industrial Conference Board, on the basis of information from 23 leading industries, with 1,678 plants, and nearly 700,000 workers, estimates an increase of 35 per cent between 1914 and 1923 in the real incomes of the wage workers engaged in those businesses. However, even with this advance, the National Bureau of Economic Research says that "even an equal distribution of income, if such could be effected without serious impairment of the machinery of production on which all incomes depend (as of course it could not) would provide only a small margin for the normal

¹⁷ "Income and Infant Mortality," *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1919, p. 274.

family above the amount needed to maintain a decent standard of living."¹⁸ In the second decade of this century, when it appeared that prosperity was increasing yearly, and some were so bold as to believe that poverty was disappearing forever, taking the country as a whole it was still true "that the great mass of labor is living below a standard maintenance line." At the beginning of that decade in September, 1921, 49 per cent of the railway workers in the United States were averaging less than \$1,500 a year, 26 per cent less than \$1,200 a year. Most wage workers did not receive as much as the strongly unionized railway workers. The budget prepared by the National Industrial Conference Board for Detroit in September, 1921, established a minimum of \$1,697.25 for a family of five. It is apparent that taking labor the country over, quite a large majority of the workers at that time received less than the estimated budget of \$1,700.¹⁹ Since 1930 the situation has become increasingly worse for the mass of the people due to one of the worst depressions the country has ever experienced. Real wages for even those employed have probably decreased. On the whole it appears that a large proportion of our population have an income which is considerably below that needed for a comfortable standard of life.

IV. FACTORS AFFECTING BOTH INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Some of the influences which we have named as affecting income also affect expenditure. For example, *disease* and *death* not only interfere with a normal income, but cause unusual expense. *Congestion of population on a given area* not only produces neighborhood and housing conditions which affect the health and thus the income, but inevitably result in the raising of rents and therefore affect the expenditure. Wherever the population is congested in a given area, *bad housing* is sure to result unless the community carefully regulates housing conditions. Bad housing is always expensive housing. While it may seem cheap from the standpoint of the amount of money actually paid as rent, where the housing is bad, the family budget will show increased expenditures for sickness and death. *Unsanitary conditions* in community, home, and factory, have a similar effect upon undue expenditures for such extraordinary reasons.

Then there are other factors affecting adversely both income and outgo.

1. The Labor of Mothers and Children is frequently a sign of inade-

¹⁸ Burritt, "Preventing Poverty," *The Survey*, April 5, 1925, p. 81; Seager, "Income in the United States," *The Survey*, November 19, 1921, p. 270.

¹⁹ *The Wage Question*, Bulletin No. 1, Research Department, Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, February, 1922.

quate income. Moreover, when large numbers of women and children are engaged in labor, it usually means that men have either been displaced in industry, or that the competition of women and children have so reduced their wages that they are no longer adequate for the support of a family. Also the labor of women and children often has a bad effect upon their physical fitness and ultimately affects their earning capacity and independence. Frequently it leads to sickness and at other times to fatigue, the precursor of incapacity. So far as it results in sickness it means increased expenditure.

Whatever its cause, the labor of mothers and children outside the home is a social menace. The children's physical, mental and moral welfare is neglected. Often mothers impair their health. The home is neglected. The education of the children is seriously interfered with. In a study by the Federal Children's Bureau in southern New Jersey, in spite of the fact that the children who were studied work on truck farms, over one-half of the 994 children reported working were migratory workers, i.e., were not the children of the owner or renter of the farm. About three-fourths of all these children were less than 14 years of age, 42 per cent of the local and 47 per cent of the migratory child workers were under 12, while one-fifth of both were under 10, 27 per cent of the local and 41 per cent of the migratory worked more than 8 hours a day. Two-thirds of the farmers' own children were absent from school an average of 20 days on account of work. The absence of the migratory workers was still greater, one-half having lost 8 weeks or more, and 29 per cent having lost 12 weeks. In the case of Philadelphia, the 869 school children who left the city for farm work suffered an absence of between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of the school year. Reports show that 57 per cent of the local and 74 per cent of the migratory child-workers were behind grade in school. Of the Philadelphia children 71 per cent were retarded. The housing of these child-workers was bad, as witness the fact that in the cases of over half of the migratory workers there were at least three persons and in over a fourth four persons or more to a room. Moreover, 43 of the 98 mothers whose children hired out for farm work were wage-earners themselves.²⁰

A publication of the Federal Children's Bureau says of the situation in the whole country: "There were 185,337 children, or 17.5 per cent of the total number of working children under 16, employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries—cotton, silk, and woolen mills; cigar, clothing, and furniture factories; and canneries and workshops. Over 80,000 children

²⁰ *Work of Children on Truck and Small Fruit Farms in Southern New Jersey*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 132, pp. 5, 57, 58.

were engaged in some type of clerical occupation; approximately 63,000 were in trade; 54,000, the majority of whom were girls, were working at occupations classified under 'domestic and personal service'; and 7,191—almost all of them boys—were employed in the extraction of minerals. Almost 25,000 children 10 to 13 years of age were reported as employed in trade and clerical occupations, over 12,000 in 'domestic and personal service,' and almost 10,000 in manufacturing occupations."²¹ Whether the New Deal lessens the number of women and children employed in industry remains to be seen.

2. **Faulty Education.** A curriculum so unsuited to the needs and interests of children that 90 per cent of them never finish high school certainly is not adapted to fit children to make a livelihood. Many of the children remain in school no longer than the law requires, then they immediately find a job. This job may be a "blind alley" job, without a future. In many cases it has not prepared them to make a livelihood, and as a consequence they are handicapped for life with a small income. Unguided they choose the first job that offers, while even with limited education there are other positions open to them, did they but know it, which have greater promise.

Faulty education at home and in school not only fails to impart earning capacity, but does not prepare the children to spend their money properly. How few are the homes and how much fewer the schools in which habits of thrift are taught! To be sure, an increasing number of schools are teaching girls the elements of domestic economy and the most economical use of foods and clothing, and other household necessities. In too many cases, however, the girls quit school and home without having learned to spend wisely in the household. If that is true of the girls, how much more true is it of the boys! Not only do the schools neglect to teach them thrift and sound expenditure, but usually very little advice is given as to saving, the use of banks, and the investment of savings. The newer theories characteristic of the period following the industrial crises of 1929 tend to discourage saving. No wonder that many of them come to want!

V. FACTORS AFFECTING EXPENDITURES

Certain other factors affect the expenditures of a family. No matter what the income, if the family does not expend it wisely, in many cases it will be impossible to maintain a proper standard of living.

1. **Traditions, Customs and Habits, Advertising and Installment Buying.** Among these factors affecting expenditures are traditions, customs

²¹ *Child Labor in the United States*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 114, p. 60. See also Children's Bureau Publications Nos. 98, 123, 129, 141, 115, 134.

and individual habits which relate to taste in food, dress, thrift and standards of living.

Taste in food is partly a matter of inheritance and partly a matter of education and habit. For an American example of the influence of habit, because it has been cheap in America, sugar and sweets were consumed by the people of the United States before the War in quantities surpassed only in Great Britain. Thus, the people of this country consumed an average of 86.85 pounds per annum in 1914, while the French consumed only 37 pounds.²² Now, if with limited income, a family pursues its customary consumption of sugar and sweets, while the actual requirements for health and efficiency are much less, a serious inroad is made upon the income and less can be spent for necessities. Or, if Italians insist on having imported macaroni and olive oil in America, just because they are used to those articles in their diet in Italy, they may suffer because too much is expended on these items of food.²³ Or, folly may manifest itself, not in demand for excessive quantity of a staple, like sugar, but in preference for traditional quality, such as tenderloin rather than pot-roast.

Moreover, it has been found that in the poorer sections of large cities, especially when women and children work, tinned goods and ready cooked foods are resorted to by the housekeeper in order to save time in preparation of the meals. If such a practice becomes a family custom it is quite likely to continue even when rising prices make it advisable to save by preparation of the food in the home.

A similar situation exists with reference to *dress*. Dress is largely a customary matter. It is governed partly by tradition and partly by fashion. The proper amount of clothing for protection of the body is one thing; the kinds of clothing which furnish that protection is another. Once homespun was the best that was to be had; later, with the coming in of the factory-woven cloth, homespun came to be looked upon as out of style. Once the men wore no overshoes, and were quite satisfied with a cloth overcoat. The women were content with simple cotton waists and cloth coats. Now we must have the latest styles and materials. In other words, tastes have not only been refined, but they have been cultivated to more expensive articles.

²² *International Year Book*, 1914, New York, 1915, p. 675; *The Americana*, New York, 1912, Art. "Sugar." In 1919 the amount had risen to 87½ pounds per capita. *Literary Digest*, March 6, 1920, p. 44.

²³ A study in Boston during the War indicated that such differences are not so much national as social. See Davis, "Food in Families of Limited Means," *The Survey*, January 12, 1918, p. 413. Sudden changes in diet may produce digestive disturbances, but habits may be gradually changed without danger. McMahon, *Social and Economic Standard of Living*, New York, 1925, p. 182.

This was true to a degree even before the War sent all prices soaring. Now, unless income grows to meet increasing prices, those with low incomes will feel the pinch which increased expenditures for dress in accordance with the fashions demand.

Habits of Thrift. Habits of thrift affect expenditure. If the income is low, compared with the scale of expenditure necessary to maintain health and efficiency, thrift or saving is difficult. As a result in large sections of the poorer population of our cities, the habit of saving a part of each week's wages perforce is abandoned. On the other hand, people from frugal families in the country or from abroad, accustomed to save, continue to do so even at the expense of their own welfare. Often as a result, the scale of living is lowered to a point which results inevitably in sickness or decrease of earning power. Or, those from families always struggling to make ends meet never develop the habit of saving, and consequently spend all their income. Consequently they are unprepared to meet from savings any crisis in the affairs of the family. The balance between wise saving and wise expenditure is difficult to determine. But habit and custom have much to do with it. What is done affects expenditure very directly, and in the end has a very decisive result upon the family welfare.

Our habits of national *advertising* have had a great deal to do with buyers' habits. High powered publicity, amounting to nation-wide campaigns, have periodically swelled the incomes of makers of toothpastes, soap, cigarettes, or what have you. In many cases the gullible and easily led have been victimized of hundreds of thousands of dollars—buying things of inferior worth, doubtful value, or non-necessity under the onslaughts of persistent advertising. In this connection we must also mention the widespread *installment plan of buying* numerous articles both large and small. It was offspring of the advertising game. In many cases it was a legitimate method of doing business; again, it was merely a nuisance or worse. Its hey-day was some years ago; since the depression its scope has been greatly curtailed.

Scales of Living. We have seen that the scale of living has much to do with the welfare of the family. The standard of living is the minimum below which the consumption of the family must not fall, if that family is to function properly as an independent and useful group in the community. It is the measure of consumption which supplies enough to enable each individual in that family to sustain himself in health and efficiency as a producer, and so be independent of the help of others. That standard is adjusted to each individual in conformity with any special circumstances affecting him,

such as infancy, conditions requiring special feeding, or sickness requiring certain more expensive food.

Each family has a scale of living acquired from its social heritage whether from a foreign country or from another community, and determined by the customs of that community, and of its peculiar stratum of society. It is a customary scale. While it may be based upon empirical observations of what was necessary in the community where it prevailed, it is in no sense a scientific standard. Such customary racial and family scales differ much. Hence, foreigners from South Europe coming to America are able to live here in the United States for less than the natives. Sometimes they are tougher in fiber than their competitors here, and survive. Often, however, their customary scale of living is adapted to quite other conditions than those under which they live here. As a consequence they die off in large numbers. Thus, the peasants from South-eastern Europe, used to living much out in the open air, come to America, crowd into our noisome tenements, work in our crowded factories, do not raise their customary standard of consumption, and as a consequence a tremendous infant mortality and tuberculosis rate appears among them. Thus, customs sometimes prevent the adoption of a scale of living suited to the new environment.

On the other hand, the imitation by the lower income classes of the expenditures of the rich often results in just the opposite effect. The children of the poor attend the same schools as those of the rich. Through imitation of their companions they are led to form habits and ideals of expenditure which have effect when these children grow up. The same thing happens with the adults themselves in many cases. Hence "conventionality imitation," as Ross calls it, works its full consequences in increasing expenditure for display often to the detriment of the family expenditures on essentials or to the destruction of a desire to save.

2. Ignorance of the Elements of Domestic Economy. Ignorance of food, clothing, and furniture values, and an unbalanced household budget often increase expenditure without a corresponding increase in welfare.

Waste of income from ignorance is common among all classes. Until a few years ago few stopped to consider whether the food they ate, the clothes they wore, or the way in which they furnished their homes, gave the best results in health, efficiency, or comfort. They bought what they liked, if they felt that they could afford it. Now, with rising costs, attention is being given to the question of the most economical expenditure of income. Domestic science has shown that the food habits of many are not economical. For example, it has been found that there are only about five different things

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which the body requires to keep it in health from the standpoint of food. It must have a certain amount of fat and carbohydrates to supply heat, a certain amount of protein to build tissue, body builders and regulators like mineral salts and vitamins such as are found in green vegetables and milk which in some way promote growth.

Qualitative standards to measure the efficiency of the family food budget have been worked out tentatively in dietary studies. We do not eat or wear or burn dollars and cents. If the price of beef goes up we can eat less beef and more of some other protein-rich food, and perhaps keep our money expenses for food constant, but if the price of all foods increases 100 per cent we cannot cut down our consumption of all food one-half so as to keep our food budget expense undamaged. To speak with scientific accuracy man does not live by loaves of bread, pounds of meat, pecks of potatoes, quarts of milk, etc. He lives by the energy stored in food, which energy is measured in heat units called calories. There must be a proper balance between proteins, fats, starches, cellulose, fruit acids, and mineral salts. The last three classes of food furnish us no calories at all, but they are just as essential to a healthful diet as are the fats, sugars, and starches which furnish a large quantity of calories. By far the best measure of the sufficiency of a diet is, however, the calories. Unless the average active worker consumes and assimilates from 3,000 to 3,500 calories per day he will inevitably either lose weight or efficiency as a worker, or both, and this regardless of the number of dollars he spends for food, or even of the number of pounds of bread, beans, and beef he eats. Unfortunately, bread, beef, pork, and even eggs and potatoes vary considerably in the calory content per pound.

By the time people become educated to the point where they recognize that the important thing in regard to food is not its price per pound or quart; that often the cheapest food per pound is the most expensive per unit of nourishment, they will no doubt have learned also that man cannot live by bread alone or even by calories alone. Fruits and vegetables must be used largely in a proper diet, even though the calory content is low. A proper balance between proteins, fats, starches, sugars, cellulose tissue, minerals, and acids is necessary for the maintenance of health.²⁴

This ignorance of food and clothing values leads often to unwise expenditures. Families with small incomes attempt to buy cheaper foods and clothing without reference to the value of the things purchased. Consequently foods are often used which do not furnish the required nourishment which other things no dearer and sometimes even cheaper would furnish, did the housewife know how to judge the value of foods.

Similarly, expenditures are affected by household waste. Says Professor Ellen H. Richards, "Domestic waste may be either destruction without

²⁴ Royal Meeker, *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 3, 4

profitable result, or misuse, the latter taking the form of *extravagances*. Families with incomes below \$800 a year waste very little food materials. They may suffer from illness due to poor food, and thus waste income. United States Government investigations show waste of edible material amounting to not more than 3 or 4 per cent in this class."²⁵ The family with small income does waste by buying in small quantities, in buying inedible or innutritious materials, in buying for flavor and tenderness rather than for nutrition, often in preparation by poor cooking or wrong methods of cooking, and sometimes in garbage.²⁶

Again, the *improper balancing of the elements in the household budget* affects the welfare of the family. In the investigation made by the commissioner of labor of the United States and published in 1903, a special study was made of 11,156 "normal" families, that is, "families that had certain characteristics for which they were classed as normal families. Each family so classed had a husband and a wife; not more than five children, no one of whom was over fourteen years of age, no dependent, boarder, lodger or servant; occupied a rented house; and had expenditures for fuel, lighting, food, clothing and sundries."²⁷ In these families having incomes from under \$200 up to about \$1,200 a year, 18.12 per cent was expended for rent, 4.5 per cent for fuel, 1.12 per cent for lighting, 43.13 per cent for food, 12.95 per cent for clothing and 20.11 per cent for sundries.²⁸ This study shows that with an increased income families do not increase the percentage of it spent for rent, that with increasing income there is a decrease in the proportion which is spent for fuel, lighting, and food, while the proportion spent for both clothing and sundries increases.²⁹

²⁵ Massachusetts *Report of the Commission on Cost of Living*, Boston, 1910, p. 250.

²⁶ See Davis, "Food in Families of Limited Means," *The Survey*, January 12, 1918, p. 413.

²⁷ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1903: Cost of Living and Retail Prices of Foods*, Washington, 1904, p. 20.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁹ It is interesting to notice what were the things which entered into budgets of these families. The accounts of 2,567 of these 25,400 families were in such condition that such a detailed study was possible. For example, 65.8 per cent of them were paying for life insurance; 35.7 per cent paid dues to labor organizations, and 43.75 per cent dues to other organizations; 80.33 per cent made contributions to religion, and 51.07 per cent to charity; 94.74 per cent spent money on books and newspapers, while 50.72 per cent spent money on intoxicating liquors, and 79.2 per cent on tobacco. The sums spent on many of these items, however, were rather small. Thus an average, for families having such expenditures, of \$29.55 for life insurance, \$10.52 for labor organizations, \$11.84 for other organizations, \$9.49 for religion, \$4.68 for charity, \$8.82 for books and newspapers, \$24.53 on intoxicating liquors and \$13.80 on tobacco, was spent by these families. It is impossible to tell from the report whether the families who spent for liquor were the same as those who spent for life insurance, religion and charity. *Ibid.*, pp. 503-511.

From common observation it is not impossible to suppose that some of those who had expenditures for liquor may have had to reduce the amount expended on clothing and food. It is also quite possible that some of these families did not have a budget balanced as to its expenditures so that each element in the budget got just that proportion which was necessary for the health and efficiency of the family. Without knowledge of how to buy wisely, of how much should be spent approximately on rent, food, clothing, amusements, etc., there is bound to be some waste, some unwise expenditures, and consequently some poverty and ultimately some pauperism. How much it is impossible to say. Concerning an investigation made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the cost of living, Royal Meeker, the Commissioner, says: "The family food budgets are now being analyzed. We can say with confidence that it requires to-day an expenditure of from 50 to 60 cents per man per day for food to secure a well balanced diet sufficient in the number of calories and in variety. This means that American families consisting of husband, wife and three children below the age of 15 years, living in large and medium sized cities, must spend about \$610 per annum for food to keep themselves properly nourished for health and efficiency. This expenditure for food goes with incomes of from \$1,800 to \$1,850, so we may say that American families on the average are not fully nourished until their yearly income reaches \$1,800. . . . The average income and the modal income both fall well below \$1,600. The mode is about \$1,350, and the average not greatly higher. Conclusions must not be too hastily drawn from these figures. They do not mean that our working population is dying of slow starvation; nothing of the sort. But they do indicate that the workers of America are obliged to live on a diet too restricted and monotonous for the maintenance of as high a degree of efficiency and health as ought to be maintained as a reasonable minimum. I am of the opinion that the most efficacious remedy is not higher wages but rather improved systems for distributing and marketing foodstuffs, and the education of housekeepers in the art of keeping house, with emphasis on diets."³⁰

Finally, *lack of provision against the crises of life*, whether it is due to shiftlessness or to too meager a wage to permit such provision, is the immediate cause of many people coming into distress. Only a trifle over one-third of the 2,567 families were paying taxes and not quite a third carrying property insurance. Only 65.8 per cent were carrying life insurance of any sort. The 11,156 normal families expended 95 per cent of their total income. Of

³⁰ Meeker, "What is the American Standard of Living?" *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1910, p. 5. (An address delivered before the National Conference of Social Work at Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 7, 1910.)

the 2,567 families whose expenditures could be analyzed, 1,480 families had a surplus, 507 had a deficit and 580 just came out even.³¹ Of the whole 25,440 families, a trifle over half (12,816) had a surplus averaging \$120.84 per family, while not quite one-sixth of them had a deficit (4,117), averaging \$65.58, while just about one-third of them came out even.³²

As we have noticed, 1,480 of the 2,567 families had a surplus; 491 of these kept a surplus on hand, 682 in the bank; 63 had it invested in a building and loan association, 42 in real estate; 5 had shares of stock, and 3 had loaned money, while 60 used it to pay previous debts. Of the 507 families which had a deficit, 244 obtained credit, 94 used former savings, 13 borrowed money.

It is not difficult to imagine that many of these families had considerable difficulty in making any provision against "a rainy day." There were others, perhaps, who could have done so, but failed to do so. Both were on "the ragged edge of poverty." Many of them did not have a scale of living that their welfare demanded.

SUMMARY

Thus, socio-economic factors affect vitally the welfare of the family. Factors affecting the income—death or disability of the bread-earner, whether due to industrial or community conditions; adverse industrial conditions, such as accidents, or occupational diseases and fatigue; unemployment, pre-natal, natal, or post-natal conditions adversely affecting children, and lack of proper wage—render the family incapable both directly and indirectly of meeting the economic and social responsibility of life, and create poverty and pauperism.

These are supplemented by factors affecting both the income and expenditure, such as congestion of population on a given area, and housing, unsanitary conditions in the home, community and factory, the labor of mothers and children, and faulty education resulting in reduced income and unwise expenditure. Again, in the complex of conditions, appearing now as cause and then as effect are certain factors tending toward poverty and pauperism through their effect upon the expenditures of the family. Among these are traditions, customs, and habits touching taste in food and dress, thrift and standards of living; lack of proper training in household economy—food and clothing values, and the proportioning of the budget so as to secure the most value for the expenditure—and inadequate provision against crises, such as sickness, unemployment, old age, etc., by means of insurance, savings and investments.

³¹ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1903*, pp. 515, 581.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 369.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Disease and Dependency. Fisher in *Report of National Conservation Commission*, Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. III, p. 742.
2. Accidents and Poverty. Hoffman, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bulletin 157.
3. Unemployment and Poverty. Lescoghier, *The Labor Market*, pp. 102-110.
4. Income and Infant Mortality. *Infant Mortality*, Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau Publication Nos. 9, 20, 29, 37, 52.
5. Income and Poverty among American Families. Meeker, "What Is the American Standard of Living," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, pp. 164 ff.; or, *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, July, 1919, pp. 5 ff.
6. Is It Possible to Have an Adequate Scale of Living among American Wage-Earners? Mitchell, *et al.*, *Income in the United States*, New York, 1921; *The Wage Question*, Bulletin No. 1, Research Dept., Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Point out in the John Thomas Case (Chap. X) the factors discussed in this chapter.
2. Of the three chief factors discussed in this chapter—those affecting income, those affecting expenditure, and those affecting both income and expenditure—which is the most important in producing poverty?
3. Analyze the Seldons Case (Chap. X) and point out the factors discussed in this chapter.
4. How would knowledge of home economics prevent poverty?
5. If in times of industrial depression a factory "lays off" its less skilled and more conscientious workers, what factor or factors account for the poverty often following?
6. If a man has an inherited tendency to tuberculosis, works in a dusty shop and contracts tuberculosis, which is to blame, the factory or his inherited tendency?

CHAPTER VIII

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS (Continued)

OF more fundamental importance are certain economic and social mal-adjustments which prevent the lower economic classes from having an adequate income. Some of these are remediable as society is at present organized, but others will require much reorganization, if they are to be cured.

VI. MALADJUSTMENTS IN THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOME

Even if all born into the world were of good native ability; even with a perfect educational system training children and youth to make a living, to save and to spend wisely; if by means of workman's compensation or social insurance we should be able to spread over society the economic results of the death or disability of the bread-earner; if we should provide work for every man who desires a job; and should we by means of preventive medicine obviate the evil conditions which affect children and adults adversely, we might still have poverty. All these things are necessary, but insufficient; they do not go to the root of the economic causes of poverty. As was indicated in the previous chapter, the most widespread cause of dependency and poverty is inadequate income. Often this inadequate income is a most important factor in human welfare. However, other factors which affect welfare are of equally fundamental importance.

1. **Fluctuations between Cost of Living and Income.** Fluctuations in prices and wages disturb the relationship between the income and need. Wages and prices do not vary in direct ratio. Many families, able to get along without distress under static conditions, find themselves reduced to dependency, or even to destitution, by reason of the rapid changes in prices.

The years since the War have seen a remarkable change in the prices of products. Part of this change was due to the increasing amount of gold and the multiplication of paper money and credits which take the place of money. Part of it was due to the lessened production, part to American exports for the world's markets, to the after-effects of the War, and recently

to the inflation following the stock-market crash in 1929. A department of the United States Government is authority for the statement that the price of twenty-two staple articles of food more than doubled from 1913 to January, 1920.¹ On the other hand, from 1913 to the spring of 1919, the earnings of cigar makers had increased only 51 per cent, and of men in the clothing industry 71 per cent.²

In any period of rapidly increasing prices, wages lag behind an increase in the price of commodities. The index numbers of average weekly earnings in the New York state factories and of retail prices in the United States from 1914 to 1919 show this tendency. Wages and prices were nearest together in 1915 when the index number for earnings was 101 and for prices was 102; the greatest divergence was in 1917 when the index number for wages was 129, while that for prices was 147. In 1918 they were as 160 to 170.³ In 1925 the average cost of living based on data from 32 cities in the United States was 77.9 per cent higher than in 1913.⁴ Even in November, 1934, the index of the cost of goods purchased by wage-earners and low salaried workers as compared with that of 1913 was 138.9.⁵ The average earnings of railway employes decreased about 20 per cent between 1929 and 1933.⁶

Economic welfare of the masses of the population is dependent not merely upon the income received but also upon the prices of the commodities necessary to satisfy human needs. Human welfare or human ill is therefore the outcome of the relation between the income and the cost of living. If the income increases while the cost of necessities remains the same as before, the economic welfare is thereby increased and incidentally the social welfare improved. In periods of great economic disturbance the relative increase or decrease of these two factors of human welfare usually do not proceed at equal pace. If the income decreases relatively to the decrease in the cost of commodities, the state of the masses of the population becomes decidedly worse. Or if the income remains the same and the cost of living rises the purchasing power of each dollar of income is thereby lessened measured by the actual goods required for a given standard of living.

Some of the figures given above indicate that in the period since the outbreak of the World War the relation of these two variables—income and cost of living—has altered to the disadvantage of the mass of the people in

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. X, No. 3, March, 1920, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 00.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 1, July, 1919, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, February, 1926, p. 64.

⁵ *Ibid.*, February, 1935, p. 515.

⁶ *Ibid.*, July, 1935, p. 6.

this country. Soule has shown that between 1914 and 1922 there was an increase in the real wages of about 17 per cent but that between 1899 and 1922 there had been an increase in real wages of only about 5 per cent. During the later period there was a 30 or 40 per cent increase in per capita production.⁷ Douglas, on the basis of a careful study of the period from 1890 to 1926, believes that real wages, taking into account the whole labor supply whether employed or not, was 7 or 8 per cent above that of the 10 years 1890 to 1899. He is convinced that in manufacturing real earnings did not increase as rapidly from 1899 to 1925 as the increase in average physical productivity. They did increase as rapidly, however, as the increase in the average value of productivity. Since 1921 the proportion which wages and salaries formed of the total value-product of manufacturing has been decreasing although by 1927 it was slightly above the proportions in 1899.⁸ It is probable that the gap between income and cost of living has very greatly widened between 1929 and 1935. Poverty and dependency due to this factor therefore probably decreased somewhat between 1914 and 1929 and has increased decidedly since that date.

Even under the NRA from July to December, 1933, the difference between the indexes showed that there was an increase of only 2.8 per cent in the average income per worker employed, which was about half the increase in the cost of living during that period.⁹

2. **Inequitable Distribution of Wealth and Income.** Students of the problem of poverty agree with Dr. King that "the problem of the poor is the vital point of the whole question of distribution." The distribution of *wealth* has a very direct bearing upon the problem of poverty. If a large proportion of the population has very little chance to accumulate sufficient fortune to tide them over crises—like sickness or unemployment—or to keep them in old age, numbers will fall into poverty when such crises arise. Moreover, the hopelessness which such a situation engenders renders such people less ambitious, less efficient producers in many cases, and makes them less regardful of their responsibility to their children's future.

Dr. Ely has called attention to the fact that in none of the states studied by him, Massachusetts, the United Kingdom, France and Prussia, "does a larger fraction than two-fifths of the people possess any considerable amount of property. In England, in fact, nearly four-fifths of the families own less

⁷ Soule, "The Productivity Factor in Wage Determination," *Supplement American Economic Review*, March, 1934, pp. 129-140.

⁸ Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States, 1890 to 1926*, Boston 1930, Chapter 32.

⁹ *Information Service*, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, February 10, 1934.

than £100, and Mr. Chiozza Money would make the percentage of property-less families even greater. The small property owners constitute nearly a fourth of the families of France, but only about a tenth of the families of other nations."¹⁰

Dr. Ely further says: "The tables previously quoted reveal the fact that a surprisingly large share of the wealth of the world is collected into a few hands. The percentages of the families owning one-half of the wealth of the respective states and countries are about as follows:

Massachusetts	1.0
Wisconsin	1.2
United Kingdom	0.4
France	0.8
Prussia	1.7

"The above figures show a striking degree of concentration of private property in the hands of a very small fraction of the population. This is not in itself a desirable distribution of property."¹¹

Dr. King made a study, published in 1915, of the wealth and income of the people of the United States. In that study a comparison was made between the wealth and income of the people of two states in the United States: Massachusetts and Wisconsin, based on the value of the estates of decedents, and of the estates of people in Prussia, France and the United Kingdom. The population of all these states was divided into four classes: the poor, comprising 65 per cent; the lower middle class, composed of the next 15 per cent; the upper middle class, composed of the next 18 per cent of the population; and the rich, comprising the next 2 per cent of the population.

Of the situation in Massachusetts and Wisconsin, he remarks, "The poorest two-thirds of the people own but a petty 5 or 6 per cent of the wealth, and the lower middle class possesses a still smaller share. Thus, the poorest four-fifths of the population own scarcely 10 per cent of the total wealth of the land."¹²

"The richest class, despite the fact that it includes but 2 per cent of the population, possesses the lion's share of accumulated wealth. More than half—in fact, almost three-fifths—of the property is possessed by this fiftieth part of the people. A reference to Fig. 5 shows us that the richest 1 per cent of the men dying owned almost one-half of the value of all the estates, while one-fourth of the entire property was in the hands of one-four-hundredth

¹⁰ Ely, *Property and Contract*, New York, 1914, Vol. I, p. 318.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

¹² King, *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, New York, 1915, p. 80.

part of the people. This means that each of these men in the richest four-hundredth part of the population possessed a hundred times the wealth of the average citizen."¹³

Sufficient has been said to indicate that the wealth of most of the countries of the western world is concentrated in comparatively few hands. Since it is upon the saved income from wealth that people must depend when an event like sickness or the death of the wage-earner, or disability from any cause occurs to interfere with the earning power, and since so small a number of people have wealth of any appreciable amount from which they can expect an income in case of any event which interferes with earning, they either must become dependent or rely upon some form of insurance. Such concentration of wealth, under certain conditions, contributes to poverty and dependency. If wealth is so concentrated that the great mass of the population is unable to accumulate enough property to take care of themselves in sickness or in the event of the death of the bread-earner disaster faces them. One other fact which bears upon this point is the growing concentration of control of the great corporations.¹⁴ Berle and Means have pointed out that the great corporations have come to dominate the major industries. While they have hundreds of thousands of stockholders the control of the property is in the hands of a few men. A few leading stockholders by means of proxies can dominate the entire organization. Furthermore, by interlocking directorates concentration of power is still further narrowed. In some of the largest corporations even the directors do not have large enough holdings to constitute even a significant minority.

Dr. King made a similar study with reference to the *income* of the different classes in the population of the United States. He found that 51.54 per cent of the families of the United States received only 27.86 per cent of the income of the country and that the income of half of the families of the country was less than \$800 per annum. He found that slightly more than two-thirds (69.43 per cent) of the families of the country received only a little over two-fifths of the income of the United States (42.48 per cent).¹⁵ He compared the results of his study with that of Dr. Charles B. Spahr, published in 1896, as follows: "Dr. Spahr believed that 1.6 per cent of the richest families secured 10.8 per cent of the income, while Fig. 27 would indicate that the same fraction of the population now controls some 19 per cent of the income."¹⁶ Since the War, according to the National Bureau of

¹³ King, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁴ Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, N. Y. 1933.

¹⁵ King, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 231.

Economic Research, the inequality in the distribution of incomes in the United States has been somewhat lessened.¹⁷ Whether this lessening of inequality is temporary or permanent we cannot say. The National Bureau of Economic Research in its publication *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, by Professor W. I. King and his co-workers published in 1930, showed that the share of the National income secured by the wage workers increased only 1.7 per cent by 1927, while the percentage they comprised of the total gainfully employed increased 1.9 per cent over that of 1909. In addition to that King estimated that in 1927 there were approximately 2,055,000 unemployed. Consequently it appears that even in the period of prosperity during the late twenties of this century, the concentration of income in the hands of the higher income classes was accentuated.

Thus, a few of our people hold a large part of the wealth of the nation and enjoy large incomes. A great middle class have comparatively good incomes, and control some wealth. The two lower classes, however, are not so fortunately situated. The lower middle class, as King calls it, and the poor class are the ones from which the most of the dependents and the poverty-stricken people come. It is this lowest class in the income and wealth scales that constitutes our problem. While the unequal distribution of wealth and income is not alone in causing their condition, it is one of the important factors immediately producing want and more remotely—destroying ambition, preventing proper education of children, and forcing people to live under conditions that bring problems of infant mortality, depletion of vitality, sickness, unemployment, and all the other steps leading to poverty.

3. **The Maladjustment between Population and Economic Organization.** Another factor in producing poverty and dependency is what has been called the pressure of population on natural resources. What is really meant by this phrase is the maladjustment between the population in a given area and the economic organization for the exploitation of labor and natural resources. One can imagine a situation in a country in which the natural resources are very abundant in relation to the number and quality of the population and yet the people will be very poor. On the other hand history affords examples of a very dense population in a country with poor natural resources but the economic life is so organized that the people can be employed at good wages and they will be very much more prosperous than those in the country just cited. Economic welfare therefore depends upon the adjustment between the numbers and quality of the

¹⁷ Mitchell, et al., *Income in the United States*, New York, 1921, Vol. I, p. 146.

population and the way in which people are organized to exploit the economic resources available. Population pressure therefore is relative to the way in which a people organizes itself economically. What is now the United States in its early days was poor in spite of the fact that it had greater natural resources than it has at the present time, since some of these resources like forests and certain mining areas have been worked out. Scientific knowledge had not advanced to the point to enable the people to exploit the resources of the country. Capital had not been accumulated in sufficient quantities to enable the people to use most advantageously what they had. The factories were not organized as efficiently and laborers had not been trained to produce the amount of goods possible to them in a machine age. The form of corporate organizations had not been developed to enable the greatest maximum efficiency. With the development of the machine, of the corporate form of economic organization, with the accumulation of capital in large amounts, with the discovery of how to exploit cheaply the resources of the country, we can support on a higher standard of living than in the early days a population many times its earlier size. There are those who believe that today what poverty and dependency we have is partly the result of the imperfection of the adjustment of the machinery of production and distribution to the population. It is conceivable that further developments in the technique of production and further development of the processes of distribution of the products of capital and labor might enable us to support even a larger population at a much higher standard of living. However with a given stage of development in production and distribution—i.e. the economic organization—any increase of the population above that which can be most efficiently used in that organization, means over-population. A number of students of the problem of population pressure have held to the belief that in this country we have reached the point at which the population is pressing upon our economic and social organization to the detriment of the general welfare.¹⁸

There is a good deal of evidence that the point of population-saturation has been reached in the economic development of the United States. The great fertile expanses of this country have been occupied. The poorer lands, requiring greater expenditure of capital and labor, are being called upon to produce. We are at the point of diminishing returns. It takes more capital and labor to produce the marginal bushel of wheat today than ever before in the history of the country.¹⁹ The situation grows worse as international

¹⁸ King, *op. cit.*, p. 239

¹⁹ King, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 247.

disorganization prevents the development of a world-wide market, and thus the development of the most efficient economic production and distribution of products.

The importance of limiting the population after it has reached a certain density or of so improving the economic organization that production and distribution supply the needs of a growing population is now generally acknowledged. Vast changes have occurred due to the after-effects of the War. Probably wealth is more concentrated than in 1915. Have real wages and therefore real income, been increased for the great masses of the people? ²⁰ Douglas showed conclusively that the real purchasing power of labor, which comprises the larger part of the population who are likely to fall into poverty, especially when unemployment is taken into account, gradually diminished from the decade 1890-99 up to 1921. From 1921 to 1926 the purchasing power of the workers gradually rose. However, it did not rise in manufacturing as rapidly as the increase in physical productivity of the factories.²¹ Beveridge has shown that between 1900 and 1910 in England there was a check to working class progress and to the general progress of the whole country. These changes have had the effect of overpopulation, although they are due to economic disorganization.

The farmers of the United States since the War have experienced a most serious situation. Before the War a rather stable relationship between the prices they received and the prices paid had been established. Since the War the relationship has been greatly disturbed. Taking 100 as the index of purchasing power of the farmer, 1909-14, note that, except for the years 1917-20, when the index rose above 100, it has steadily declined until in 1932 it reached 61. Under the measures taken by the New Deal it rose in May, 1935, to 84. Poverty has come to large numbers throughout the country.²²

There are two sources from which the population increases, i.e., (1) *the preponderance of immigration over emigration*, and (2) *the natural increase of birth-rate over death-rate*. From both of these sources the population of this country has been increasing from decade to decade. Up to the outbreak of the World War, however, the development of the economic organization had fairly well kept pace with increase in population.

During the decade previous to the outbreak of the War, immigrants increased our population by not less than 700,000 annually, while in the last

²⁰ Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States, 1890-1926*, Boston, 1930, Chap. 32; Beveridge, *Unemployment*, London, 1930, p. 399.

²¹ Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 588-590.

²² Kolb and Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston, 1935, p. 282.

few years of the decade they came at the rate of over a million per year. These people came from countries where standards of living were very much lower than those of our native-born workers, and found here wages that enabled them to live better than they had lived before, and yet competitively drive the Americans from certain occupations. Moreover, the immigrant, if he had a family, had a very high birth-rate. Hence, the influence of the immigrant was felt in three different ways:

- a. He became one more worker to increase competition with the workers already here.
- b. Coming with a lower standard of living, he was able to live and produce on an income impossible for the American workers.
- c. He fathered a larger number of children than the American worker, increasing the forces which in the next generation competed with the children of native-born Americans.

Since immigration was sharply restricted in the 20's of the present century, this source of over-population in the United States has been greatly cut down.

Without a doubt, after a certain point has been reached in the development of the country, any considerable additional number of laborers results in the lowering of wages. If, however, this tendency is prevented by the unionization of labor, or by the enactment of a minimum wage, then the result is increased prices for the product, to the disadvantage of the consumer of goods, and non-union labor is crowded into more poorly paid occupations. The pressure of population is influenced also by the natural increase of births or deaths. In the last fifty years the span of life has been greatly increased. Hygiene has cut down the death rate especially in the early years of life so that if it had not been for a decreased birth-rate population would have increased by the process of nature very much more rapidly.

However, influences have been at work which decreased the birth-rate. This has been especially true in American families and also in the immigrant families of the second and third generations. The size of the American family in the last fifty years has diminished through a lowered birth-rate. The consequence of the interaction of these two facts, one in decreasing the total number in the population and the other lessening the increase through a diminished birth-rate, has led to a smaller rate of population increase for each succeeding decade.

Whenever the population becomes too great, wages begin to decrease, the standard of living is lowered, and poverty and pauperism spread in the lowest economic classes. Among students of the question, the feeling grows that the pressure of population is beginning to show itself among the poorer

paid wage-earners.²³ At present we seem to be entering upon a new phase of population growth, probably a much slower growth than formerly. Although average life expectancy has increased in the United States during recent years, the expectancy of persons now over forty-five years of age is definitely less than it was some years ago. The depression and immigration laws have sharply checked immigration into this country and there are signs that we shall see forced re-patriation (on a large scale) of unnaturalized aliens now within our borders. Apparently, for many years past, our birth-rate, on the average, has been kept up because of the fecundity of our negro population and our immigrants *of the first generation*. When our immigration—as it may—becomes somewhat stabilized at a rather low figure, we may find our birth-rate lower than it has ever been and, at that, maintained only by the fecundity of our negroes and possibly other prolific elements. As things now stand, it appears that twenty years hence the *proportion* of old people in our population will be far larger than ever before. Our country very likely will cease to be a “young man’s country”; there simply will be a smaller proportion of young people, and a higher degree of conservatism may be expected to prevail. This is only naturally to be expected, as our nation grows out of national adolescence and approaches national adulthood. If there is a larger proportion of children from negroes and other imprudent members of the population and if there is a larger proportion of old people in the population, there will be an increase of poverty and dependency among the classes which even now furnish most of the poor and the dependent—children, inefficient and imprudent workers, and the aged.

VII. MALADJUSTMENT OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

There are five maladjustments which give rise to poverty and dependency. They are: family marital relations, political conditions, unwise philanthropy, lack of adequate means of settling industrial disputes, and an educational system ill adapted to prepare for life and livelihood. The first of these we shall discuss in the remainder of this chapter, the others in the following chapters.

All of these grow out of want of consciousness in society of its responsibility for the welfare of all its members. They are partly the fruit of a non-socialized, individualistic theory of social relationships known by the old formula of *laissez faire*, characterizing the social philosophy which came to its height in the latter half of the last century. On the other hand, a

²³ King, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-255.

part of them are simply due to our inability to keep pace in the development of our social and economic arrangements with the progress of events in our highly dynamic society. Our knowledge has not yet been incarnated in social arrangements.

Faulty Marital Relations. There are six conditions in family life which have potentialities for poverty and pauperism. They are: widowhood, the unmarried state, divorce, desertion, illegitimacy, and disharmony in the family without separation.

a. *Widowhood.* Widowhood as a cause of poverty and dependency operates chiefly in the case of women and children. In the United States on April 1, 1930, there were 86,718,170 persons over 15 years of age. Of these 4.6 per cent of the males were widowed and 11.1 per cent of the females. Of the native white male population 4 per cent, of the foreign born males 6.6 per cent, and of the negro males 6.3 per cent were widowed. Of the native white females 9.4 per cent, of the foreign born females 15.4 per cent, and of the negro females in the population 15.9 per cent were widowed. Of the males in urban communities 4.3 per cent, of the males in rural areas 4.8 per cent, and of those in rural non-farm areas 5.3 per cent were widowed. Of the females in urban areas 11.8 per cent, of those in rural communities 8.1 per cent, and of those in rural non-farm areas 11.8 per cent were widowed.

From these figures it appears that: (1) While males and females over 15 years of age in the United States are nearly equal in number (43,881,021 males, 42,837,149 females), the percentage of the widowed females was 2.4 times that of the males (11.1 per cent as compared with 4.6 per cent). Probably that is to be explained on the hypothesis based upon common observation that widowed males more frequently marry than widowed females. It is all the more striking in that, as is known from other figures, early in life men have a greater mortality rate than women. (2) The foreign born and negroes have a very much higher rate of widowhood than the native born among both males and females. (3) The variation between urban and rural communities may perhaps be interpreted either as due to the greater hazard to males in the city or on account of the migration of widows from country to city in quest of greater opportunities of self-support.

While we cannot state just what proportion of the dependency among children and women is due to widowhood, we can be sure that a fairly large per cent owe their dependency to that factor. Among the indications that widowhood is likely to produce poverty and dependency are: (1) The financial situation of the female before the death of the husband. In 488 relief cases of widows studied in New York City it was found that 28 of the

deceased husbands had been earning less than \$8.00 a week and 238 had been earning from \$8.00 to \$12.00 a week. In a study of 985 widows by Richmond and Hall over two-thirds of the deceased husbands had earned less than \$13.00 a week. (2) That widowhood has some relationship to insanity and thus with dependency is indicated by the statistics as to the comparative numbers of widows among the insane. On January 1, 1923 of 100,000 insane population of the same marital condition 424.6 of both sexes were widowed while the number for all marital conditions was only 252.8. (3) The large proportion of widowed in the almshouses indicates that widowhood has some relation to dependency. Of the number of paupers 15 years of age and over per 100,000 of the almshouse population of the same marital class, sex and age, the widowed male constituted 872.7, the widowed female 250.2 as compared respectively for all marital conditions with 143.5 for the males and 66 for the females.²⁴ (4) Of 9,194 families receiving mother's pensions in 5 states in 1921, 75 per cent were families in which the father was dead.²⁵ The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has shown that the burden of orphanhood has been steadily diminishing since the beginning of the century through the hygienic measures which have cut down the death-rate in the ages when people are most likely to have children dependent upon them.²⁶

Whatever dependency is caused by widowhood, it is certain that not all the results are economic. A child needs the influence of two parents in his development. The loss of the influence of his father, if that father is a real father, is a great misfortune. The struggle for a living forces the mother out of the home and causes neglect of the children under her care. So indirectly, widowhood often has results socially bad as well as economically disastrous.

b. *Unmarried.* The Census Bureau has pointed out in its study of almshouse inmates that there is an unusually high proportion of paupers among the single and among the widowed and suggests that pauperism is associated with a lack of normal family life. The unmarried person especially in old age is likely to become dependent.

²⁴ Devine, "Widow's Needs," *The Survey*, April 14, 1914, p. 23; Richmond and Hall, *A Study of Nine Hundred and Eighty-five Widows*, New York, 1913, p. 14; *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1923*, Preliminary Bulletin of Department of Commerce, Washington, 1926, p. 5; *Paupers in American Almshouses, 1923*, Bureau of the Census, (Washington, 1925), p. 27.

²⁵ Lundberg, "Aid to Mothers and Dependent Children," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1921.

²⁶ "The Diminishing Burden of Orphanhood a Great Social Benefit," *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, September, 1933.

Furthermore unmarried people in 1923 had a higher ratio among the insane in institutions per 100,000 of the general population of the same marital conditions than the married²⁷ (244.4 for the single as compared with 212.9 for the married).

Another class of dependents has a large number of unmarried. This class is composed of the homeless. Mrs. Solenberger found that of 1,000 homeless men in Chicago 74 per cent of them were unmarried. Of Anderson's 400 hoboes studied by him in Chicago, 1921-22, 86 per cent of them claimed to be unmarried. Miss Hughes found of 500 lodgers in a municipal lodging house in Chicago, 76 per cent were single.²⁸

c. *Divorce and Desertion.* Divorce probably is responsible for some economic distress. Of the divorces granted to wives in 1929 there were children involved in 41 per cent. Alimony was granted, however, to only 14.7 per cent (1922). It is impossible to say that in the other 26.3 per cent of the cases, the divorce resulted in economic need, for it is possible that the wife had independent means or that the husband had made a settlement out of court. Also it should be remembered that divorce is largely a possibility only for the fairly well-to-do. Desertion is the poor man's divorce. However, divorce may result in such emotional disturbances that the economic efficiency of husband or wife may be affected and that the children will fail to develop into self-supporting individuals. Much more important than divorce as a factor in poverty and dependency is desertion. Every careful study shows that desertion characterizes the classes with lower incomes and the poorer sections of cities.²⁹ The Bureau of the Census in its first study of marriage and divorce in the United States found that of the little less than a million divorce cases 43.4 per cent were granted for desertion and neglect to provide and 39.6 per cent for desertion alone. These percentages, however, cannot be relied upon as a measure of desertion in the United States and not even as a measure of the part that desertion plays in divorce, for desertion could be urged as a ground of divorce in some states even though the desertion had been only technical for the purpose of granting a divorce.³⁰

As a factor in producing poverty and dependency the studies made in various cities by case-working agencies and by authorities dealing with

²⁷ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1923*, (Washington, 1926), pp. 34, 145.

²⁸ Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men*, p. 20, Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago, 1923) p. 137; *Annual Reports of the Department of Public Welfare of Chicago, 1926*, p. 16.

²⁹ Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, (Chicago, 1927), pp. 120-123; Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago*, (Chicago, 1932), pp. 151, 152.

³⁰ *Marriage and Divorce, 1867-1906*, Special Reports of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1909, Vol. I, p. 39.

mothers' pensions provide much more important material for our purpose. Figures vary as to the proportion of the dependency cases due to desertion in these various cities. In a general way it may be said that from 20 to 25 per cent of the children committed as public wards to private orphan asylums in New York City and elsewhere are the children of deserting fathers, while it has been estimated that approximately 10 to 15 per cent of the relief work of the welfare societies is concerned with deserted families.³¹

d. *Illegitimacy.* Closely connected with desertion and divorce in aggravating poverty and pauperism is illegitimacy. The mother of the child is usually young; she bears in her condition and in her child the badge of her delinquency. Many doors of employment open to other women are closed to her. Moreover, if, obeying her maternal instinct, she keeps her child, she is further handicapped in making a living. Not only does the care of her child prevent her from engaging in industry, but the stigma she bears often keeps her from employment, like housework, which she could follow with a child. Hence, she must get rid of her child or she must find the unusual housewife who will be willing to accept her with her child and disgrace, or she must find someone who will care for her child while she works to make a living for both. She is a sorely handicapped woman in the industrial world.

How great weight has illegitimacy in pushing people below the threshold of self-support? Would that we knew! We can only say that it is much less influential in causing poverty than in producing dependency among women and children. The best measure of the burden of dependency caused by illegitimacy available today is provided by a study of the problem in

³¹ Marquis, *A Survey of the Extent, Financial and Social Cost of Desertion and Artificially Broken Homes in Kansas City, Missouri*, Kansas City, 1915, pp. 8, 34, 37; Joanna C. Colcord, "Desertion and Non-Support in Family Case Work," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918, p. 101, Lilian Brandt, *Five Hundred and Seventy Four Deserters and Their Families*, New York, 1905, p. 10. (Miss Colcord says that desertion accounts for from 10 to 15 per cent of the work of any family welfare society *Broken Homes*, New York, 1919, p. 52.) Pear, "How Boston Meets and Supports its Public Service Program," *Proceedings, Conference of Social Work*, 1925, p. 492; Patterson, "Family Desertion and Non-Support," *The Journal of Delinquency*, 1922, pp. 262, 263; Sherman, "Racial Factors in Desertion," *The Family*, October-November-December 1922, January, 1923; Mowrer, *op. cit.*, Chapter 9; Liebman, "Some General Aspects of Family Desertion," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, April, 1920, pp. 202-205; Dumser, "Family Desertion," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1920, pp. 98-104; Colcord, Art., "Family Desertion and Non-Support," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, pp. 78-81; O'Neil & Glover, "Report on a Study of One Thousand Cases of Desertion," *The Family*, January, 1929, pp. 287-291; O'Neil, "A Study of Desertion and Non-Support," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Catholic Charities*, 1928, pp. 79-87.

Boston by the Federal Children's Bureau. Of the cases handled by the child caring and child protecting agencies in Boston in 1914, 13 per cent were made up of children born out of wedlock, costing the agencies \$124,000 a year.³²

e. *Disharmony in the Unbroken Family.* Divorce, desertion and unmarried parenthood are only surface symptoms of deep-lying conditions which, often breaking forth in the disruption of the family, yet many times do not so manifest themselves. The heads of a family may not get a divorce. They may not even separate. Yet their family life may be often one long disharmony. They may not agree on the way in which the income should be spent. They may wrangle over investments of funds. Ambition may be slain by the constant nagging.

The family is the unit in society in the expenditure of the income of its members. The economic future of that family is quite dependent upon the active coöperation of the members of it. This is especially true of the husband and wife. The husband in most cases earns the income; the wife spends it. Unless these two work together harmoniously in this important partnership, economic as well as other forms of disaster will inevitably overtake the family.

The wisdom of the ages has recognized the importance of harmony in this relationship. While the Biblical description of the Ideal Wife³³ in some of her productive activities will no longer hold in a world in which machine and factory production have displaced household production, yet the picture of her interest in the economic affairs of the family and of the results of her sympathy with the economic life of her husband upon the welfare of the family still holds good. That attitude is reflected in the saying, "Some women can throw more out of the window with a teaspoon than a man can bring in with a scoop shovel."

It must not be forgotten in this connection that domestic harmony is important not only directly for the welfare of the family, but that the future of the children is affected by the relationship of the partners. It is quite possible that the husband and wife who will not agree about the earning of money and the expenditure of money will not agree in the training of the children and therefore there will be for the child neither united guidance nor whole-hearted backing in his preparation for life. Domestic disharmony results often in poor work in school, early leaving school and early marriage,

³² *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part II, Children's Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921, p. 41.

³³ Proverbs, 31:10-31.

with all the attendant evils already discussed. In these indirect ways domestic disharmony reacts unfavorably upon its members and produces poverty and pauperism.

f. *Imprisonment.* In 1933 there were 351,670 men, women and children locked up in penal and correctional institutions in the United States. Some of these were the bread-earners for people dependent upon them. The stark tragedy of the situation appears clearly to anyone who comes into intimate contact with these prisoners and their families. That is the direct bearing of imprisonment on poverty and dependency. Indirectly imprisonment affects the morale of the man himself, his wife, and his children. The discharged man often is never able to be economically independent. The shadow of his experience often falls across the paths of his children.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. A Comparison of Wages and Cost of Living. *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, 1920, 1921; *Standards of Living*, Bulletin No. 7, Bureau of Applied Economics, Washington, 1920.
2. Widowhood and Poverty. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, pp. 187-191.
3. Family Desertion and Poverty. Colcord, *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918; *Broken Homes*, New York, 1919; Eubank, *A Study of Family Desertion*, Dept. Pub. Welfare, Chicago; Brandt, 574 *Deserters and Their Families*, Charity Organization Society of New York, 1905; Colcord, "Family Desertion and Non-Support," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 6.
4. Illegitimacy and Poverty. *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 66 and No. 75.
5. The Post-War Plight of the Farmer Kolb & Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston, 1935. Part III, "Rural Life"; *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, Chapter 10.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. On what theory do we assume that the concentration of wealth and income in few hands makes for poverty and dependency?
2. If the cutting down of output by workers keeps more people at work, why does under-production from this cause promote poverty and dependency?
3. Pick out the most salient facts which show the inequitable distribution of wealth and income.
4. What is the justification, if any, of the labor union for the restriction of immigration?
5. Why was a large family an economic asset in the days before the industrial revolution and why is it a liability today? What economic reason is there for large families among the poor in congested centers of our large cities?

6. Point out the operation of the factors that lead to dependency and poverty discussed in this chapter in the cases cited in the chapter on "Cases in Social Causation."
7. Why is desertion a more important factor in economic distress than divorce?
8. Would a wage for prisoners lessen the effect of this factor in dependency? Why?
9. Why were large numbers of farmers forced to take relief during the years 1930-1936?

CHAPTER IX

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS (Concluded)

CERTAIN other factors mentioned in the previous chapter must be studied to make the account complete. These are: (1) political maladjustment, (2) unwise philanthropy, (3) lack of adequate means of settling industrial disputes, and (4) a faulty educational system.

VIII. POLITICAL MALADJUSTMENTS

Government in modern democracies is presumed to be in the interests of all the people. Originally devised to procure release from political tyranny which refused permission to people to exercise what they felt were their rights in religious and political self-expression, but suggested also because of the denial of their economic rights, democracy has come to mean the protection of all the people in all their rights—political, religious, educational and economic.

Now, democracy did not spring into being full grown, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. As we know from our study of English history, the feudal barons had no adequate idea of the implications of what they did, when they wrested the Magna Charta from King John. Our revolutionary forefathers had not thought out the logical implications of their declaration that "all men are created free and equal," else they would have provided for the suffrage of negroes and women. Step by step in all modern democracies political implications of democracy are still being realized. We are insisting that democracy means more than the mere right to vote, important as that is; that special interests should not have privileges denied to all other interests; that the rich should not have an undue advantage over the poor, the educated over the ignorant. It implies substantial equality before the law, in the legislature, and in industrial life so far as that is affected by law and administration. The economic welfare of the people is affected by political conditions—law, the courts and administrative action.

1. **Denial of Justice.** Perhaps not so much by money as by influence do men corrupt the lawmaker, the executive, and the judge, so that certain individuals, classes and corporations obtain the advantage over others, with

the result that the burdens of society are made unequal. The legislator elected to represent *all* the people of a district may be moved by financial support from a certain interest to legislate for that interest to the prejudice of the rest of the constituency; or he may favor his own as against the public interest. The executive whose business it is to enforce the law, because of pressure or bribe, direct or indirect, sometimes enforces the law unequally, winking at violations by certain individuals and classes while severely curbing others. Police favoritism is one of the best illustrations of this. One can usually be sure, however, that back of the corrupt policeman there is someone more guilty, "higher up." Occasionally the judge allows the bribe to blind his eyes to justice. More often he allows the influence of his friends or his own interest to warp his judgment. Or he may belong to a class whose interests he will favor at the expense of public policy and to the hurt of other classes of the people. Thus, by direct or indirect corruption of public officials, injustice is done those least able to protect themselves, and their economic independence is undermined.

Often our present system of justice because of the expense of litigation makes it almost impossible for the poor to secure their rights. The following cases indicate the difficulty which poor people experience in trying to secure justice through the ordinary course of law:

The essentially conservative bench and bar will vehemently deny any suggestion that there is no law for the poor, but, as the legal aid societies know, such is the belief to-day of a multitude of humble, entirely honest people, and in the light of their experience it appears as the simple truth. Consider, for example, this actual case. A woman borrowed ten dollars in 1914, and for two years paid interest at 180 per cent. In 1916 a law was enacted fixing 36 per cent as the maximum rate. The lender, by a device contrary to the statute, compelled her to continue paying 156 per cent interest. The law also provided that if excess interest were charged, the loan would be declared void by a suit in equity. The law was on the books. The court house was open, the equity court in session with its judge on the bench and its officers in attendance. All that was of no avail to her, for the law could not bring its redress until five dollars was paid for service of process and entry fee, and ten dollars to an attorney to draw, file, and present the necessary bill of complaint. Fifteen dollars she did not have and, because of her condition, could not earn. For her there was no law.

The following case illustrates the delays in securing a final judgment in Philadelphia before the creation of the municipal court in 1913, and is typical of a condition which has existed in every large city: A wage-earner had a claim for ten dollars, which represented a week's work. On January 19, 1911, the Legal Aid Society tried his case in the Magistrate's Court and secured judgment. On February 8, 1911, the defendant appealed to the Court of Common Pleas, which

gave him the right to have the entire case tried all over again. On March 11, 1911, the plaintiff's claim was filed in the Court of Common Pleas and the case marked for the trial list. Owing to congested dockets the case did not actually appear on a trial list until February 7, 1912.

Here entered a rule of procedure which would be incredible if it did not exist. A case marked for trial Monday must be tried Monday or Tuesday or else go off the list entirely. That is, if any prior case or cases marked on Monday's calendar should occupy the time of the court during Monday and Tuesday, then all other cases assigned on that list are cancelled and the parties must begin at the bottom again, re-marking the case for trial and awaiting the assignment. While this is going on in one session, another session of the same court may have no cases and so be obliged to suspend, for, under the legal procedure, it was forbidden to do the common-sense thing of transferring cases from a congested to an empty session of court.

The wage-earner's case, assigned for February 7, 1912, was not reached on that day or the next, and so went off the list. It was re-marked and assigned for April 3, 1912. Not being reached on April 3 or 4, it again went off and did not reappear until October 10, 1912. Fortunately, it was reached and tried on October 11, 1912, and judgment entered for the plaintiff. It took one year and nine months, and required eleven days in court for both attorney and client, to collect the original ten dollars.¹

2. Outgrown Laws and Methods of Administration. Outgrown laws and methods of administration often work hardship to certain classes. An example of the former is a tariff law intended to protect an infant industry while it was being established, but which remains after that purpose has been accomplished and puts an unjust tax upon the consumer. Once the tax upon realty—small holdings as well as large—according to a more or less equal assessment, was the chief reliance for local revenues. But with the possibility of hiding corporate or personal property and thus escaping just taxation, the realty tax bears unequally upon the small home-owner. Again, laws such as the patent laws and the corporation laws of some states, giving a monopoly to certain people, may be quite legal, but may mean the exploitation of the masses of the people. Other monopolies may not be properly regulated. Sometimes they charge unreasonable rates for their services and thus exploit the consumer. The old laws do not fit the new forms of corporate organization. New measures must be devised to control them in the public interest. New conditions may have rendered socially hurtful the old

¹ Smith, *Justice and the Poor*, New York, 1919, Bulletin No. 13, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, p. 11; Nims, "Law Courts for the Forgotten Man," *The Forum*, June, 1934; Overmeyer, "Poor Man's Justice," *The Survey*, Sept. 1934.

laws regulating certain industries, like the coal mines or the oil industry—laws which, under earlier conditions, were well adapted to secure the best use of those industries for all concerned.

Illustrative of outgrown methods of administration are administrative boards manned by political appointees instead of by persons qualified by training and experience in the field, and boards and courts tender to property but callous to the sufferings of people, ruled by hoary precedent rather than by consideration of the measures made necessary by new knowledge and changed circumstances.

3. **A Negative Rather Than a Positive Attitude toward Delinquents and Unfortunates.** The idler, so long as he does not transgress some law, is allowed to continue a course which is quite likely to end in delinquency or dependency. The State says nothing to him until he commits a crime or becomes dependent. It makes no positive attempt to stay him on a course which is sure to end in trouble. During the War, the idler of certain ages was told he must either fight or work. While such a policy could not be put into unlimited operation in peace, it suggests that many a young man would be saved from criminality or from dependency in later life, if society could put some pressure upon him at certain stages in his career. Practically the only place in which such positive and constructive measures have been used is in our juvenile courts. Quite recently our CCC camps have done a notable work in keeping many thousands of young men, otherwise unemployed, engaged in various public works, many undoubtedly of great value.

In public poor relief, under the laws of most of our States, a poor person who applies for relief is not given help so long as he has any property. Often it would save the family from the hopelessness characteristic of those who have spent all, if the public poor official had been able to use his discretion as to whether the property should be saved while the public supplied the necessities of life until the children are grown up and prepared for life and the support of one or both parents.

4. **Wastefulness in Government Expenditures.** Wastefulness in Government expenditures increases taxes and bears heavily upon the classes which are least able to bear them. The rich in most countries most often succeed in escaping taxation commensurate with their ability to pay. The burden of taxation, direct and indirect, in the United States as a whole bears most heavily upon the small merchant, the small landowner, and the workman dependent upon his wages. The waste occurs chiefly in the election to office of inefficient and incompetent men who have put the politicians under obligations. Such men have no vision and no experience in business man-

agement adequate to enable them to save the public money. Millions are squandered each year in the notorious Federal "pork barrel" for rivers and harbors and for postoffices designed to please local vanity and to insure the re-election of the congressmen who secure the appropriations. Even more scandalous is the huge amounts of money appropriated for the "veterans" of our wars, especially of the World War. Less than one per cent of the people of the United States in 1932 received 25 per cent of the entire Federal revenue. Most of it goes to men who were not disabled by their army experience. Some of it goes to men who are drawing large salaries. More than twice the number of wounded and dead from all causes in the World War are drawing monthly government checks. This veterans' relief is costing over a billion dollars per year. Each year the cost increases. And the payment of the bonus was forced thirteen years ahead of its maturity.² A national budget system has great difficulty in making headway because it interferes with the patronage of legislators. For years the amount spent for the relief of the poor in most of our states mounted rapidly because relief authorities insisted in appointing some old man who needed a job, as relief official, or in having each county supervisor give the relief himself in his district, rather than hiring an expert in relief-giving to administer that important work and thus save the public's money. We build jails of which the counties "can be proud," and into them throw the misdemeanant no matter what his mental or moral condition, board him at county expense while he is "laying out" his fine or sentence, meanwhile supporting his family from public or private funds. We do that to the same individual not only once but as many as seventy-five times, without once asking the question as to whether such a use of public money is worth while from any point of view. Says the Massachusetts Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910: "It is probable that if precise computation were possible, it would show that about 10 per cent of all the expenditures of a Massachusetts citizen sooner or later finds its way into the public treasury. Nobody can escape this, whether rich or poor, high or low; and the serious phase of it is, that the percentage of contribution must, on the whole, be at least as large for the poor as for the rich. If that be true, then the actual sacrifice in the cost of government falls most heavily on the shoulders least able to bear it."³

5. **International Maladjustments.** International maladjustments produce poverty, often in a class, and sometimes in a whole nation. Tariff bar-

² Powell, "The Rising Tide of Doles to Veterans," *Readers Digest*, June, 1932, pp. 73-76; Mayo, "Widows and Orphans Last," *New York Herald Tribune*, March 25, 1934; Davenport, "But Dead Men Don't Vote," *Collier's Weekly*, June 11, 1932; McManus, "Billions for Veterans," *Current History*, August, 1932.

³ *Massachusetts Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living*, 1910, p. 217.

riers to the flow of international trade not only raise the price of consumers' goods in a country, but prevent the development of industry by interfering with a flow of goods out of the country. If a high tariff wall is raised against the goods of other countries, how shall they pay for the goods which we wish to send them? Exports must be paid for either in imports, or in investments by the importing country in the exporting country, or by the shipment of gold. In any case, prices rise in the high-tariff country and the consumer suffers. Trade wars between different countries frequently work disaster to the masses. Our history shows that tariff walls are not a monopoly of any one nation. Failure to adjust the interests of competing nations often crushes a class or injures the whole population of one country.

War itself is a dreadful waste and cause of poverty. From 1879 to 1909, out of our National Treasury there was expended for Army, Navy, Pensions and Interest charges, \$12,210,499.778, or 71.5 per cent of our total Federal expenditures during those thirty-one years.¹

Certainly this point does not need elaboration, with the results of the World War before us. Consider the terrific burden which those living in all nations engaged in that struggle will have to bear for the rest of their lives. In many cases the burden will continue during the lives of their children and their grandchildren. Even the people of the United States are bearing taxes never before known by them. The War so upset industry and disturbed prices and wages that myriads suffered from the economic maladjustments brought about by this great international disturbance. Untold billions of treasure were wasted; millions of men were turned from production to destruction; ten million were killed or so wounded as never to be able to contribute much to the productive force of their respective nations; and fields and factories, as well as homes, orchards and forests, were destroyed. We stand before an impoverished world. Millions have been made poor—yea, paupers. Upon the charity of the world for the next generation will be millions whose all has been destroyed and whose hopes have been dashed forever. Children, stunted in their bodies and minds, will never be so self-supporting as they might have been, had this terrible War never occurred. And it all came about because, in international relations the nations of the Western World have not yet learned to make adjustments of mutual benefit.

IX. UNWISE RELIEF METHODS

As a factor causing pauperism, unwise relief methods have often been overstated. Says Seligman concerning the English Poor Law:

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199; Willoughby in *Business Week*, March 30, 1932; Butler, "What Price Glory," *Readers Digest*, August, 1934.

The English system was undeniably a direct premium on improvident marriage and a lack of frugality. But the oft-repeated assertion that it impoverished the comfortable and perpetuated the miserable is clearly an exaggeration. The situation at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries was indeed deplorable; but, as we know, it was largely the result of the abuses connected with the transition from the domestic to the factory system. The poor law played its part, but, after all, a relatively inconspicuous part, in maintaining the degradation of the working classes. In the same way the great reform of the poor law in 1834, by which outdoor relief was abolished, was only one of the many ameliorative movements which revolutionized the condition of the laborers in the second quarter of the century, such as the abolition of the conspiracy acts, the passage of the factory laws, the repeal of the corn laws, the reform of taxation, and the growth of democracy. The old poor law did not create English poverty and the new poor law did not abolish it.⁵

Similar observations may be made with reference to the part which unwise relief methods have played in fostering pauperism in America. While not wholly to blame, such methods have had results directly in pauperizing many of the poor and indirectly in drawing attention away from fundamental causes. Until recently the giving of a dole without consideration of what brought the needy to distress and with the assumption that all they needed was material necessities blinded the eyes of most people to personality difficulties often at the bottom of the need, or to the frightful economic and social injustices from which the distressed suffer.

1. **Pauperism Caused by Indiscriminate Giving.** No one knows how much is spent in the United States on the relief of the poor; hence, it is impossible to say how much is unwisely spent, causing pauperism. Common observation, however, leads us to believe that much of our public poor relief pauperizes its recipients. This is the experience of Indiana. In 1895, before the reform of the Indiana public poor relief system, the township overseers of the poor in Indiana spent \$630,168. In 1907, 12 years later, after more discriminating methods of poor relief along the lines developed by private agencies had been adopted the same overseers were spending but \$227,304. In 1897, one out of every 31 of the inhabitants of the State was receiving public poor relief; 10 years later only one out of 71. In 1897 there were 38 counties in the State in which one out of every 30 or less inhabitants was receiving aid, but 10 years later there was not a county in the State where so high a ratio prevailed. It is probably safe to say at least half of the public outdoor poor relief in the United States is worse than wasted in that it pauperizes the recipients. One of the complaints against the relief methods

⁵ Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, New York, 1917, pp. 689, 690.

for the unemployed under the FERA during the depression beginning in 1929 was the demoralization of the recipients.

2. **The Economic Burden of Unwise Philanthropy.** From the estimates given in a previous chapter, it is evident that the financial burden of the support of the poor is great. It is not here claimed that the amount is too large; it is probably too small, but a large part of it is spent unwisely. If it were spent in service, rather than in mere relief, it would do good rather than harm, reduce pauperism rather than cause it, and greatly lessen the burden of the next generation. As administered, however, it is simply relief, and neither prevents nor reduces pauperism, but rather increases it. This waste not only increases poverty directly, but is a heavy charge upon the taxes, and prevents the spending of public money for more constructive purposes.

The Massachusetts Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910, estimates that the number of criminals, vagrants, paupers and insane in that State is 126,631. It estimates that the loss from this army of dependents including a fair estimate of the possible average individual earnings in 1910 was \$97,750,000 or about \$30.00 per capita for the population of the commonwealth.⁶ Of the \$19,000,000 actually spent on these State wards, the Report says that a large part of it was wasted. The Report adds, "If a quarter of the sum were expended in a serious attempt to reduce these evils by sane and scientific methods, much of this inefficiency would be removed. Yet, as a matter of fact, the percentage of this social waste appears to be constantly increasing with the passage of time and the growth of population. It is an enormous burden on the productive energies of the State, and an item of importance in producing the high cost of living."⁷ In 1921-22 Wisconsin spent about 6 cents out of every dollar of taxes on the care of the dependent.

Since taxes are especially heavy upon the lower economic classes, the heavier the burden of taxation due to the support of dependents, the more depressed are those who are struggling to make a living. Therefore, like any other waste of public funds, this waste adds a greater burden to society and to that degree depresses those near the poverty line, without curing the evil.

3. **The Pauperizing Influence of a Bad Example.** Wasteful and unwise relief, that is, relief to those who could otherwise subsist, sets a bad example for those who are struggling to maintain their independence at or near the poverty line. Often it leads them to give up the fight for independence and become recipients of relief. Investigations have shown that people

⁶ *Massachusetts Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living*, 1910, p. 221.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

receive relief who could support themselves. Yet, when faced with the question of actual need of relief, these people have replied, "I need this just as much as So-and-So," or, "If So-and-So can receive free coal, why can't I?" The history of indiscriminate relief, in England, on the Continent, and in this country, shows that unwise relief always creates more demand. Any community can have as many paupers as it is willing to support. The example of giving up the struggle and receiving public aid spreads like a contagion to those whose moral stamina is none too great at the best.

4. **Home Relief of Defective Classes.** The usual policy of providing outdoor relief to defective families directly produces pauperism. Of course, society cannot let them suffer for want of the necessities of life, but society has the duty of preventing the procreation of children in hereditarily defective families. Our marriage laws everywhere deny certain defectives the right to marry, but public sentiment upholds the right of all men and women, if they are not positively insane or idiotic, to marry and have families. Defectives among the poor, even under rather good conditions, first come to want. By providing them relief in their homes, the propagation of children is made possible; the burden on society for their support increases with no other result than to perpetuate the defective stock. If home relief is given hereditary defectives it should be limited to those who cannot reproduce.

5. **Beggars and Vagrants.** The feeding of vagrants at the door and indiscriminate giving to street beggars only encourages the habit and confirms these men in their hope that they can make a living without work. Experience enough has been had by communities in this country to demonstrate that a community will have just as much begging and vagrancy as it deserves by its treatment of the beggar and vagrant. Indiscriminate giving to these, in the belief that there may be among them some worthy man who, if the gift were not made, would suffer, is a cause of the large number of beggars and tramps even in prosperous times. One of the most promising projects of the New Deal was the Federal care of transients inaugurated in 1934 and discontinued as a Federal project in 1935. This plan provided for the care of these homeless men in a fairly adequate and constructive manner. For the first time in the history of the United States people could refuse a beggar at the door or on the street and still feel that he was provided for by the transient service. In a later chapter, attention will be given to a method whereby these paupers may be cared for without encouraging them in their idleness.

6. **Effect of Indiscriminate Giving on the Public.** Indiscriminate giving not only injures the recipient, but it prevents the establishment of methods of discriminate and constructive giving designed to cure pauperism and, with

the establishment of constructive service, to prevent as well as to cure. Unwise relief is costly and the burden ever increases. Without question careful administration of relief would greatly decrease the burden of the proper care of those in distress.

X. LACK OF ADEQUATE METHODS OF SETTLING INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Strikes and lockouts interfere with production and cause loss both to manufacturer and worker. Indirectly these disturbances increase the cost of the product. In both these ways, industrial instability in some cases induces poverty. While efforts have been made over a long period of time to reduce industrial disputes success has not been marked. Conciliation and arbitration have been tried without pronounced results. Even the efforts of the New Deal under the Roosevelt administration, such as the N. R. A. and the National Labor Board and similar devices have not solved the problem. This is shown by the fact that the number of disputes beginning in any one month rose from 734 in 1927 to 894 in 1931, and to 1562 in 1932. The number of workers involved in those years was respectively 349,434; 279,299; and 812,137. The number of man-days lost, however, showed a steady decrease from 1927 to 1932, from 37,799,394 in 1927 to 6,462,973 in 1932. However, in 1933 the number of man-days lost rose to 14,818,747. On the whole it may be said that there was a rather steady diminution of losses from strikes and lockouts from 1916 to 1928. The disturbed conditions of the depression beginning in 1929 and the difficulties arising from the adjustments attempted under the Roosevelt administration resulted in some increase. Whether measures can be devised to bring about peaceful methods of adjusting industrial disputes remains to be seen. There can be no question that this industrial warfare levies a tremendous tax upon both business and labor, with perhaps the heaviest toll being borne by the laboring classes.

XI. AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM ILL-ADAPTED TO PREPARE FOR LIFE AND LIVELIHOOD

Modern industry has destroyed the family as a place of training for a trade. The factory apprenticeship system is by no means universal and seems to be disappearing with the better organization of factories and the subdivision of labor within the factory. Consequently, upon the school falls the responsibility for preventing illiteracy, and also for giving training needed to prepare children for life. The school must take the place of the home and the shop of former days to a considerable degree. To some extent the school

system has recognized this obligation. In many states vocational schools have been organized to give training in vocational skills. An increasing number of the colleges and universities have introduced schools of business, schools of education for the training of teachers, schools of engineering, of medicine, of pharmacy and of social work. Practical training—in medicine as internship, etc.—by various colleges have been added to the class and laboratory work in order to make the preparation for livelihood more effective. Universities have added extension courses partly for the purpose of better preparing for their respective vocations those already at work. States and the Federal Government are devoting large sums to vocational training. However, in spite of all these attempts of the school system to adapt itself to the preparation of people for self-support, much still remains to be done.

Abbreviated School Life of American Children. In the first part of the present century from 50 to 75 per cent of the pupils left high school before finishing, and 50 per cent of those who finished the eighth grade or reached the age at which they ceased to be subject to the compulsory attendance laws, did not enter high school. Approximately 90 per cent of those who entered the first grade dropped out before they graduated from high school. At that time it was believed that fully 60 per cent of those who left high school before they finished did so because it did not offer them what they felt they needed for the work they desired to do.⁸ The consequences of this short period of time in the school system as it was then organized was to be seen in the blind alley and low-paid jobs available to those without an adequate education and in the stifling of ambition to better their conditions as years went on.

In the last few years this situation has radically changed. There has been an enormous increase in the attendance at all kinds of schools in this country. In 1900 there were only 630,048 pupils in the secondary schools of this country. In 1930 this had risen to 4,740,580. In the latter year one out of every two persons of secondary school age was in secondary schools. Moreover, from 1900 to 1930 the population of the country increased 62 per cent but the attendance on institutions of higher learning increased 314 per cent. In the latter year one out of every seven persons of college age was in college. Never in the history of the country has there been such an increase in attendance in the upper levels of the educational system.⁹

A part of this increase is to be accounted for by the lessening demand in industry and commerce for children and youth of school age, but part of it has been due to the increasing appreciation of the importance of schooling to

⁸ Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, Boston, 1914, pp. 3, 6, 8, 9.

⁹ Judd in *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, p. 329.

meet the problems of life and livelihood. Without question, also, the growing adaptation of the schools to the individual needs of the student has contributed to keep many satisfied in the school system who earlier would have dropped out.

While this picture is very encouraging for the country as a whole, there are still regions which this modern movement has not reached. The special classes and courses to meet the needs of individual students are by no means universal. The child guidance clinic, health service, and other features of the modern progressive school system are lacking in large areas of the country, especially in the rural school and in those of the more backward states. While great progress has been made, much still remains to be done. What has been done shows how important it is for self-support and a useful social life that the schools adapt themselves increasingly to the needs of the pupils.

The depression, beginning in 1929, threatened the progress which had been made in the previous twenty-five years. However, it appears that the tendency early in the depression seriously to cut the school budgets has been stopped.¹⁰

RECORDS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

This analysis of the factors producing poverty and dependency in this country may be supplemented to very great advantage, from the dependency side, by a study of the causal factors as they appear in the case records of social agencies. What may be done is indicated by the following table, based upon one public and three private agencies in Boston, Mass., in 1923-24. This table also makes possible a picture of certain changes that have taken place in the various factors since 1913 by a comparison with the figures from the Provident Association of 1913.

Summary. Thus, in domestic disharmony, political maladjustments, unwise philanthropy, lack of proper machinery for settling industrial disputes, and in a school system poorly adjusted to modern conditions, we have circumstances which tend to produce poverty and often result in dependency. These conditions, growing out of an undeveloped consciousness on the part of society of its responsibility for the welfare of all its members, I have ventured to call maladjustments. In part, they are the result of rapidly changing conditions with which adjustments in social machinery have not been able to keep pace. In part they grow out of the fact that material develop-

¹⁰ Taylor, "Our Public Schools in Progress and Reaction," *Survey Graphic*, February, 1934, p. 61; Bryson, "Education for What?" *Survey Graphic*, December, 1933, p. 619; Amidon, "Schools in the Red," *Survey Graphic*, June, 1934, p. 266; Embree, "Every Tenth Pupil," *Survey Graphic*, November, 1934, p. 538.

ment and economic production always outrun new social arrangements designed to take up the slack.

CAUSAL FACTOR ANALYSIS ¹¹

COMPARISON OF STATISTICS FOR THE YEAR 1923-24 OF THE CHIEF FAMILY HELPING AGENCIES (THREE PRIVATE, ONE PUBLIC) WITH THE BOSTON PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION'S FIGURES FOR 1913

	<i>Overseers of Public Welfare</i>	<i>Provident Associa- tion *</i>	<i>Family Welfare Society</i>	<i>Federated Jewish Charities</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1913 Prov. Assoc.</i>
Total No. of Case Units	4680	837	3315	2011	10843	875
Industrial Accident						
Cases	50	53	96	19	218	103
Per cent	1.06%	6.3%	2.8%	1.0%	2.01%	13%
Intemperance Cases ..	88	84	270	0	442	180
Per cent	1.8%	9.9%†	8.0%	0	4.0%	20%
Unemployment Cases ..	690	370	1066	435	2561	245
Per cent	14.7%	44.2%	32.0%	21.0%	23.6%	28%
Illness Cases	665	331	2108	929	4033	269
Per cent	14.2%	39.5%	63.5%	46.2%	37.1%	30%
Tuberculosis Cases ...	148	39	128	112	427	129
Per cent	3.1%	4.6%	3.8%	5.5%	3.8%	
Desertion and Non-sup- port Cases	512	97	331	168	1408	135
Per cent	10.9%	11.5%	10.0%	8.3%	10.2%	15%

* Intake only.

† Rate declining the past 7 months to 7.5 per cent.

Note the size and persistency of the "Illness" factor and of "Unemployment."

Note the substantial reduction of the "Tuberculosis" factor which may be set alongside the recorded decline in our tuberculosis morbidity figure which, in the same period, dropped 44.5 per cent.

Note that "Intemperance," which dropped from 20 per cent to 1 per cent in the Provident Association analysis in 1919, then rose to 9.9 per cent last year and is now falling to 7.5 per cent.

Note that "Industrial Accident" appears to but one-half the extent it did in 1913.

In this survey of the conditions of poverty and pauperism, I endeavor to examine all the important facts, both social and economic. I sympathize with Professor Seligman's statement that "to select any characteristic feature of the present industrial system and to single it out as responsible for poverty is naïve, but worthless. The Malthusian seizes upon redundant population, the communist upon private property, the socialist upon property in means of production, the single taxer upon property in land, the coöperator upon competition, the anarchist upon government, the anti-optionist upon speculation, the currency reformer upon metallic money, and so on. They

¹¹ Pear, "The Joint Operation of Family Helping Agencies in Boston," *The Family*, October, 1925, p. 166.

all forget that widespread poverty has existed in the absence of each one of these alleged causes. Density of population, private property, competition, government, speculation, and money have been absent at various stages of history without exempting society from the curse of poverty. Each stage has had a poverty of its own."¹²

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Political Maladjustments and Dependency. Jenks, *Governmental Action for Social Welfare*, Chap. II.
2. Inequitable Taxation and Dependency. Harrison, "The Disproportion of Taxation in Pittsburgh." in *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage*, Pittsburgh Survey, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1914, pp. 156-213.
3. The Results of Defective Poor Laws and Administration in England. Aschrott and Prescott-Thomas, *The English Poor Law System*, London, 1902, pp. 26-37; Malthus, *Essay on Population*, Bk. III, Chapters V-VII.
4. The Denial of Justice and Poverty. Smith, *Justice and the Poor*, Bulletin No. 13, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, New York, 1919, pp. 1-34.
5. War and War-Profiters. Seldes, *Iron, Blood and Profit*, New York, 1934. Englebrecht and Hanighan, *Merchants of Death*, New York, 1934.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Make an analytical outline giving the main heads and subheads of the conditions of poverty and dependency in Chapters VI to IX.
2. Point out in each of the cases cited in Chapter X on "Cases in Causation" the operation of the factors discussed in this chapter.
3. Point out how the police may sometimes be the cause of poverty and dependency; how delay in the courts may operate disadvantageously to the poor; how court costs in civil cases may assist in reducing dependency.
4. Discuss taxation policies in their relation to the production of poverty and dependency.
5. Suggest a practical plan whereby idlers may be induced to become industrious.
6. Cite an instance in which wasteful government expenditures may bear unjustly upon the poor.
7. What reason have we for thinking that scientific charity will be less expensive and more helpful to the poor than indiscriminate giving?
8. A few years ago one of our states gave a pension of \$100 a year to every mentally defective family in the state. What in your opinion would be the effect of such a policy?
9. What do you do with respect to beggars whom you see upon the streets? Why?

¹² Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, New York, 1907, pp. 686, 687.

brother had died of that disease before John came to the United States. His parents also had died shortly before he left for this country, his father having been killed in a mine accident and his mother dying of an attack of pneumonia. John was well but not robust.

When this family came to the attention of a social agency in a Mid-Western city, there were five children. The oldest was a girl of eighteen, the mother of an illegitimate child. The next, a boy of sixteen, not very strong and of feeble intellect, who had never been able to get beyond the fourth grade in school. The next was a girl of fifteen who was up to grade in school but not very well and with a tendency to resist parental control. The two younger children were two boys of ten and seven respectively who were weakly and the older one was behind grade in school.

In 1903 a strike occurred in the mines where John was working, and he was out of work for a considerable time. For some time he had been somewhat discouraged with mining, his health was not of the best, and he desired to get into some occupation in the sunlight. Therefore he moved his family to a farm some distance away which he rented on shares. With what little money he had been able to save he purchased the necessary animals and implements to enable him to run the place. During the five years on this farm he did quite well and had saved about two thousand dollars. He decided to go West and try farming in a better country. Accordingly he and his family moved to South Dakota, rented a farm for a few years, prospered, and finally bought a quarter section of land, paid down \$2500.00 and promised to pay the balance, \$1000.00 per year, plus interest and taxes. He was doing fairly well when in the first year the hog cholera swept off most of his fine herd and left him behind in his payments. The next year proved to be equally as disastrous by reason of a severe drought which left him nothing for his work.

The next year there was a scourge of army worms which destroyed part of his wheat and the Hessian fly and the rust hurt badly what was left, so that he had but a small fraction of a crop, and that was of poor quality. That fall when his corn was in blossom a severe hailstorm battered it into the ground, and, since he had no insurance, left him so far in arrears that the skin-flint creditor foreclosed on the farm. Discouraged, he sold his stock and farm implements and after he had paid his debts he had \$400.00 left. With this sum he decided to go to a large city of the Middle West and get employment in a factory. The War was at its height, and at once he got a job at fair wages although he had never worked at anything but mining and farming. This work was common labor in the factory but paid a fair remuneration. The family had moved into a rather poor house in a crowded section of the city so that John could be near his work. Here again ill luck was his fortune. One day his shirt sleeve caught in an unguarded machine and his arm was so badly injured that he was idle for about five months. His compensation cared for the family during this time, and he returned to his old position without serious disability. In the factory, however, his health began to

fail. He contracted a cold which left him with a severe cough which racked him night and day. Moreover, about this time his wife's health became poor and the doctor finally advised an operation. This required much expense and the household ran down. While the wife had never been an excellent housekeeper, knew little of how to save and how to prepare food tastefully and economically, they had been able to get along because until the disaster came on the farm John had earned fair wages. Mr. Thomas kept to his occupation until the slump in industry occurred in 1920. Then he was let out with thousands of others. Weak and discouraged he sought work without success.

While the mother was in the hospital the oldest girl who had charge of the household began to go out with an attractive but wild boy of the neighborhood. Her father warned her of this boy without other effect than to irritate her. The household was neglected, the younger children left without guidance and control except when the father was present. The fifteen year old girl did her best to keep the household going, but was not strong, was busy in school most of the time, and could not manage to meet all of the requirements of the task. The oldest girl was sullen and irritated at the other children. She helped little and was gone most of the time from the household on one excuse or another. For a short time she obtained a job in a ten cent store but was out late at night and would tell her father and the children nothing of her whereabouts. After the mother returned home this daughter was found to be pregnant and some months later gave birth to an illegitimate child. When her condition was discovered, the father had gone to the boy with whom she had kept company and tried to persuade him to marry her. Under duress he promised but at once left for parts unknown. The mother was so ill after she returned that she was unable to look after the home. The younger girl under the strain of the burden that she had been trying to carry, became ill and ultimately had to be sent to a sanatorium for the tubercular. The eldest boy became unmanageable, was taken into juvenile court and placed on probation. The ten-year-old boy was getting into mischief in the neighborhood and the younger child was so woefully neglected as to attract the attention of the neighbors. Finally, unable to find work in the community, and discouraged by the difficulties which he faced, and sick, John Thomas set out one afternoon to go to another town in which he thought he might be able to find work. He never came back, and all efforts to find him proved unavailing. A social agency through the neighbors became interested in the youngest child, and another agency made arrangements for the tubercular girl to go to the sanatorium. Finally, in the dire circumstance consequent upon the desertion of John Thomas, the Family Welfare Society took hold of the family in the endeavor to work out a solution. With that solution we are not here concerned.

The following case shows the play of circumstances upon a family which finally led to its demoralization. Here we see the play of external circumstance upon individuals, some of whom were lacking in those characteristics necessary to make a successful adjustment to the circumstances of life.

The Seldon Family. The Seldons' was a youthful marriage. They were married twenty years ago when he was seventeen and she was sixteen. From early childhood Mrs. Seldon had had to take responsibility and had begun to help with the family's support when she was only eleven years old. Mr. Seldon's childhood and early life were very different. His family was English and always in comfortable circumstances, although his father died when he was five years old. Shortly after Mr. Seldon's marriage his brother placed him with a corporation where he himself was employed. There was an excellent opportunity for advancement but Mr. Seldon kept this position less than a year. He then secured work through friends with the X Company, where he was employed for sixteen years. Eight years ago, when he was twenty-nine, and twelve years after their marriage, he had to go to the hospital for a minor operation.

It was then that the family agency first knew the Seldons. The problem was seen as one of financial need resulting from a brief illness of Mr. Seldon, and the case was closed as soon as he was able to go back to work. Three years later he had another minor operation. Shortly after that while at work he was in an accident which resulted in the death of a child. He was exonerated but was very much upset nervously. However, he went back to his work after a few days and all was well until a few months later when he was discharged for insubordination. Since then he had gone from job to job, with frequent intervals of unemployment in between.

During the eight years that the family society has known the Seldons, the case has been opened and closed many times, and always the immediate situation has been dealt with. The picture of Mr. Seldon had gradually changed from a sick breadwinner to a somewhat "shiftless" man drifting from job to job.

Six months ago a new visitor was introduced to the family. She was interested in more than the immediate situation, and was not satisfied with such generalized descriptions of his personality as shiftless or even manic-depressive—the diagnosis made two months later. She discovered that Mr. Seldon was the youngest of four children and had always been much petted by his widowed mother. While never having any serious illness he was always considered delicate and was allowed to stay home on the slightest pretext and to leave school entirely when he was in the lower grammar grades. He had never worked regularly as he stayed home whenever he felt like it, just as he had in his school days. Mrs. Seldon told the visitor that for years she had telephoned to his employer that he was ill, when apparently there was nothing the trouble with him, and that she had done this because she was afraid he would lose his job. His mother until her death had always been ready to pay a month's rent for them when he had "made a short week" and after her death one of his sisters had come to the rescue. Mrs. Seldon had helped out from time to time by doing a day's work and gradually drifted into working part of every day, contributing \$35 a month to the family budget.

His work record, except for irregularity, was good. He was a skilled workman

and his position with the X Company, where he had been employed for sixteen years, was one of responsibility. The charge of insubordination was made against him because he boasted in the presence of some fellow workmen that he did not intend to comply with a minor order that had been issued. This was passed on to his supervisor and he was discharged. The same supervisor had spoken of him not many months before as one of the best workmen in his division and seemed not at all critical of his irregularity, which was attributed to illness. From any facts that could be secured, the dismissal seemed hardly justified. In the three years since he was discharged he had drifted from job to job, with recurrent but always unsuccessful efforts at reinstatement.

Two of these jobs were of particular significance. The year after his discharge, the X Company gave him work as a watchman. He took it hoping that it was a way back to his former position of responsibility. It was work that was given ordinarily to the old men in the service, and he was thirty-five years old. He was stationed where each day he saw scores of his former colleagues. It was not surprising that the humiliation was more than he could bear. Another job was with the corporation where he had been placed by his brother when he was first married. He took an inferior position and in a few weeks received two promotions that placed him in a position of responsibility with a good salary. A month after his promotion he left voluntarily. It was necessary for him to write weekly reports. He felt he did not have enough education to do them and so never sent any in. He left when he thought it would soon be discovered that his reports were missing. A number of accidents happened while he was there, and while he was in no way responsible or connected with them, it is not impossible that he was a good deal disturbed through associating them with his own accident. How much he was affected by Mrs. Seldon's unwillingness to give up her work when he was earning a good salary is a matter of conjecture.

From Mrs. Seldon's point of view and that of the relatives, too, Mr. Seldon's only bad habit was his irregularity as a worker. He was a kind and gentle father, adored by his four children, fond of his home and very helpful about the house. It was evident that he had a habit, of long standing, of staying at home either from school or from work whenever he felt like it. It was equally apparent that this habit had been encouraged first by his mother's indulgence and later by the financial help of his relatives and his wife's earnings. It had been an unconscious conspiracy on their part, for each in his own way had tried to help him correct the habit, mostly by nagging and taunting. Mrs. Seldon's relatives considered him a shiftless ne'er-do-well who could not support a family; his oldest brother had "washed his hands of him"; increasingly his sister's help was far from a generous gift and Mrs. Seldon's sarcasm was biting. The children alone were friendly and uncritical. The family's methods might have been unsuccessful with any man, but with a sensitive, retiring person like Mr. Seldon they certainly added to the bad habits begun in childhood a deep sense of inferiority. He had less education than

his brothers and sisters. He was unsuccessful in every way in comparison with them and even in comparison with his wife's brothers and sisters, to whom his own relatives felt decidedly superior.

Mr. Seldon's mental depression had been noted two or three times in the early contacts with the family, but was not regarded as of any special significance. His depression may have been more marked or perhaps it had more meaning for the new visitor, for as soon as she had a personality picture of Mr. Seldon she persuaded him to have a physical and psychiatric examination. The former revealed nothing of importance, but the psychiatrist ordered a short period of treatment in a mental hospital, which Mr. Seldon was perfectly willing to accept. He was there for two months and was much less depressed when he came home.

While he was away the visitor was working with the attitudes of the family. Her success with one of his sisters was encouraging, but Mrs. Seldon's periods of insight readily gave way to her old attitude that he was either lazy or crazy, and from her point of view both were equally reprehensible. The visitor had been a good deal absorbed in Mr. Seldon's problems and realized that some evidence of her concern with Mrs. Seldon's difficulties might be more fruitful in changing her attitudes than further interpretation of Mr. Seldon's personality. Mrs. Seldon was working part of every day and was overwhelmed with the problem of the discipline of the children in his absence. She had no skill in managing them and knew it. While she laughed about it and pretended that she did not care that Mr. Seldon could get along with them so much better, it was quite apparent that she was sensitive about it. The visitor suggested that as soon as Mr. Seldon came home it might be a good plan for Mrs. Seldon to have a two weeks' rest at a convalescent home, because she had had so much strain during the last few months. This marked the turning point in Mrs. Seldon's attitude toward her husband. She could not enter sympathetically into Mr. Seldon's problems until she felt the visitor's real concern with her troubles and burdens.

Helpful as the hospital treatment was in clearing up the depression for the time being, the major difficulties in the way of Mr. Seldon's becoming a dependable breadwinner for his family had not been removed. His long-standing habit of irregularity was still to be reckoned with as well as his acute sense of inferiority and his emotional interest in the old job. Where was the visitor to begin in her effort to change his habits? Dewey tells us that "Until one takes intermediate acts seriously enough to treat them as ends, one wastes one's time in any effort to change habit. Of the intermediate acts, the most important is the next one."¹ What was the next step? Would he stay any length of time in a new job, to say nothing of being regular, while he was still wishing and hoping to return to his old job with the X Company? Was it wise for him to go back to the old job, considering his nervous condition and the accident which might easily happen again? What influence could be brought to bear to get him reinstated, if that were desirable? How could he be helped to take himself emotionally out of the old job?

¹ John Dewey: *Human Nature and Conduct*.

If returning to the X Company had to be given up both by the visitor and by Mr. Seldon, what kind of work ought he to have? Would *any* job meet the situation, or would the kind of job he succeeded in getting have some effect on his feeling of inferiority in relation to his wife and their relatives? How much could be done about his bad habits from childhood until these other obstacles were removed?

The visitor was convinced that he could not return to the X Company in the old position. There was too much risk for him on account of his nervous condition and it was unfair from the point of view of the public safety. Any inferior position with the company was not to be considered. A careful analysis of his work record for the last three years confirmed her in her feeling that just a job would have little if any therapeutic value, but that the right job might help considerably in relieving his feeling of inferiority.

We are not accustomed to think very much about the kind of work a person is doing in relation to his personality. Because family societies have had to be so much concerned with the economic aspects of family life, it is not surprising that any job that yielded an income has been accepted at its money value. For the man or woman who has no marked personality difficulties, any job that pays a reasonable wage may do very well. But for a good many people who have no appetite for their work, we may find, as we give more consideration to it, that the right job is the best of appetizers and that it is more significant than we have realized in the development of personality.

It was a question whether even a position that he considered as important as the one he had held with the X Company would help take him emotionally out of the old job. The visitor thought she would probably fail if she tried now to get him to face what his emotional bondage to the X Company had done to him in every job that he had held in the last three years. Until she could see some better way of handling this she decided that she would take a chance on its clearing up if the right job could be found for him.

If work of any kind had not been so difficult to find on account of the industrial depression, the visitor might have set as her first goal on the way to his becoming a steady, dependable breadwinner, finding just the right job that would meet the needs of his personality. She faced the fact that it might be some time before it could be found, and turned to more immediate goals, of keeping him from becoming discouraged and depressed in the meantime. She accepted the fact that there might be another period of job-drifting but considered this better than no work at all. If not *any* job, almost any job became the next step. Should she find it for him or expect him to find it for himself? Analysis of his work history revealed that someone had always found his jobs for him. His brother placed him in the first position he had after his marriage. Through a friend he had been able to get work with the X Company; his sister had found one of his recent jobs for him; one of his brothers-in-law another, and there had always been someone to "speak for him" in each place where he had been employed since leaving the

X Company. "He always thinks someone else is a better man than he is," one of his former fellow workmen remarked about him. The visitor knew that if he were at home without a job for very long, the strain would be too great on his wife's new understanding and techniques. In the past she had often said that one reason she nagged him so much was that it got on her nerves to see him sitting around the house while she supported the family. The visitor encouraged him to believe that he could make a good impression on a prospective employer, and suggested that he apply at the W Company, where she had been told there was a vacancy. He did make his own application and secured the position. She was not surprised when he gave it up after working about a month. But she was not prepared for the seed of "speaking for yourself" that she had sown bearing fruit in quite the way it did so shortly after its planting. The minute he gave up his job he began to talk once more about getting back with the X Company. All his past efforts at reinstatement had been made through other people. A few days after he left his last job, he told the visitor he had written a letter to the president of the X Company. This was his own idea and if he had any help in carrying it out, it was only the assistance in writing the letter given by his eldest son who had gone through two years of the high school. In a few days he received a reply stating that he could not be reemployed because he had passed the age limit. It was a great blow to him and his wife said he wept practically all day after the letter came. Mrs. Seldon's skill in helping him over this crisis was evidence of her new understanding of his problem. As soon as he had recovered from the first shock he was calm and philosophical about it. The age limit which applied to everyone alike seemed to be sufficiently objective for him to accept the decision, and the visitor believes that one big stride, if not the final one, has been made in his giving up the possibility of returning to the X Company.

Among other intermediate steps the visitor had been considering the possibility of helping Mr. Seldon develop some other interests and also the desirability of their moving to a new neighborhood. For the twenty years of their married life they have lived in the same neighborhood where Mrs. Seldon spent her childhood and where her brothers and sisters have settled with their families. It meant not only that Mr. Seldon was constantly under the critical eyes of his relatives-in-law but also that they were near enough to be a daily stimulus to Mrs. Seldon's all-too-ready tendency to nag. Even the insurance collector who had been coming to the house for years joined them in characterizing him as a "lazy bum" and in urging her to have him arrested so he would be forced to work. The visitor's feeling that a new neighborhood would have many advantages became a conviction when Mr. Seldon confided to her a chapter in his relations with Mrs. Seldon which occurred eight years ago when he was in the hospital. Mrs. Seldon had an affair with his sister's husband. Two or three years later the sister's husband died. Not enough time has elapsed since the telling of the story for the visitor to know how disturbing a factor this is in the relations of Mr. and Mrs. Seldon, but judging by Mr. Seldon's emotion in relating the experience he still has a good deal of

meaning for him. Certainly here is one more component of his sense of inferiority. Mr. Seldon had never talked with anyone about it before except in the family group, and it plainly was a relief to tell it to someone whose response to it was not an emotional one. Like everything else in the Seldon family this seemed to have been well known by all the relatives on both sides of the family.²

The K Family. The K family was twice referred to the Public Welfare Association; first in June, 1922, by Mr. S, Mr. K's employer, to secure care for Mrs. K, who was suffering from a collapse due to the disappearance of her boy, who later was found to have been drowned; again on January 7, 1924, by Mr. S upon the arrest of Mr. K on a charge of wife beating.

Mr. and Mrs. K were both born in Russian Poland. Mrs. K's father was a clerk for the Russian government and died when Mrs. K was a young girl. She came to New Britain, Conn., when she was eighteen and lived with a brother. There she met Mr. K and they were married, in spite of the protests of the girl's relatives who objected to Mr. K because of his drinking habits, and in spite of the protests of his relatives on the ground of her quick temper. Within the first week of their marriage Mr. K became angry and knocked her down. He drank a good deal and mistreated her to such an extent that she took him into court four times during the next seven years. On April 15, 1919, he deserted, leaving her without means to support their five children. A few months later he sent money from Madison and urged them to join him. Mr. K did not drink after he came to Madison and the family lived in apparent harmony.

In New Britain, Conn., Mr. K had worked as a blacksmith for nine years in the same company. In Madison he secured a position as a welder for \$20 a week. He had an excellent work record. His employer said he was industrious and steady and had never given any cause for complaint.

At the time of the drowning of their seven-year-old son in June, 1922, a nurse who cared for Mrs. K reported that the house was disorderly and dirty and that a cesspool in the basement was in a condition to endanger the health of the family. Mr. K remedied this condition but the house in which they lived was condemned the following summer and Mr. K undertook to build a house, which involved a heavy financial responsibility.

From the time of moving into the new house their serious domestic difficulties seemed to develop. Mrs. K was a slovenly housekeeper and made little effort to keep the house clean, although she was interested in making the front room attractive with rugs, curtains and flowers. The children apparently received no home training. She did practically no sewing or mending for them, although she refused to send them to Sunday School on the ground that their clothes were not good enough. Mr. K sometimes did the family washings. Mrs. K did as little cooking as possible, bringing home from the store canned goods and food in paper

² Libbey, "The Art of Helping: By Changing Habit," *The Family*, July, 1925, pp. 124-128.

sacks. The children were allowed to eat from these containers and when Mr. K came home he had what was left in the cans and sacks.

Mrs. K was fond of going to picture shows and entertainments, and said Mr. K was too old for her although there is only six years difference. She disliked her marital responsibilities and said her husband's demands upon her were too exacting. She did not want any more children and had several abortions. Mr. K was fond of their children, and the condition of the home combined with financial worry from the building of the house were a constant irritation to him. He was easily angered and often became violent.

On January 7, 1924, Mr. K's employer telephoned the Public Welfare Association that Mr. K had beaten Mrs. K so that she had been taken to the hospital suffering possibly fatal injuries. Mr. K was in jail, to be held for murder in case of her death. At the expense of Mr. S, the employer, the Public Welfare Association sent a housekeeper to care for the children.

Mr. K was interviewed in the jail by his employer, and the secretary and a visitor from the Public Welfare Association. He is a strongly built man, typically Polish. He has a rich voice which quickly responds to his emotions, and his blue eyes have a merry twinkle. He has great respect for Mr. S and his opinions. He seemed to regret that his temper got away from him and that he had beaten his wife so hard, and was afraid of the consequences to himself. He readily told the story of his life, apparently omitting none of the family quarrels, and said he did not believe he and Mrs. K could get along. He cared nothing for her and did not want to see her, but would like to have the children with him. Both Mr. and Mrs. K were examined and found to be mentally normal.

The secretary and a visitor called on Mrs. K at the hospital. She is a small-boned woman with fair complexion and dark hair. Her foreign accent and questioning blue eyes gave to her conversation the appeal of a child's speech. She willingly talked of her past life with Mr. K and felt that their troubles were caused by Mr. K's brooding over the bills for the new house and perhaps by criticism of her to Mr. K by a boarder in their house. On the day when he beat her she had prepared for him what she considered a good enough dinner but he was always dissatisfied. She did not wish anything further to do with Mr. K and wanted to get a divorce. She talked eagerly of her desire to be with the children.

Since Mrs. K was pronounced recovering, the charge against Mr. K was changed from assault without regard for life, which carries a penitentiary penalty, to a charge of less serious degree to which Mr. K pleaded guilty. Mr. K was put on probation for a year, his wages to be collected and administered by the Public Welfare Association and during this time he was not to be allowed to live at home.

Plans were made for supervising the home conditions in order to remove the causes of irritation and to improve the health of the children. When Mrs. K was able to leave the hospital she refused to allow the housekeeper furnished by P. W. A. to remain, but was willing to discuss plans with the visitor and made

an effort to follow advice regarding diet and care of the children with the result that their condition was considerably improved. Mrs. K was given medical treatment. She had an operation for goitre in March, 1924, and treatment for tonsils in July, 1924. She did not fully recover from the effects of the beating she had received for some months and complained of a pain in her side which interfered with her housekeeping. Mrs. K was in constant fear of her husband's appearance, and the doctor who cared for her said that this fear was an obstacle to her recovery. Mr. K made only one visit to the house, during which his wife hid behind a door. The oldest boy claimed his father had threatened to beat her again, but he made no attempt to molest her.

The problem of maintaining the house and paying taxes while Mr. K was boarding elsewhere was difficult to solve. A budget was worked out for Mr. K and for the family, but Mr. K complained that too large a proportion of his earnings were allotted to the family. There were numerous bills for furniture which had to be met. Mrs. K was anxious to make changes in the house in order to rent part of it and increase her income and Mr. K's employer financed the plan, but in making these changes the financial problem was aggravated by the increased debt although the rent from that part of the house added to their income. Mrs. K showed no financial judgment but was willing to accept the advice of the Public Welfare Association and followed the budget fairly well. It was considered whether it would not be better to sell the house and to build a smaller and less expensive one for Mrs. K. Mrs. K was unwilling to do this and in March, 1924, she and Mr. K both felt that it might be better for him to live at home. She was urged not to take Mr. K simply in order to save the house since even if he did come home the house might have to be sold anyhow and since a pleasant home could be provided for her in any case. She seemed to feel at this time that if someone would see that she had a home she would rather not take her husband back.

A month later, however, both Mr. and Mrs. K expressed their willingness to try living together again. Mrs. K was assured that friends would be in close touch to prevent any opportunity for Mr. K to repeat his brutality, and his return seemed the best solution for the family situation. Mr. K was pleased with the improvements made in the home and in his wife's management and while she had not been transformed there was no further outbreak on that score.

In spite of the fact that they had several debts outstanding they made arrangements for alterations in the house costing \$1,000. All of Mr. K's wages were spent on current expenses and they became more and more involved financially, although the rent from the new part of the house was to be applied on its cost at the rate of \$28 a month.

While he was still on probation Mr. K was known to be intoxicated on several occasions, and was believed to be bootlegging. He was warned by Mr. S, his employer, but on October 8 he was arrested for selling moonshine and was sentenced to 60 days in the Milwaukee House of Correction.

Mrs. K received county aid during his imprisonment, as the income from the rent of the upper flat was insufficient to pay living expenses and interest and taxes on the house. While in the House of Correction Mr. K had a good record, but did not earn any money which could be applied to the family expenses. He was discharged in December and was given back his position with Mr. S. A month later he was again reported by a neighbor to be selling moonshine, and a family quarrel resulted in Mrs. K's appealing to the police.

Complaints were received from the neighbors that moonshine traffic was being openly carried on, and that Mrs. K kept it up while her husband was in the House of Correction. Mr. K was warned that if the matter came into court again she would also be involved. In April the house was raided by the police and Mr. K was again sentenced to the House of Correction for five months.

CHAPTER XI

ARE THE CONDITIONS REMOVABLE?

MOST of the conditions of poverty and pauperism named in the previous chapters are subject to human control, though some are less amenable to human effort than others.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

The physical conditions discussed in Chapter VI are brought into subjection to the human will increasingly with the development of science and its practical application.

Modification of Physical Conditions. Centuries ago the so-called fens of England were useful only for raising wild fowl. Says Cheney concerning the period of England's expansion from 1603 to 1760, "Much new land came into cultivation or into use for pasture through the draining of marshes and fens and the clearing of forests. This work had been begun for the extensive swampy tracts in the east of England in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign by private purchasers assisted by an Act of Parliament passed in 1601, intended to remove legal difficulties. It proceeded slowly, partly because of the expense and difficulties of putting up lasting embankments, and partly because of the opposition of the fenmen or dwellers in the marshy districts, whose livelihood was obtained by catching the fish and waterfowl that the improvements would drive away. With the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, largely through the skill of Dutch engineers and laborers, many thousand of acres of fertile land were reclaimed and devoted to grazing and even grain raising."¹ At one time in the United States there were millions of acres of swamp land unsuitable for cultivation. As the country became populated and the demand for arable land increased, these swamp lands were taken up by settlers and have since been drained. Now great areas once unsuitable for the raising of crops are cultivated.

Arid districts are irrigated or cultivated by dry farming, and thus production is increased. In the last quarter of a century great areas have been brought under cultivation in arid and semi-arid districts of our West, in

¹ Cheney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, New York, 1906, p. 184.

India and in Russia. However, there remain vast arid areas which are so situated that water cannot be diverted to them either because of their height above the water supply or because the supply of water is insufficient. However, when the price of grain rises, large areas formerly devoted only to grazing are plowed up and cultivated by "dry farming." In the present diminution in effective world demand for farm products these added acres growing produce have led to a glut in the market with lowered prices which have helped to reduce many farmers to destitution.

Natural calamities cannot be directly controlled, but through insurance their loss is distributed over large numbers, or, through mutual aid, the results of disaster are shared by others than the immediate sufferers. The enormous over-production with consequent low world-prices during the depression beginning in 1929 led to such efforts to control production of farm products and stabilize the prices as the AAA, the corn-hog program and the cotton control in the United States, and the world wheat conference for that particular commodity. The value of these measures are still an open question.

The pests which destroy the farmer's crops and stored goods are gradually coming under the control of science. Modern agriculture is giving increasing attention to economic entomology. Fruit trees are sprayed for the control of insects and diseases which destroy the trees and injure the fruit. Various other agricultural pests, such as the boll weevil in cotton and some of the plant diseases, are being studied with the hope that they also may be brought under control.

Many of the agricultural experiment stations of the world are searching the whole earth for new varieties of plants and animals adapted to local conditions. The diseases of men and of animals are one by one yielding to scientific research. Thus, in all these ways the physical conditions which produce poverty and pauperism are being modified by man to his advantage.

Hereditary Defects. Hereditary defects that incapacitate man for self-support can be reduced. This can be accomplished partly through the segregation of the defectives or their sterilization. By careful supervision and direction such defectives can be made comfortable while protected from social and economic conditions with which they are not fitted to cope, and can be made nearly self-supporting. Other incapables who are educable can be trained for self-support by well-directed efforts on the part of society. Only a long campaign of education will fix in the public mind such conceptions of the menace of the defective as will support a policy which in the course of time may eliminate much of the defective stock now contributing so many paupers.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Those conditions productive of poverty and pauperism, socio-economic in their origin, can be modified by social action in many cases. They are the result of our economic and social arrangements. The arrangements have been made by man and therefore can be altered by man.

1. **Death or Disability of the Bread-earner.** Untimely death or disability of the bread-earner can be averted in part by attention to the prevention of accidents and by education in community and personal hygiene. What cannot be prevented can be relieved by health, accident, and life insurance. While nothing can wholly repair the family results of death or disability, their importance for poverty and pauperism can be very materially lessened.

2. **Adverse Industrial Conditions.** Adverse industrial conditions are not irremediable. These evils can be decreased, if not entirely removed, while the burden of the obdurate evils can by compensation and insurance be shifted from the unfortunate individual to the industry as a whole.

3. **Unemployment.** Such devices as widespread employment agencies, such changes in industry as will spread out the productive load over all seasons to a degree, and unemployment reserves and insurance, can materially lessen the volume and the results of unemployment as a cause of poverty and pauperism. No scheme of society yet suggested can utterly do away with unemployment at all times. As a factor in our problem, however, such devices can very materially lessen its importance.

4. **Factors Affecting Childhood.** The factors which affect childhood adversely rendering the adults so affected in childhood incapable of self-support, can be altered by the dissemination of information among parents concerning pre-natal, natal, and post-natal care of mothers and proper care of infants and children. Public health information, widely disseminated, teaching in the public schools, visiting nurses, health clinics, exhibits, and health instructors do much to lessen the evil results of neglect of children through ignorance.

5. **Income and Expenditures.** The factors affecting both income and expenditures, such as the congestion of population in restricted areas, bad housing, unsanitary conditions in community, home and factory, the labor of women and children, and faulty education can be changed for the better to some extent by legislation and information widely disseminated. A sound social policy which would address itself to curing the ignorance largely accountable for these conditions would very materially decrease the importance of these conditions in the causation of poverty and dependency.

6. Factors Affecting Expenditures. The poverty and pauperism caused by unwise expenditure due to national traditions, a poorly balanced budget, poor household management, and lack of thrift are modifiable by education of the children in the schools, by classes for mothers, publicity in the newspapers, visiting housekeepers, and other methods of publicity, and by devising plans which will enlist the active sympathy of the classes affected. While entire removal of these causes is not to be hoped for in the immediate future, a beginning can be made and a program earnestly pursued.

7. The Maladjustments in the Production and Distribution of Wealth and Income. Serious as these factors are, and difficult as is the remedy, they are subject to modification. Many of them did not exist 150 years ago, and probably many of them will not remain 100 years hence. They are the products of social organization, consciously evolved with reference only to their bearing upon economic efficiency and with very little regard to social results. While they are not so easy to deal with as some just mentioned, they are difficulties which are not insuperable as shown by what has already been accomplished. Through the regulation of immigration, careful dissemination of information on the relation of population to natural resources and economic development, through limitation of the size of the family, and the education of the lower economic classes, pressure of population can be somewhat reduced. By the regulation of industry and commerce, the inculcation of a sense of responsibility for the use of wealth and of a sense of social responsibility for one's labor, some of the inequitable distribution of wealth and income can be adjusted and the tendency to control the output in the interest of either producer or laborer can be limited. Cyclical and seasonal fluctuation in prices with their resulting hardships on individuals and classes can be modified partly by government regulation, and partly by international provisions for promoting freedom of trade and the prevention of war, one of the greatest causes of industrial irregularity. The economists are studying the business cycle and may be able to suggest remedies which will help to stabilize industry. Technological unemployment is inevitable in a progressive economy, but its results can be alleviated in part by insurance.

8. Lack of Adequate Machinery for the Adjustment of Economic and Social Relations. So far as this condition affects the problem of poverty and pauperism, correction waits on the development of a consciousness of society's responsibility for these maladjustments. Society has not yet appreciated its responsibility for the welfare of the family. It has not educated men and women for family life. The results are even less disastrous

than we might have expected. Legislation and education in the broader sense are needed to develop an appreciation of our mutual interrelationships and a conscience as to the duty of the individual to other individuals and to society at large. This same consciousness of social responsibility will displace unwise philanthropy with wiser methods, will improve our political machinery, and will adjust our educational system to our needs. When the mass of our people once comes to understand the wastefulness of our present methods of settling industrial disputes, and their attendant strikes and lock-outs, they will devise methods for the peaceful settlement of these differences.

I do not blink the fact that society has a long way to go before such ideal arrangements will be actually realized, but toward such arrangements we must travel. Only as society becomes rational,—rather than instinctive or merely sympathetic,—in its reactions to its situations, only as the development of a sense of responsibility for each other, and for the other classes in society, takes the place of a selfish struggle for rights alone, will justice come for all. Only as a passion for social righteousness takes the place of an imperative desire for selfish advantage, either in the individual or in the nation, will society do away with the conditions that now depress some classes of the population and exalt others. The change will come by no one method, but by attention to all of our social machinery—industrial, political, educational, religious, and ethical. All the social agencies must coöperate in the struggle for the final goal, if it is to be reached. In order to reach it, an increasing number of individuals must thrill with such a passion for justice that they shall be willing to curb the evil propensities not only of others, but of themselves as well.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Forest-Fire Prevention and Control *Report of the National Conservation Commission*, Senate Document No. 676, 60th Congress, 2d Session, Washington, 1909, Vol. II, pp. 418-438.
2. Reduction of Individual Loss from Fire. Willett, "Function of Fire Insurance," in Zartman and Price, *Yale Readings in Insurance: Property Insurance*, New Haven, 1914, Chap. V.
3. Prevention of Poverty Through Life Insurance Fisher, "Economic Aspects of Lengthening Human Life," in Zartman and Price, *Yale Readings in Insurance: Life Insurance*, New Haven, 1914, Chap. II.
4. Methods of Conserving Human Life. Fisher. "National Vitality, Its Wastes and Conservation," Senate Document No. 676, 60th Congress, 2d Session, Washington, 1909, Vol. III, pp. 671-723.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How may the various conditions resulting in poverty and dependency be improved?
2. Suggest a program for the control of hereditary defect resulting in poverty.
3. Which of the factors of poverty and dependency are affected by (a) the safety movement; (b) factory sanitation; (c) a factory manager who introduces the manufacture of products which dovetails with seasonal products; (d) a baby health clinic; (e) a child guidance clinic; (f) a tuberculosis sanatorium; (g) a settlement house; (h) an employment insurance scheme; (i) university extension courses; (j) savings banks; (k) home economics extension courses; (l) visiting housekeepers; (m) arbitration boards in industry; (n) the World Court?

PART III
HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONS AND METHODS OF
DEALING WITH DEPENDENTS

CHAPTER XII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIEF OF THE POOR

1. **Charity among the Jews.** For ages men have been reflecting upon the problem of the poor. In Hebrew society, as soon as tribal life had given place to agriculture and commerce, social classes began to develop. Rich and poor appeared. The prophets and the sages of Hebrew history gave attention to the problem of the poor. Their chief emphasis was upon the importance of giving to the destitute. Job's claim to mercy at the hands of God was that he had "not withheld his hands from the poor."¹ Even in the days of Jesus, the rich young ruler who would inherit eternal life was told, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."² Among the Jews and the Christians of New Testament times, concern for the poverty-stricken had got no further than care for them in the household or by gifts from pious individuals, help from the synagogue, or the congregation.

2. **Charity among the Romans.** The care of the unfortunate was not entirely neglected among the Romans. While it is probably true as Lecky says, that "The difference between Pagan and Christian societies in this matter is very profound," nevertheless conditions before the introduction of Christianity into the Roman Empire were quite different from those prevailing afterwards. Lecky points out that, "In the ancient societies *slavery* in a great measure replaced pauperism, and, by securing the subsistence of a very large proportion of the poor, contracted the sphere of charity. And what slavery did at Rome for the very poor, the system of *clientage* did for those of somewhat higher rank. The existence of these two institutions is sufficient to show the injustice of judging the two systems by mere comparison of their charitable institutions, and we must also remember that among the ancients the relief of the indigent was one of the more important functions of the State."³ Moreover, *concubinage* in early societies was a primitive kind of "mothers' pension."

The most widely known method of caring for the poor in the Roman state

¹ Job 31 : 16-23.

² Matthew 19 : 21.

³ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 73. See also Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, New York, 1913, pp. 36-39.

was that practised for several centuries by the gratuitous distribution of grain. In the early Roman period there appear to have been occasional instances of such distribution. A law providing for the distribution of grain to the poor, however, was not passed until Caius Gracchus (153-121 B. C.), caused the enactment of a law supplying the poor with grain at a nominal price. After two years the law was revoked due to the influence of the nobles, but was finally reënacted in 74 B. C. In 58 B. C., even this nominal payment for the grain was abolished and it was made entirely gratuitous. The distribution took place once a month, and consisted of a little more than 4 bushels per head. The motive back of this was largely political. It served as a means of securing popularity. In the time of Julius Caesar, Lecky says, 320,000 persons were inscribed as recipients. Later this number was reduced one-half by Caesar. Under Augustus it again rose to 200,000. Numerous officers were appointed to look after the distribution and from this time forth it became one of the leading characteristics, says Lecky, of Roman life. Under the Antonines, the number of recipients greatly increased, at certain times exceeding 500,000. Septimius Severus added to the grain a ration of oil. Aurelian substituted daily distribution of bread and added a portion of pork. Charity and selfishness were here closely intermingled.

On the results of this indiscriminate charity, Lecky remarks, "It was one of the chief demoralizing influences of the Empire." He thinks that the most injudicious charity, however pernicious to the classes it is intended to relieve, has usually operated to soften the character of the donor and thus has had a beneficial effect upon society. "But the Roman distribution of corn," he remarks, "being merely a political device, had no humanizing influence upon the people, while being regulated only by the indigence and not at all by the infirmities or character of the recipient, it was a direct and overwhelming encouragement to idleness." On the extent of this influence, he remarks: "When we remember that the population of Rome probably never exceeded a million and a half, that a large proportion of the indigent were provided for as slaves, and that more than 200,000 freemen were habitually supplied with the first necessity of life, we cannot, I think, charge the Pagan society of the metropolis, at least, with an excessive parsimony in relieving poverty."⁴

Some idea of the extent of this indiscriminate and pauperizing giving by the Roman state and the politicians interested in securing popular support, is indicated by the following facts: In 73 B. C. it is estimated that gifts amounting to \$438,500 in value were distributed; in 46 B. C. it had increased to \$3,375,000; in Julius Caesar's time 320,000 men received aids or grants of corn, and the number increased from this time on. The annual distribu-

⁴Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 73-76.

tion from Nero's time to the end of Severus's reign averaged \$1,500,000. This was, of course, done by the officials representing the state. But this amount was greatly augmented by office-seekers and demagogues who could keep their places only by dividing the spoils with the mob. It is estimated that Nero, during his reign, disposed gratuitously of food, etc., valued at \$96,500,000 to the people and that Hadrian gave food, etc., valued at about \$165 per capita to the people of Rome. It is difficult to ascertain the exact amounts, but even though these estimates are only approximate they give us some notion of the enormous expenditure.⁵

In addition to this distribution of food, free *public baths* were established, the entrance fee being only the smallest Roman coin in use. Moreover, the support of *children* of poor parents acquired very considerable proportions. The first trace of it in Rome is to be found under Augustus, who gave money and grain for the support of young children. This, however, was a fact of isolated benevolence and the honor of originating a more systematic effort for the care of the children belongs to the Emperor Nerva, who seems to have extended this system of the support of poor children from Rome to all cities of Italy. Trajan extended the system, and during his reign 5,000 poor children were supported by the government in Rome alone. About \$100,000,000.00 were invested, the income from which was used to support these children.⁶

Private benevolence followed these public examples, as illustrated by the gift of Pliny of a small property for the support of the poor children in his native city of Como, and by the establishment of Caelia Macrina, who founded a charity for 100 children at Terricina. Hadrian was distinguished for his bounty to poor women and both Antonius and Marcus Aurelius founded institutions for the support of girls. Alexander Severus founded an institution for the support of children.

Hospitals for the sick were probably unknown in Europe before Christianity except that there seems some evidence that the Temples of Æsculapius were used for some such purpose. There are traces, however, of the distribution of medicine to the sick poor. Says Lecky, "These various measures are by no means inconsiderable and it is not unreasonable to suppose that many similar steps were taken of which all record has been lost. . . . There can, however, be no question that neither in practice nor in theory, neither in the institutions that were founded nor in the place that was assigned to it in the scale of duties, did charity in antiquity occupy a position at all comparable to that which it has obtained by Christianity."⁷

⁵ Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1930, p. 570.

⁶ Frank, "The Roman World" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. I, p. 57.

⁷ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 78.

While there is evidence that in cases of disaster the rich threw open their houses and taxed their resources to succor the sufferers, and while the duty of hospitality was strongly enjoined, Lecky concludes that "the active habitual and detailed charity of private persons which is so conspicuous a feature in all Christian societies, was scarcely known in antiquity."⁸

3: Charity among the Early Christians. The coming of Christianity gave a great impetus to the care of the poor. With its roots in the teachings of the Hebrew Prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., in the customs prevalent among the Jews, and in the teaching of Jesus, with its emphasis upon love and good deeds, a great impetus was given to the care of the unfortunate. The example of Jesus toward the disadvantaged and the poor was vividly remembered by His Disciples. Also, His teachings, in the form of parables, made an impression upon the Disciples' minds that years did not efface. Two illustrations of these parables are the Parable of the Good Samaritan and that of Dives and Lazarus. His emphasis upon the fact that all His Disciples were brethren and His epigrammatic statement that "Whoso would be first among you shall be servant of all," had a decisive influence upon the attitude of the Disciples toward each other. His teaching as to the treatment even of enemies meant an expansion of good-will hitherto unknown in the world, when He said, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you." This teaching of Jesus was further emphasized by His picture of the Last Judgment; the criterion by which the final condition of those to be gathered before Him on the last day was determined was kindness and mercy, and charity to those in need. "Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world, for I was hungry and ye gave me to eat, I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink, I was a stranger and ye took me in, naked and ye clothed me, I was sick and ye visited me, I was in prison and ye came unto me.' Then shall the righteous answer Him and say, 'Lord, when saw we thee hungry and fed thee, or athirst and gave thee drink, and when saw we thee a stranger and took thee in, or naked and clothed thee, and when saw we thee sick and in prison and came unto thee?' And the King shall answer and say unto them: 'Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these, my Brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me.'"⁹ Those that did not do these things—those on His left hand—were consigned to "eternal fire prepared for the Devil and his

⁸ Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁹ Matthew 25 : 34-40.

angels." Says Lecky, "Christianity for the first time made charity a rudimentary virtue."¹⁰

Very early in the history of the church at Jerusalem, "deacons" were appointed to have charge of the ministration of food to the widows of Hellenized Jews who had been converted to Christianity.¹¹ Near the beginning of the second century, widows were supported by the church.¹²

This practice of the Apostolic Church was followed in the centuries later and was further developed. The letter of the Roman Church to the Church of Corinth about 96 A. D. described this active philanthropy of the Church in the following words: "You were all lowly in mind, free from vain glory, yielding rather than claiming submission, *more ready to give than to take*. . . . Thus a profound and unsullied peace was bestowed on all with an insatiable craving for beneficence. . . . *You never rued an act of kindness but were ready for every good work.*"¹³

Justin, in his *Apology*, Chapter 67, says that "the well-to-do and willing among the Christians present in the congregation give as they choose and the collection is then deposited with the president for the assistance of orphans, widows, those who were in want owing to sickness or any other cause, those who were in prison and strangers who were on a journey."

Tertullian, in his *Apology*, says that the contributions of the church "are expended upon no banquets or drinking bouts or useless eating houses, but on feeding and burying poor people, on behalf of boys and girls who have neither parents nor money, in support of old folk unable now to go about, as well as for people who are ship-wrecked, or who may be in the mines or exiled in islands or in prison, so long as their distress is for the sake of God's fellowship and they themselves entitled to maintenance by their confession."¹⁴

The Church in the first three centuries systematically encouraged benevolence and organized through the church officials relief for those who were in need. Space does not permit the careful development of the matter here. It is sufficient to notice that this system of organized relief in the churches worked side by side with private benevolence. The organized relief was in addition to the general alms of which I have just spoken, providing also for

¹⁰ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 79.

¹¹ Acts 6 : 1-3.

¹² 1 Tim. 5 : 3-9.

¹³ Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, New York and London, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 188, 189.

¹⁴ Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, New York and London, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 189, 190.

the support of widows and orphans, the support of the sick, the infirm and the disabled, the care of poor people needing burial, and of the dead in general, the care of slaves, relief to those visited by disaster, the furnishing of work to members and insisting upon their working, and the hospitable care of brethren on a journey and of churches in poverty or in peril.¹⁵

One might suppose that this great impulse to benevolent helpfulness would have greatly encouraged hypocrisy and pauperism. From the very earliest period, however, in the Christian church, efforts were made to check any such tendency. The Apostle Paul, when exhorting the Thessalonian Christians to manifest their love to one another in a practical way, adds: "and that ye study to be quiet and to do your own business and to work with your hands even as we charged you, that ye may walk becomingly toward them that are without and may have need of nothing."¹⁶ He upbraids the disorderly among them "that work not at all but are busy-bodies" and exhorts them "that with quietness they work and eat their own bread," on the theory that "if any man will not work neither let him eat."¹⁷

Shortly afterwards the *Didache*, an early Christian writing, says: "Blessed is he who gives according to the command for he is guiltless, but woe to him who receives, for if a man receives who is in need, he is guiltless, but if he is not in need, he shall give satisfaction as to why and wherefore he received and being confined, he shall be examined upon his debts and shall not come out until he has paid the uttermost farthing."¹⁸

The danger of pauperization was less in these early Christian societies for three reasons, (1) because of the great moral enthusiasm which possessed the Disciples; (2) because "from the very first the president appears to have had practically an absolute control over the donations but the deacons also had to handle them as effective agents."¹⁹ and (3) because the president of the church and the deacons knew intimately everyone in the congregation. It is due to this heavy responsibility in the administration of the funds that throughout early Christian literature, the bishops and the deacons are required to be "not lovers of money."²⁰

These early Christian ideals of benevolence were *actually put into practice*. About 250 A. D. the Roman Church was expending on the care of 1,500 persons from \$25,000 to \$50,000 a year.²¹ The number of Christians in Rome

¹⁵ Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-249.

¹⁶ 1 Thess. 4 : 11, 12.

¹⁷ 2 Thess. 3 : 10-12.

¹⁸ Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 186.

¹⁹ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁰ 1 Tim. 3 : 3.

²¹ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

at that time has been estimated by Gibbon at about 50,000.²² In the time of St. Chrysostom the church at Antioch supported 3,000 widows and virgins besides strangers and sick.²³ So important was the charity of the early church and so deep an impression did it make upon the minds, both of the Christians and of the Pagans, that Julian, the Apostate, attempted an exact reproduction of it in his Pagan State Church which he set up as a competitor to the Christian Church.²⁴

In the later history of the Church the care of the poor was considered no less a duty. Every *monastery* became a center from which it radiated. Says Lecky: "By the monks the nobles were overawed, the poor protected, the sick tended, travelers sheltered, prisoners ransomed, the remotest sphere of suffering explored."²⁵

From the very earliest period the sick were ministered to in time of plagues even at the risk of life. When leprosy overspread Europe, new hospitals and refuges extended themselves everywhere and monks flocked in multitudes to care for the lepers.²⁶ Lecky remarks: "Surely no achievements of the Christian Church are more truly great than those which it has effected in the sphere of charity. For the first time in the history of mankind it has inspired many thousands of men and women at the sacrifice of all worldly interests and often under circumstances of extreme discomfort or danger, to devote their entire lives to the single object of assuaging the sufferings of humanity."²⁷

Lecky, however, makes *two important qualifications* to this high commendation. He notices that the early Christian Church provided no care for the insane and that later "a large proportion of charitable institutions have directly increased the poverty they were intended to relieve."²⁸

In the first, however, the Christians only followed the practice of antiquity. No lunatic asylum appears to have existed anywhere in antiquity and none existed in Europe until the fifteenth century. The Mohammedans seem to have preceded the Christians in this charity. The Knights of Malta was probably the one order which admitted lunatics into its hospitals. No Christian asylum expressly for the insane existed until 1409. Then this particular charity developed first in Spain.²⁹

²² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Everyman's Library, Volume I, p. 491.

²³ Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁴ Harnack *op. cit.*, p. 200.

²⁵ Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²⁶ Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 90.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.

On the second qualification it remains to be noticed that very early in the history of Christianity a motive was introduced for almsgiving which was bound to undo the careful safeguards thrown around charity in the earliest days, viz., the selfish religious motive. Says Harnack: "From the Apostolic councils down to Cyprian's great work, *de opera et eleemosynis*, there stretches one long line of injunctions in the course of which ever-increasing stress is laid upon the importance of alms to the religious position of the donor and upon the prospect of future recompense."³⁰ Even Hermas and the second epistle of Clement emphasize the value of alms to the giver. Says Clement: "Almsgiving is good as a repentance from sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than either." Says Cyprian: "By means of alms we may wash off any stains subsequently contracted" (that is, subsequent to baptism).³¹

The motive of giving alms for the welfare of one's own soul has continued to be a prominent motive throughout the Christian centuries and has worked all kinds of evil. It has been substituted for the love of mankind and the love of Christ which were the original motives of Christian philanthropy. It has broken down the safeguards thrown around early charitable relief. It curses both the giver and the recipient.

This evil tendency in medieval charity certainly was not checked when poverty of the most abject type was made a Christian virtue and those who practised it were canonized. Then, with the rise of the Mendicant Friars, the last touch was given to the religious process of pauperization in Europe.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC POOR RELIEF ON THE CONTINENT AND IN ENGLAND

Throughout the development of Western Europe until a late period the relief of the poor continued to rest *in the hands of the church*. Though originally the administration of all church revenues was in the hands of the bishops, later they were allotted to the several parishes. *From the sixth century onward, it was the rule to divide the church revenues into four portions* (in England perhaps into three): One for the bishop, one for the clergy, one for the maintenance of the church building, and one for the poor. With the development of the obligatory payment of the tithe in the eighth century, the same division was extended to it. However, as the tithe was the largest, most regular and most general source of revenue, it came to be looked upon as especially for the purpose of providing for the poor. With the allotment of the administration of church revenues to the parish, the duty

³⁰ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

of relieving the poor became the business of the parish priests. Later, with the development of the monasteries both on the Continent and in England, this parish system of poor relief gave way before the relief furnished by monasteries, hospitals, guilds, and private individuals. Hence, as Ashley remarks, "Such parochial poor relief as we find at the close of the Middle Ages was furnished, as a rule, not from the tithes, but from other sources."³²

As the *monasteries* developed, they took an ever increasing part in the relief of the poor. Poor relief appeared as an obligation in the rules of the monastic orders. Among the Benedictines it was laid down as a rule that one-tenth of the income of the monastery should always be spent on the poor. An almoner was appointed by the monastery, who, throughout the history, distributed alms in food and money to those who came to the gate, and often in the monastery's better days, under more careful administration and higher ideals, this almoner was accustomed to visit the distressed in their homes in the village. However, Ashley is of the opinion that "the monasteries had been altogether inefficient for the diminution of pauperism and it was this failure and the similar decay of the hospitals and other charitable foundations which rendered it necessary to transfer the relief of the poor to civic and afterwards to State authorities."³³

During the Middle Ages *the hospitals* were more careful in this respect than the monasteries. These hospitals were not merely for the reception of the sick, but for the care of the destitute and aged. They were, therefore, both hospitals and almshouses. They were scattered in hundreds all over Western Europe. Ashley says that they were *the most characteristic form of medieval charity*. They formed the connecting link between monasteries and private charity. On the Continent the hospitals, however, degenerated into sources of income for the clerics long before the end of the Middle Ages, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they fell into the hands of the burgesses of several towns, usually under the direction of the magistrates.³⁴

³² Ashley, *Economic History*, New York, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 307-310.

³³ One must not, however, conclude that the church and the monasteries had not endeavored to prevent indiscriminate giving, although there is no doubt that, with the emphasis upon the benefit to accrue to the giver, indiscriminate giving was likely to result no matter what was the theory held by the authorities of the church. The fathers and the councils both declared in the most explicit fashion the duty of investigation. For example, St. Basil, as early as the fourth century wrote: "He who, without distinction, gives to every beggar that runs up to him is not really bestowing alms, for compassion for need, but is tossing, as it were, a crust to a troublesome dog," and one of the celebrated theologians of the Middle Ages in Paris thought that to give one who has no need is not a merit but indeed a demerit. The difficulty, therefore, was not with the theory which the church held so much as it was the lack of careful administration. Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 312, 313, 315, 316.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

The history of the monasteries and the hospitals as institutions for the care of the poor in England followed much the same course as on the Continent.³⁵

In addition to the monasteries and hospitals established by the church, the various *crafts and fraternities* of the Middle Ages also provided charity, especially to their members. This consisted usually of occasional aid, and sometimes a weekly pension sufficient for maintenance. This was true especially of those craft associations that grew out of religious fraternities. As we shall see later, these guilds, both religious and secular, also established what were practically almshouses.

Out of this beneficence of the church, and the guilds, religious and secular, there grew the municipal and state care of the poor that we shall trace in greater detail in the next two chapters. We have already noticed that the hospitals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both on the Continent and in England, seem to have been for the most part taken over by the municipalities. In general, however, up to the sixteenth century, the care of the destitute was in the hands of the church, private individuals, and religious and secular fraternities.

Ashley summarizes the *characteristics of relief during the Middle Ages in Europe* as follows:

1. Lack of any attempt by the state as a whole or by any secular authority to relieve distress. Charity was left entirely to the church, and its motives were chiefly religious.
2. Whatever attempt had been made to organize charity in a systematic way by the church, making the parish priest the relief officer and the tithes the source of funds for this purpose, had altogether broken down.
3. Practically all the assistance was almsgiving and in actual practice it was indiscriminate no matter what the theory.
4. No attempt was made by any public authority, secular or ecclesiastical, to view the problem comprehensively and to coördinate the various agencies.
5. Reckless distribution of alms had a pauperizing tendency and rendered it easy for the idle to live without work.
6. The charity of the Middle Ages did too much in some directions and too little in others. The towns got more than their share, while the unhealthful and barren regions were unprovided for. Medieval legislation is characterized by an attempt to lessen the evil of vagrancy, but not the pauperization of the impotent poor.³⁶

Early Development of Public Relief. As a consequence of the evils which grew out of medieval charity long before the state actually took over the care of the poor, theologians, especially the Nominalists, emphasized two principles:

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 320-324.

³⁶ Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 339.

1. The duty of the state to undertake or to supervise the relief of the poor.
2. The expediency of stringently prohibiting begging.

This emphasis was followed both by Protestant leaders after the Reformation, and also by liberal Catholic leaders.

This tendency to emphasize *civic responsibility* was shown by the efforts of the magistrates of great cities to bring the relief of poverty within the sphere of municipal duties. Luther, in 1523, in his tract entitled "Lack of a Common Chest," and the Catholic, Vives, in his treatise on "The Relief of the Poor," published in the same year, both emphasize the importance of the public authorities prohibiting begging, and the latter sketches the outline of a new poor law which is almost modern in its main principles. In 1525, the city council of Zurich, Switzerland, under the advice of Zwingli, the reformer, took the matter of begging in hand.³⁷

At the same time, a number of the great cities of Europe, becoming conscious of their municipal responsibilities, began to introduce practical reforms. They began to grapple with the evils of pauperism and created administrative and financial organizations for the care of the poor. Thus Augsburg, in 1522, Nuremberg a few months later, Strassburg and Breslau, Ratisbon and Magdeburg in 1524 all prohibited street begging and appointed guardians of the poor. In 1524 and 1525 Ypres established a system of public relief on the lines laid down by Vives. These municipal reforms paved the way for the *state's attempt to grapple with the problem*. Thus, the Emperor, Charles V, in 1531, issued a poor law for the whole empire, based upon the plan of Ypres. England followed in 1536 with the first general law for the control of the problem by the state.³⁸ The details of the English system of public poor relief will be discussed more at length in the next two chapters.

Thus, throughout Western Europe there were experiments based upon suggestions of the deeper thinkers of the times. The evils of the practices of centuries in relieving want had become apparent in many quarters. Constructive efforts were beginning to correct those evils. Gradually it was becoming apparent that the civil authorities must attack the problem. The efforts which developed marked a new era in the handling of the problem of destitution and set in motion movements which have reached down to our own day.

³⁷ Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-346; for Vives's views, see his *Concerning the Relief of the Poor, or Concerning Human Need, a Letter Addressed to the Senate of Bruges, January 6, 1526*, New York School of Philanthropy, New York, 1917.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 340-350.

Many of the experiments tried by the public authorities proved to be abortive, but even their failures should have instruction for us. Alas, however, too many of those who have charge of new experiments today know nothing of the experiments of the past. Consequently too often they try the old failure again and again. For example, England in her public poor relief system in 1834 tried the experiment of repressing dependency by severe repressive measures, such as trying to make everyone applying for poor relief go to the almshouse for it. It failed, but in spite of that failure, it is the policy being followed by many public poor relief officials in the United States today. England tried institutions for children in connection with her public almshouses with very bad results. Ignorant of the results of that experiment, today some are building children's homes for normal children. Again, Elberfeld showed what could be done with a well organized system of poor relief through constructive measures, centralized administration, preventive measures, and skilled personal service. From what is going on in many states of the world, you would suppose that the administrators of poor relief had never heard of it.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Condition of the Lower Classes at Rome in the Time of Cicero. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, New York, 1913, Chap. VII.
2. The Development of Charity in the Christian Church after Constantine. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1884, Vol. II, pp. 24-101.
3. Charitable Ideals of the Book of Job.
4. A Sketch of the Relief of the Poor by Jesus.
5. Charitable Ideals of the Koran.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. To what extent did charity prevail among the Jews?
2. What forms did charity among the Romans take?
3. How did the Christian and pagan societies differ in regard to poor relief?
4. According to Tertullian how were the contributions of the early Church expended?
5. Why was the danger of pauperization less in the early Christian societies?
6. What were the early Christian ideals of benevolence?
7. Were these departed from in the later history of the Church?
8. In what particulars did these early poor relief policies prove inadequate?
9. What gave rise to and what superseded the parish system of poor relief?
10. What rôle did the monasteries play in the development of poor relief?
11. Were there any other agencies in this period engaged in poor relief?
12. Summarize the characteristics of relief during the Middle Ages.
13. What constructive efforts were developing?

CHAPTER XIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF

THE survey in the preceding chapter shows that when public attention was first drawn to the needy, their care began with private benevolence, then was taken up by the church, and finally by the municipalities and the state. The earliest method of handling the problem of the poor by any organized group was by the relief of the poor in their homes through almsgiving. We have seen how the early Christian church collected alms for needy brethren and dispensed those gifts through the church officials. With the spread of Catholicism throughout Western Europe and the development of monasticism, the monasteries also administered relief. Some of these were beyond the authority of the bishops who had supervision over the relief of the poor administered by the parish priest. Thus a duplication of relief agencies under church auspices arose, pregnant with evil as well as with good. It was the practice among the best administered monasteries for the almoner not only to give doles to those who came to the gate, but to visit the needy in their homes near the monastery. If we may interpret history in the light of results rather than of intention, we may say that with the rise of the Mendicant Friars, begging was elevated to a Christian virtue, and a great impetus was given to the concept of the merit of giving to beggars. In spite of exhortations against indiscriminate giving, the people and the monasteries followed the line of least resistance and continued indiscriminate doles, which resulted in increased pauperization.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century *there were five distinct methods of supplying the needs of the indigent*: (1) The parish distributed alms to the poor; (2) the monasteries distributed alms at the gate; (3) the hospitals provided for the aged, the sick, and in some cases children; (4) guilds, secular and religious, built almshouses and distributed alms; (5) rich individuals provided in their wills for the distribution of doles to the needy, occasionally building almshouses and hospitals.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century the inadequacy of the existing system of aiding the needy became clearly apparent. Why is it that for almost a thousand years there is very little discussion of charity and no

criticism of its results? *Why, all at once do voices arise on all sides discussing the problem of dependency and suggesting solutions of the problem?*

The answer is that a series of changes had been going on in medieval society, the consequences of which only now began to appear clearly. Among these were the following:

1. *Feudalism was breaking down.* When feudalism was in full flower in Western Europe every common man was supposed to be a vassal of some lord. The latter had the obligation of seeing that his vassal did not want the necessities of life. Robinson has given a formula of commendation used at that period which shows the situation. "Since it is known familiarly to all how little I have whence to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore petitioned your Piety, and your good will has permitted me to hand myself over or commend myself to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done; that is to say, in this way, that you should aid and succor me as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it."¹

2. *Cities were growing in number and importance.* The Crusades had broken the insularity of life on the feudal manor. They had led to a growth of commerce through creation of a taste for goods produced in the Orient and in Italian cities. Former vassals on the manor found they could make a living in cities by making articles to be traded for others. Merchant- and craft-guilds grew up to control trade and manufacture. Thus the old feudal bonds were loosened with greater freedom of movement, and of occupation, but with greater likelihood that people would have no one on whom they could rely for aid in a crisis. Hence, there was an increase in the number of footloose individuals who begged or robbed. There was greater opportunity for the capable individual to succeed economically, and for the incapable to fail and become dependent.

3. *With the growth of commerce came the introduction of money as a medium of exchange.* A money-economy still further loosened the feudal bonds, weakened the relationship between lord and vassal, and substituted a business relationship motivated by desire for gain for the customary relationships of duty and privilege. Moreover, the introduction of a money-economy for a barter-economy increased the possibility of the manipulation of the currency with consequent poverty for those not able or fortunate enough to profit thereby.

In consequence of all these and other lesser changes large numbers of people were reduced to penury without the former resources. Hence, the number of dependents wandering about the country greatly increased,

¹ James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, p. 175.

overwhelmed the customary charities of the church, of the guilds and of private benevolence. The cities were forced to do something about the problem.

The Spanish Catholic philosopher, Vives, at the request of the City Council of Bruges, in what is now Belgium, outlined a program for the consolidation of all the charitable activities within the city including hospitals, monasteries, parish relief, guild almshouses, and private giving to beggars into a consistent whole. The purpose of this plan was to prevent the current pauperization and through work to enable as many as possible to support themselves. At about the same time Luther in his tract entitled "The Lack of a Common Chest" in a less comprehensive way attempted to meet the same evil. A number of other cities at about the same time attempted to coordinate the various charitable agencies into a constructive program.²

PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF IN ENGLAND

In England the first legislation bearing upon the pauper, either by a city or by the nation, grew out of labor conditions. The statutes of laborers enacted following the Black Death and having for their purpose the control of the labor supply, and the suppression of vagrancy, is the first piece of national legislation having any relation to the poor. The first statute of laborers was passed in 1349, and provided that all persons able to labor, and without other means of support, should serve those who had need of them at the rates which obtained before the Black Death. At the end of this statute provision was made for the *suppression of begging*, as follows: "And because that many strong beggars, as long as they may live by begging, do refuse to labor, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to theft and other abominations; none upon the said pain of imprisonment shall, under any color of pity or alms, give anything to such, which may labor, or presume to favor them in their idleness, so that thereby they may be compelled to labor for their necessary living."³ This statute was followed by others in 1360 and 1388, both of which endeavored to prevent laborers from traveling about the country. Those who disobeyed were to be branded on the forehead at the discretion of the Justice of the Peace or placed in the public stocks. Impotent beggars, that is, those really unable to work, were made the responsibility of the locality where they were at the passing of the Act. In Ashley's opinion, while no provision was made in the statute for carrying out this part of the law, it was the hope of the

² Salter, *Early Tracts on Poor Relief*, London, 1926.

³ Lee, *Source Book of English History*, New York, 1905, p. 208.

legislators that the charity of the parish clergy, of the monasteries, the hospitals, and private persons, would care for the impotent destitute.⁴

London, in 1359, passed a city ordinance intended to deal with those who had come from different parts of the country to London to beg. They were ordered to leave the city at once or be put into the stocks.

In 1536 was passed the *first important poor law of England*. It was the English expression of the tendency throughout Europe to grapple with the problem of poverty in a more fundamental way than had appeared in the statutes of laborers. Contrary to the usual opinion, Ashley points out that this movement in England lagged almost a century behind the same movement upon the Continent. He says: "But it is clear that England instead of preceding other nations, rather lagged behind and that its action was probably stimulated by continental examples. English statesmen at every step of their action in this matter, moved in an atmosphere of European discussion, of which they must have been aware. The period when the English poor law began to diverge from that of the rest of Europe was rather the seventeenth than the sixteenth century."⁵

It is probable, however, that although she was influenced by the continental example, her own internal situation had become so critical that England was forced to grapple with the problem. During the first half of the sixteenth century there was a very decided growth of distress of every kind. The conditions prevailing in England, as well as on the Continent, for some time previous had resulted in a great increase of dependency. This may have been in part the result of the indiscriminate relief already discussed. However, other conditions very greatly aggravated the situation. The cessation of the Civil Wars left many without occupation. The agrarian changes deprived great numbers of the agricultural laboring class of their customary means of support. The pictures drawn by such men as More about this time show us how very grave was the situation. The enclosing of the land for the purposes of raising sheep had dispossessed large numbers of the farmers. Furthermore, from 1527 to 1536 there was a series of bad harvests. In addition to these features there were now unemployed large numbers of serving men whose masters had died. Also, the rise of prices due to the influx of silver from the New World and the debasement of the coinage by Edward the Sixth and Henry the Eighth made it impossible for many honest people with low wages to live. Hence they joined the ranks of the wandering beggars and vagrants of the time.⁶

⁴ Ashley, *Economic History*, New York, 1910, Vol. II, p. 335.

⁵ Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 350

⁶ For a different emphasis see Kelso, *History of Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620-1920*, Boston, 1922, p. 11.

In the face of these conditions and of the breakdown of the ordinary methods of caring for the poor, the cities of England began to experiment in various ways to meet the situation. Their most promising attempts grew out of the endeavor to classify the various types of indigents. The sturdy beggar was to be punished and driven away. Certain of the impotent poor were to be allowed to beg, a license being issued to each of them for that purpose. Another class composed of women with children, children themselves, and sick persons, were to be given alms. When it became clear that whipping the vagabond or placing him in the stocks did not rid the place of his presence, the scheme of gathering all of them together in one place and putting them to work was devised. As the first place in London where such a workhouse was provided, the king gave the old mansion house known as the Bridewell to the city for this purpose.⁷ Later, workhouses for the poor unable to find employment were provided, a kind of industrial school for children was set up in such places, and the plan of warning out of town undesirables and people likely to become dependent upon the municipality, was put into operation. Many of these plans have come down to us and are found embedded in our own poor laws.

In England there were *three principal phases* in the development of the public poor relief system. These are not of the same relative importance but they all entered into the development that was taking place. They are:

1. The orders of municipalities,
2. The regulations of parliament,
3. The order of the privy council in the endeavor to force justices of the peace to put the law into execution.

Miss Leonard has pointed out that before 1569 the orders of the municipal governments are important. Between 1569 and 1597 legislation is more important, while after 1597 the orders of the privy council are the most powerful force in the development of the Poor Law.⁸

It is not important for our purpose to trace in detail the growth of English outdoor relief. It will suffice to indicate that from the beginning of its development the tendency was to provide through the parish relief to families in their homes, and to set forth the chief steps in its evolution.

The statute of 1536, the foundation of the English Poor Law system, went further than the previous statutes, which had merely attempted to confine begging to those who could not labor, and lays down the general principle that none may beg. This implicitly places the obligation directly upon the

⁷ Hence, our term "bridewell" for the modern workhouse.

⁸ Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 21.

parish to support the destitute. While this law did not make it compulsory upon the parish to levy taxes for the support of the poor, that is a natural corollary once you place responsibility upon that body. At first the effort was made to raise the necessary funds by voluntary contributions in the churches, but finally, in 1572, justices were empowered to make direct assessment for the support of the poor, and to appoint special overseers to have charge of the business.⁹

In 1576 the provision was made for the employment of the honest poor on stocks of wool, hemp, flax, iron, and other stuff, in order that they might be self-supporting. During the next two centuries some plan of finding work for the honest poor was put into operation in many parishes throughout the country.¹⁰ This legislation culminated in the Act of Elizabeth in 1601.¹¹ This provided for the annual appointment of overseers of the poor for each parish by the justices of the peace.

While many changes occurred in the history of English Poor Law during the following centuries, the fundamental characteristics of this act have remained with certain modifications.

The outstanding features of this law are as follows:

1. Overseers of the poor shall be named by the justices of the peace each year. These overseers were to include, besides the church wardens, from two to four substantial householders, according to the size of the parish. The duty of these overseers was:
 - (1) To take such measures with the consent of two justices as may be necessary to set children to work whose parents are unable to maintain them.
 - (2) To set adults to work who have no means of support in order that they may earn a livelihood.
 - (3) To raise weekly by taxation of every inhabitant and occupant of a holding, such sums as are necessary to:
 - (a) Obtain a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, and other necessities for the employment of the poor.
 - (b) For the relief of the lame, impotent, blind, and others unable to work.
 - (c) For placing out poor children as apprentices.
 - (4) To hold meetings at least once a month and at the end of the year prepare a statement of their transactions.
2. The second section empowers the justices, where a parish could not afford to bear the burden of its own poor, to levy a tax from other parishes in the same

⁹ Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 366.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 365, 366.

¹¹ 43rd Elizabeth, Chap. 2.

hundred or even in the same county. The justices could collect the tax and on neglect to pay, might imprison the defaulter in the county jail.

3. The third section authorized the justices to bind out as apprentices boys until their twenty-fourth year and girls until their twenty-first year or until marriage.
4. Section 4 dealt with the establishment of workhouses.
5. Section 5 provided for appeals to the Court of Quarter Sessions against the tax levied.
6. Section 6 regulated legal responsibility for the maintenance of parent, grandchildren and children.¹²

I have given the most important details of this Act because of its influence on subsequent legislation not only in England but in the colonies of America.¹³ The essential features of this legislation of Elizabeth remained undisturbed in England until the great Reform Bill of 1834.¹⁴ Great Britain struggled with the problem of relieving the poor at home from 1834 up to 1909, with many changes in her experiments. In that year the Royal Commission, after studying the operation of the Poor Law, made two reports, one a majority and the other a minority report. The details of these two reports cannot be given here. The minority report edited by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, frankly faced the fact that the English Poor Law developed on the basis of the Act of Elizabeth in 1601 had broken down. Even the experiments devised by the Reform Act of 1834 and subsequent modifications had proved to be costly and over-lapping. This minority report frankly suggested the suppression of the Poor Law authorities and the distribution of the various services which had grown up under it to the local educational authorities, the local health authorities, the local pension committee, and the local authority for the mentally defective. It suggested new machinery for the coordination of public assistance, with increased authority by a department of national government in the interest of efficiency and adequacy.¹⁵

The recommendations of the minority were accepted only in part, but social insurance grew out of the discussion. Then in 1914 came the War. The conditions following the War put the whole scheme out of joint. The great increase of unemployment, and the difficulty of readjusting the demobilized soldiers to normal life created a problem with which the Poor Law was unfitted to cope. Moreover, even the provisions for old age, sick and unemployment insurance, which had grown out of the Royal Commission's Report in 1909, were overwhelmed by the problem. These provisions, how-

¹² Aschrott and Preston-Thomas, *The English Poor Law System*, London, 1902, p. 7.

¹³ Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa City, 1914, p. 5, Note 3.

¹⁴ Aschrott and Preston-Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁵ Webb, *The Breakup of the Poor Law; the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission*, Part I, London, 1909, Chaps. 11 and 12.

ever, indicated the direction being taken in the support of those who were destitute. The modified Poor Law continued to take care of certain classes of the dependent, while an increasing proportion were cared for by the laws governing the special classes already named. The upshot of the development in the last quarter of a century in England has been to change very radically the whole method from the days of Elizabeth down to the beginning of this century. The new developments in the shape of pensions and insurance are being carefully watched with the hope that they may provide some solution for this long perplexing problem.

DEVELOPMENT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES ¹⁶

The English colonists who settled the eastern part of what has now become the United States brought with them to these colonies the institutions and laws prevailing in England. Hence, in the early colonies the relief of the poor was based upon the English practice of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From the very first outdoor relief was practised by individuals, organizations, and the public poor authorities. In many of the eastern states even at the present time the laws covering the relief of the poor are almost identical with this Act of Elizabeth. As the American settlers emigrated westward, they carried with them the laws and institutions of the parent colonies. Hence, since the public relief of the poor is a subject to which until recently very little careful thought has been given in this country, in most of our states the poor-relief legislation is antiquated.

The Relief Unit. In accordance with our political organization, the outdoor relief is *given either by the county or the township officials*, depending upon the unit of political organization. In New England for the most part, the unit of relief is the town, i.e., township. The original intention was, of course, that the report of the official dealing with poor relief should be made to the town meeting.

With the development of the county as a political unit, this system lost its simplicity. In a state like Indiana, for example, the unit of relief is the township, but since the townships are component parts of the county, the township trustee reports to the county board. In a number of the Western states, the system is such as is found in Wisconsin, where the members of the board of supervisors, elected from the townships, are the overseers of the poor in their respective townships. The bills are paid by the county board.

In Indiana originally the bills were paid out of the county treasury on

¹⁶ For details concerning the development of the early poor laws in three states in this country, see Kelso, *op. cit.*; Hefner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682-1913*; Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*.

authorization of the county board, but since 1897 the amount spent by each township trustee is taxed back to his township. In other states variations of these plans are made possible by statute. For example, in some of the states the board of supervisors, or county commissioners, is given authority to employ an overseer of the poor in certain of the larger centers of population, or, as in Wisconsin, to elect a poor commission of three members.

This diversity of policy, with the township trustee absolutely independent in the administration of poor relief in some cases, in others with the township trustee or the member of the board of supervisors reporting only to that body, and in other cases with a hired employee of the board of supervisors administering relief, has one unifying element. Except in the New England states the ultimate authority in the matter of poor relief is the county board of supervisors, usually men of average intelligence in the community. On poor relief they probably take the attitude of most of their constituents, which favors furnishing only the bare necessities, on the theory that except in case of sickness or disaster, everyone should be self-supporting, and if he is not, there is something wrong with him which should be corrected by subjecting him to the pinch of poverty. Of course the county must not allow anyone to suffer extremely, but "poor folks have poor ways" so relief is just enough to keep them from starving to death. Orders for food, etc., are given by the trustee or supervisor without any careful investigation of the facts. Political influence can be exerted for the benefit of political henchmen. Before the World War the modern conception of social service was almost unknown. The result can well be imagined. The recipient of relief was degraded; money was wasted.

The theory on which outdoor relief has been carried on in most of our states is that it is emergency and temporary relief. When it was long continued, in theory it was granted only to those who were almost self-supporting. In most states there was no effective system of reports to a central supervising agency. In 1913 only eight had any careful State supervision of outdoor relief of the counties. Sixteen of the states had no agency whatsoever for the supervision of poor relief. In four more supervision was by a county agency.¹⁷ In the United States the development of home relief (called outdoor relief because it is outside of an institution) has lagged behind its course in Great Britain. So long as the country was largely agricultural the old system worked fairly well. With the growth of cities the old policy of local autonomy in the relief of the needy broke down.

Outdoor relief has been subject to debate ever since men began to question

¹⁷ *Summary of State Laws Relating to Dependent Classes*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1913, pp. 312-328.

the propriety of indiscriminate giving. In the United States the discussion came to an issue after the formation of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, when the proponents and opponents of the system got together. The evils connected with this form of relief had appeared first in the larger cities. As early as 1878 Brooklyn discontinued all home relief. The following year Philadelphia abolished it. Soon afterwards these two cities were followed by Baltimore, Kansas City, New York City, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Washington. This abolition followed as a consequence of two things: (1) The discovery that home relief had rapidly increased and that abuses were very common; (2) the growth of the charity organization movement in the larger centers of population.

Public or Private Home Relief: Which? Soon after their formation in the late seventies the private charity organization societies took a hostile attitude to public outdoor relief. They held that the only proper function of government with reference to the needy was to care for those who needed institutionalization and that private charity should handle the relief of families in their homes. Something more than a quarter of a century of experiment showed, however, that the private organizations, no matter how good their methods, were utterly inadequate to meet the necessity of relieving people in their homes. As early as 1915 some observers of the situation became convinced that the destructive criticism leveled against the public home relief by the charity organization people was futile. Public relief is necessary. Private relief cannot carry the load. It should be reformed by the introduction of methods which had been proved effective in the private charity organization.¹⁸

TWO SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTS IN PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF

Two historic instances developing out of crises, illustrate the statement that public outdoor relief need not necessarily be demoralizing. The Hamburg-Elberfeld System of outdoor relief in Europe and the Indiana system in the United States show what can be done under close supervision.

The Hamburg-Elberfeld System of Outdoor Relief. The problem with which England was struggling in the eighteenth century was not peculiar to that country. The development of unsettled conditions, the growth of begging and the necessity of dealing with the situation more effectively than hitherto became apparent all over Europe about the middle of the eighteenth century. The organization of the charities in the cities, initiated

¹⁸ Brackett, "Public Outdoor Relief in the United States," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1915; Riley, "A Discussion of Public Outdoor Relief," *Ibid.*, 1915; Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1915, p. 514; 1930, p. 639.

by Vives, Luther and Zwingli two and a half centuries before, broke down before the new developments in commerce, the increasing mobility of the population and the disturbance in social relationships caused by long continued War all over Europe. In 1765 a new method was devised in Hamburg, Germany. Hamburg was a large commercial, cosmopolitan city attracting many workless people to the city, some of whom sought work; others sought a living without work. Under the old system of relief thousands of individuals were receiving help from many different sources. Beggars increased and vagrancy had become a serious problem. A society was formed in Hamburg in 1765 the chief aim of which was to promote a better system of city government. As a part of the plan, Professor Büsch presented a novel proposal for the care of the poor. This was finally adopted. The fundamental feature of the scheme was a central bureau having charge of the relief of the poor. The city was divided into districts, with an overseer over each district. The avowed purpose of the system was to assist the helpless to help themselves, employment being supplied when the needy could not find it for themselves. The giving of alms at the door was forbidden and an industrial school for the training of poor people was organized. Hospitals were provided for the care of the sick. The attempt was made to establish a coordinated system of all the institutions dealing with dependents to secure not only the relief of distress, but to rehabilitate the dependent and to prevent the occurrence of pauperism. The attempt was made either to drive out the paupers or force them to work. It also attempted to educate their children and prepare them to make a livelihood as well as to relieve their immediate needs. It attempted also to repress begging upon the streets. So successful was the system that it wrought a revolution in methods of poor relief.

After 13 years of successful management, the system suffered a decline. This decline was due in part to the fact that the system had not kept pace with the growth of the city. The boundaries of the old districts were not changed and the number of visitors was not increased. Consequently, a single visitor as a rule had from 20 to 30 cases to handle, in some districts the number running as high as 40 to 50, and in a few even as high as 70 or 80. It became impossible for a person who had a business or profession, to give that many persons or families sufficient attention. Consequently, these visitors did what our outdoor poor relief officials in America do, limited their activities to receiving applications for assistance and making careful investigation only when granting aid for the first time. The consequence was that relief was being continued to a large number of people who no longer needed it, and therefore were pauperized.

Again, the records and reports were not collected at a central office and consequently the chronic paupers soon learned to move from one district to another. Also different standards and methods of giving relief prevailed in the various districts. There was carelessness and lack of business control with the result that money was often spent on people who did not need it, while needy persons, hesitant to press their claims, were neglected.

The basic idea of the Hamburg system was not lost, however; it was copied with modifications in Elberfeld, a smaller German city, in 1852. The evils of the Hamburg system were eliminated, and the details of administration perfected. The system has therefore become known as the Hamburg-Elberfeld system.¹⁹

The Elberfeld system may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The city was divided into 564 sections; within the confines of each section were included about 300 people, among whom there were not more than four paupers.

2. Over each of these sections was placed an almoner (*Armenpfleger*). He was the chief agent of poor relief. He was the official with whom each needy person came in contact. Moreover, it was his duty to visit the people in his section frequently and keep himself informed as to their circumstances. Over them he was supposed to exert an educational and helpful influence. He was to be their friend and adviser and to insist on discipline and order in the district. He was to discover lazy persons and report them to the authorities for prosecution. He himself gave the relief after he was convinced that it should be given. This relief was according to a minimum standard set by law. Any other income which the family had was deducted from the minimum and the balance provided by the almoner. He not only supplied relief, but secured employment for the unemployed, medical help for the sick, gave advice to the improvident and dissipated, and kept in close touch with the families to whom he had given relief, visiting them at least once in two weeks. He loaned sewing machines and tools belonging to the municipality in order to enable people to support themselves.

The almoners were unpaid and appointed for three years; service was compulsory on pain of the loss of franchise from three to six years and of having their taxes increased. Moreover, the service as almoner was a stepping-stone to political preferment in the city. These almoners usually served for a considerable number of years. For example, among 600 appointed at one time, one had served 49 years, 19 over 30 years, 81 over 20 years, and 268 over 10 years.

¹⁹ Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity*, New York, 1904, pp. 9, 10; Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1930, pp. 574-781.

3. Fourteen of these sections were organized into a district and the almoners from these 14 sections were presided over by an overseer or superintendent (*Vorsteher*), whose business it was to preside at the fortnightly meetings of the almoners. At these meetings reports of the activities of the almoners were considered and a minute book of their activities was prepared for the inspection of the central committee of nine.

4. A central committee of nine was at the head of the whole system, having charge of these officials dealing with outdoor relief, and also of the hospitals, almshouses, and correctional institutions in the city. This central committee met fortnightly on the evening following the meeting of the almoners.

The essential principles of this system explaining its success are as follows:

1. The small number of dependents under the care of each almoner.
2. The high degree of centralization in administration and close supervision.
3. Long continuance of the almoner in office, thus securing expert service through experience and training
4. The emphasis upon prevention and the rehabilitation of the pauper.
5. The control under one central committee of all agencies, both institutional and outdoor.
6. Frequent meetings for conference and training of those in charge of relief.

Indiana System of Outdoor Relief. An example in the United States shows that even under our system of local government it is possible to improve public outdoor relief. In 1895 Indiana had as bad a situation as perhaps any state in the country. In that year, under the unsupervised plan of relief by township trustees, the state spent \$630,168.79. No records were kept to show who was helped or what were the circumstances of the need. In that year, at the suggestion of the Board of State Charities, a law was passed which greatly changed matters. The trustees, as overseers of the poor, were required to file with their respective boards of county commissioners reports which must contain certain information concerning every family and person aided, a duplicate of which must be sent to the Board of State Charities. Thus, supervision was provided at the hands of a state board. Two years later, another law was passed requiring each trustee to levy a tax against the property of his township to cover the cost of poor relief which he had granted to persons within the township. This supplied a check by his own constituents upon his expenditures. Such check was lacking when the funds were drawn out of the general funds of the county instead of being made a distinct charge upon that particular township. Two

years later a law was passed, applying to the relief of the township poor in their homes the principles which had been worked out by charity organization societies. Except in emergencies, an investigation was to be made in every case before a family was given relief; and the results of this investigation were transmitted to the state board, as well as to the Board of County Commissioners. The township trustee was required to secure the help of friends and relatives of the poor wherever that was possible. The giving of transportation to anyone except sick, aged, injured, or crippled, and then only in the direction of his legal residence, was forbidden unless he was able to show that he could be cared for elsewhere. Township trustees were required to cooperate with existing relief societies; to secure the consent of the county commissioners if more than \$15 is required in ordinary cases of relief. This was exclusive of aid on account of sickness, burials, and school books.

It is evident that this system was not revolutionary. It left the immediate administration of outdoor relief in the hands of the township trustees. The immediate supervision remained in the hands of the county commissioners. It did only three things.

1. It made the trustees responsible to their constituents for what they spent on the poor.
2. It required investigation before giving initial relief and frequently before further relief could be extended.
3. It required reports to a state board, and thus gave that board the opportunity gradually to educate the township trustees to their important task.

It is not a system of trained experts; nevertheless in Indiana it worked well. It left much to be desired from the standpoint of expert service, but for a long time it was by far the best state-wide system of public outdoor relief in the United States.

Public or Private Home Relief. During the first third of this century the relation between institutional and home relief and between private home relief and home relief administered under public agencies was somewhat clarified. Gradually it became clear that careful investigation and the patient adjustment of the individual to his circumstances characteristic of the case work in private agencies must be extended to public outdoor relief if the latter was to be effective. It also became clear as time went on that the private agency would take as its special division of labor those cases which presented other problems than mere material relief and in which very much more careful investigation and case treatment was demanded, while the public agency, with its lack of trained personnel, could handle better

those cases in which the main problem was that of material relief. This division of labor between the public and the private agency rested fundamentally upon the difficulty of getting the latter to introduce the more refined methods of the private case-working agency. It also became clear that for certain types of dependents institutional or indoor relief was necessary, e.g., all the insane, certain types of the feeble-minded during at least their period of training, the epileptic, the sick, the disabled and the deaf and blind. At the same time there was a trend towards displacing institutions for children by placement in families either at board or in free homes.

Out of the debates between those favoring public outdoor relief and those favoring private outdoor relief, it came to be quite generally agreed that when it is a matter of material relief for large numbers, resort must be had to the public agency because of the inadequacy of support for the private agency. On the other hand, there was an increasing recognition of the fact that even those whose primary need was material relief often had problems which could not be solved by food, clothing, shelter, etc. Hence there arose the demand that the public agencies as soon as possible should undertake to handle by means of trained workers these problems as well as those of material relief. That meant case work—a technique developed by the private agencies. The introduction of such methods into public outdoor relief in the United States as a whole until recently had been rather limited. Side by side with these developments before the War the public was addressing itself to more effective means of caring for special classes of dependents such as the aged, the blind, dependent children, veterans, etc.

The aftermath of the War in this country marked radical changes in the thinking of people interested in the care of the needy. The American Red Cross had applied the principles of organized charity to its care of the families of the men in the Army and Navy. At the end of the War in many places whether there was no well-organized private relief agency, and where the public outdoor relief agency was doing very poor work, the Red Cross had demonstrated the superiority of its methods. In many places private organizations took over the principles demonstrated by the Red Cross, and in some places the public relief agency did likewise. Apart, however, from a few states, among them Indiana and Massachusetts, and in those only in part, there was no state-wide adoption of the principles of organized charity in the public home relief.

The development of private agencies following the War was greatly accelerated by the introduction of community chests for raising the money needed by those agencies. As these chests found themselves unable to carry

the great burden which fell upon them, they renewed their efforts to introduce into public departments some of the newer methods. Progress in this matter, however, was very slow. In spite of the superior claims of the private agencies and the impression which many people had that they were carrying most of the relief load, careful studies by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1931 showed that in 1929 and 1930 in eighty-one cities about three-fourths of the total outdoor relief was supplied by the public agencies.

Furthermore, the private agencies just before the War and immediately after had succeeded in a number of places in persuading the public relief units to combine with the private agencies for the administration of relief, the private agency to provide the workers and the public to supply the needed funds. Out of this movement in at least two states, Iowa and Ohio, such arrangements were made in a considerable number of places.²⁰

In the meantime attempts were made in a number of states to coordinate public relief in a State Department of Welfare. The initial movement in this matter was taken by North Carolina.

The depression beginning in 1929 practically settled for the time being this long argument between the advocates of private and public outdoor relief. The numbers of unemployed who had to be fed, clothed, and housed, swamped the private agencies everywhere. The appeal during the early days of the depression for larger and larger contributions to the private agencies, while successful, did not provide the funds necessary for the occasion. Counties had to enlarge their facilities for the public care of those unemployed. When their resources were exhausted, the states had to supplement with large grants, and finally the Federal Government had to enter the field with larger and larger contributions to meet the pressing need. At one time it became a question as to whether the public agencies should not take over all the social activities with the result that the private agencies would gradually disappear. Soon, however, it became apparent that under the burden imposed upon the F.E.R.A. careful case-work could not be done.

Following the announcement of the President of the United States in the summer of 1935 that as soon as possible the Federal Government would get out of the relief business it was necessary to consider how all those who were unemployable could be cared for. It was felt that large numbers of those who had been formerly employed but who for five years had not been in

²⁰ Vaile, "Principles and Methods of Outdoor Relief," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1915; Cottrell, "The Iowa Plan for Cooperating in County Welfare Work," *Ibid.*, 1926; Cottrell, "Off-Campus Social Work at the University of Iowa," *Journal of Social Forces*, September, 1933, p. 568.

industry would be unable to secure jobs; that technology would make unnecessary the employment of as large a number as formerly; and that as a result of the depression large numbers of older men, a very great increase in the number of men who were the least efficient, and perhaps the most inefficient young people, would have to be provided for in some way. The President's Social Security Program was intended to take care of the aged, the blind and the mothers with dependent children. Also after a time it would take care of by means of unemployment insurance those who were thrown out of employment once they had regained their place in industry and commerce. It left, however, uncared for what, it was expected, would be an unusually large number of people who could not qualify under the Social Security Act. Hence it seemed that for a number of years at least the localities and the states would necessarily have to make some provision for the care of those who could not be replaced in industry for any reasons whatsoever. The private social agencies would not be able, it was felt, to absorb the great proportion of these as their clients. Therefore, those who have studied the question believe in the next few years there will necessarily have to be an increase in provision for the outdoor care of larger numbers than before the depression.

There is no question that public outdoor relief as usually administered is demoralizing. Private outdoor relief is also demoralizing, when it is not administered by trained officials. Careful diagnosis of each case must be the basis upon which treatment is given. Relief is only one element in the treatment for the restoration of the family to independence.

Moreover, outdoor relief must be supplemented by care in institutions for those cases which cannot for any reason be left at large or which cannot care for themselves. Private charity organizations rendering outdoor relief have shown that it can be given without demoralization and with a constructive result. Public outdoor relief will not be redeemed from its present low state until it also is administered by people trained in family case work. Until we can get boards of supervisors and others charged with the outdoor relief of the poor to appreciate the importance of trained service in this work, public outdoor relief will continue to be demoralizing.

The emergency during the depression, 1929-1937, forced the agencies dealing with the unemployed to introduce into the administrative unit a large number of investigators. These were sometimes called case-workers. However, the only phase of case work they employed in most instances was investigation. That investigation was quite largely limited to the question as to whether the family was eligible for relief under the provisions of the F.E.R.A. By and large no case treatment was given. This was due to the

fact that relief was the important matter as contemplated by the scheme and in the second place by the incapability of many of the workers engaged in this work really to do case work. Whether the public agencies will respond favorably to what they have seen of case work or will react against it remains to be seen.

EXTENT OF PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF

Growing up as an emergency and temporary measure to relieve distress, outdoor relief has developed to huge proportions in Great Britain and the United States. This is true in spite of the development of old-age pensions, widows' pensions, and unemployment insurance. On January 1, 1934, the total number of persons (men, women and children) in receipt of poor relief in England and Wales was 1,402,725, or 3.48 per cent of the population—an increase of 2 per cent as compared with a corresponding number for the preceding January 1st. The greatest proportion of this number, 1,202,912, were relieved in their homes. Of the 1,402,725 receiving poor relief, 184,991 were either old age pensioners or widow pensioners who had to have poor relief in addition to their pensions.

Consider the change in the situation since 1908. In that year 69.2 per cent of the total number of dependents supported by the taxes were cared for in their homes. In 1934, 84 per cent were thus cared for. Even since 1925 in England and Wales the number of persons given outdoor relief increased from 886,825 to 1,202,912. Or another way of showing the growth in the proportion of the population cared for in England and Wales by home relief is by stating that while in 1908, 1½ per cent of the population were cared for in that way, in 1934, 3.48 per cent of the population were given domiciliary relief. Of the total number of old age pensioners in England and Wales 8.3 per cent had to have their pensions supplemented by relief from the poor rates.²¹

The cost of poor relief in England and Wales has increased even faster than the population. The cost of poor relief in England declined from 1856 to 1908 from 3s/3¼d in the former year to 1s/10¼d per capita in 1908, but the amount of relief given each dependent increased from £4/13s in 1856 to £7/1s in 1908. During the year ending March, 1933, England and Wales expended for poor relief £38,923,852. In 1913 it amounted to only £14,-

²¹ *Persons in Receipt of Poor Relief* (England and Wales), Return to an Order of the Honorable The House of Commons dated 25th June, 1934, No. 95, pp. 5, 22, Table 20, p. 36, Note 15).

935,605. However, in the years from 1922 to 1933 there was a drop from the highest point ever reached of £42,272,555 to the figure cited above.²²

These figures become all the more significant if it is remembered that unemployment insurance did not protect the workers of Great Britain until 1911. By 1921, 11,080,950 workers were covered under the unemployment insurance acts; by July, 1934, 12,960,000. In addition consider the fact that in 1933 in England and Wales 16,551,000 persons were protected somewhat under the National Health Insurance Acts, with total benefits paid out that year amounting to £28,529,000.²³ In addition in 1934, 746,825 persons received old age pensions at a total cost of £18,294,000.²⁴ It is clear, therefore, that the number of people dependent upon some sort of relief in England and Wales and the cost of their support have greatly increased. Doubtless the conditions revealed by recent figures were due to the depression following the world-wide economic crisis in 1929.

For the United States as a whole we have no such adequate figures. Within the last ten years, however, approximations have been made to an estimate of the cost of home relief in the United States and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has given us rather adequate figures as to the number on unemployment relief and the cost of that relief. Since it is probable that these figures represent practically all of those supported out of public funds, they give us a picture of dependency at the deepest point of the depression. The Bureau of the Census in 1932 published a report giving estimates of the relief expenditures by governmental and private organizations during 1929 and 1931. It showed an increase in public relief aside from Veterans' Pensions from \$12,010,450 in 1929 to \$52,935,306 in 1931. In addition pensions to mothers, the aged and the blind, increased from \$18,301,263 in 1929 to \$35,097,182 in 1931. Private relief rose from \$10,136,182 in 1929 to \$36,830,175 in 1931. Including Veterans' relief, non-pension, the total of public and private relief in the United States was estimated to have increased from \$42,370,322 in the former year to \$169,917,732 in the latter. These figures were based upon reports representing 89.2 per cent of the total population of all cities and incorporated places comprising 57.4 per cent of the total population of the United States and upon reports from counties comprising 34.2 per cent of the total population of the United States, or a total of 91.6 per cent of the total population of

²² *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*, 78th No., Cmd. 4801, London, 1935, pp. 88-89.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77.

the country.²⁵ This same report showed an increase of the number of families receiving relief per month from 1929 to 1931 of 388 per cent. The probabilities are that the major part of those on relief just referred to and of the cost of their care was for relief in the home.

Odum has prepared figures showing that from 1903 to 1928 the per capita expenditure for outdoor poor relief in cities having a population of over 30,000, rose from 72 to 445. (This index number is based upon 1913 as 100.) During the intervening years the increase was steady: 1903, 72; 1913, 100; 1918, 146; 1923, 242; 1928, 445.²⁶

By January, 1935, in Continental United States 20,652,240 persons were receiving emergency relief. This constituted 17 per cent of the total population of the country. In addition there was an army of 297,058 transients receiving relief. In January, 1935, the F.E.R.A. estimated that the cost of relieving these people in their homes during that month amounted to \$196,875,574. For the year 1934 the total cost was \$1,479,339,603. In 1934, 72.3 per cent of this amount was paid out of Federal funds; 27.7 per cent from state and local funds. By January, 1935, 77.2 per cent was paid from Federal funds with decreases from state and local funds.²⁷

From all the information at hand it is clear that from 1929 to 1935 there was a steady and rapid increase, allowing for seasonal variations, in the total relief expended from public and private funds. Direct relief increased even more than work relief. The amount contributed from private funds after 1932 steadily decreased. The amount from public funds for mothers' aid and old age relief likewise decreased slightly after 1933.

PRESENT METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION OF OUTDOOR RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES

The situation in public outdoor relief in the United States at the beginning of the present century was one of more or less chaos. The population was growing by leaps and bounds. The people were busy settling and conquering a continent. Industry and commerce were growing and cities were developing in the process of achieving economic victory. Much of the energy of a people was concentrated upon economic and political affairs. Too little attention was given to the development of social relationships. The major part of that little was devoted to education. Hence the different states in

²⁵ *Relief Expenditures by Governmental and Private Organizations, 1929 and 1931*, Special Report, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1932. See the discussion of this report by Miss Walker in *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, pp. 1215-1216.

²⁶ *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, p. 1251.

²⁷ *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, January 1 through January 31, 1935*, Washington, 1935, pp. 3 and 12.

Relief Expenditures in 120 Urban Areas, January 1929—September 1934*

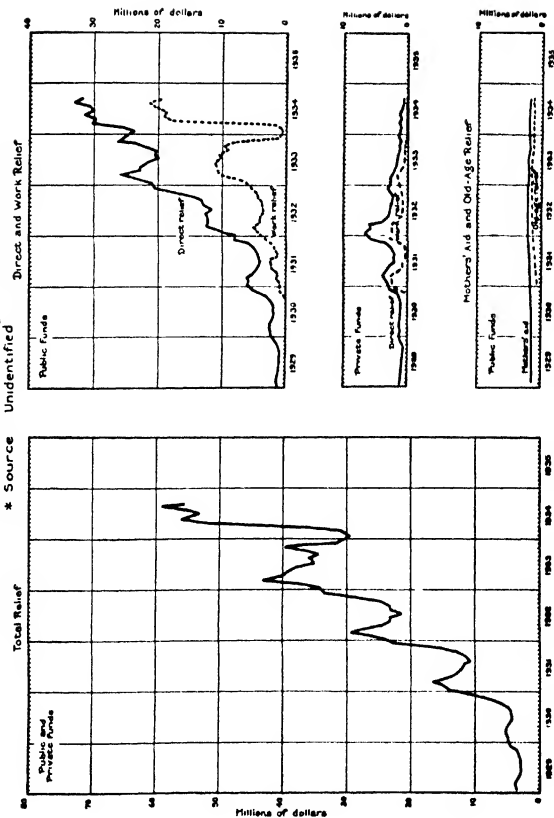


PLATE I

various localities were taking care of dependents chiefly by time-honored measures adapted to a simple agricultural economy. Practically the only advance made in the care of the dependents was setting up special categories—children, blind, deaf and veterans—and devising methods whereby they could be given better care.

When the United States entered the World War, for the first time such large numbers of families, the families of those in the army and navy, had to be considered. The care of these families was provided for partly from allotments from the men's wages, partly by compensation if the men were injured, and partly by the newly formed, far-flung organization of the Red Cross. When the men were demobilized, unemployment thrust itself upon the attention of the people on a large scale with the result that for the first time the Federal Government and the States for a brief time cooperated in a concerted attack upon getting these men back into civil employment. With increasing prosperity through the twenties the people of this country forgot that the time might come when thorough-going plans would be needed. Here and there voices were raised against the chaotic conditions of public poor relief. These voices cried in vain in the wilderness of economic interests seeking gain in a period of the greatest prosperity of the country. Ironically, there were those who believed that poverty was in a way to be abolished. Why then should any consideration be given to improving the poor laws? They would never be needed. Blindly, most people complacently thought that by the care of dependent children and their mothers through mothers' aid and with the pensioning of industrial workers by some employers the problem was solved.

It took the crisis beginning in 1929 to shake the people of this country out of their complacency. With the wheels of industry stopped and as much as 17 per cent of the entire population of the country upon unemployment relief something had to be done. In the last 5 years perhaps more fundamental thinking has been done on this matter of the care of dependents than ever before in the history of the country. A number of old issues have been almost entirely forgotten. For example, once in the National Conference of Social Work the relation between private and public agencies in home relief was hotly debated. The crisis has clarified that issue in a startling way. Again, the chaos with respect to relief units never became so clear as when millions of people had to be cared for on emergency unemployment relief. By March, 1935, practically 21,000,000 scattered over the whole United States had to be relieved. At once the inadequacy of the machinery with which we had been satisfied in relieving the necessitous became clearly apparent.

The unit of relief varied throughout the country. New England and parts of the country settled by people from that section had the township as the unit of relief. The South and parts of the country settled from that section had the county as a unit of relief. Then as cities grew we had city departments of outdoor relief. In some states all three existed side by side. One county would have township relief, another county relief, and still another would have a city with its own relief department. Every crisis made the confusion of this system apparent but none made it so clear as the last one. There was a growing tendency toward emphasis upon the larger unit, the county, but local lethargy and the interests of the local politicians cooperated in resistance to any change. Moreover in many parts of the country the competition of private relief agencies and the public agencies was unsolved. Furthermore gradually there had grown up side by side with the public outdoor relief all kinds of activities of a relief nature uncorrelated with the public department. Thus, Mothers' Aid departments, commissions for the administration of veterans' relief, agencies for the relief of the blind, existed in the same county and often in the same city without any cooperation between them.

In a few states cooperative relations had been worked out between the private and the public agencies in a county, as, for example, in Iowa and in Ohio. In others the county with a large city and the city had united as a unit in public relief, as in Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Washington. In some of these places as in Buffalo and Erie County, New York; the city of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; Chicago and Cook County, Illinois; Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio; Cleveland and Cuyahoga County, Ohio; and Denver and Denver County, Colorado, included in the united department the care of the various classes of dependents which formerly had been independently cared for. Moreover there was more or less chaos in the organization of the State departments dealing with the care of the dependent. Originally organized chiefly for the integration of control and supervision over the State institutions for various classes of dependents, they had pursued no uniform course with regard to supervision. The different states had no uniformity as to the local units of public outdoor relief. So inadequate were they in many states that when the Federal Government decided in 1934 to provide funds for the emergency relief of the unemployed only four of thirty-eight state agencies for public welfare were used for the administration of this emergency relief. Either new agencies had to be formed for the purpose or other state agencies already in existence had to be used. In some states the public department concerned with these classes had begun to develop special state-wide work

in child welfare because of the public interest in the proper care of children. Examples of such states are Alabama, Kentucky, Minnesota, South Dakota, Texas and Wisconsin. Certain other states proposed to make the local agency for child welfare the administrative unit in public outdoor relief. In still other states it had become clear that the old Board of State Charities or the Board of Control was no longer fitted for the new situation which had developed and therefore these State agencies were displaced with departments of public welfare, but even such departments followed no uniform method of organizing the various local units for the task which they were supposed to do. Only sixteen states in the Union had by 1934 carefully coordinated programs of county welfare work.²⁹ Even in these States, for many of the counties in the State the coordination was chiefly on paper. In only four of them²⁰ were county social workers employed in a majority of the counties.

The administration created by the depression beginning in 1929 has impressed many parts of the country with the necessity of bringing some order out of the present chaos. It has excited the leading minds concerned with these matters to try to think through the whole matter and plan a social organization fitted to meet the situation as revealed by the depression.

A great variety of suggestions has been made. In general, however, it seems to be pretty well agreed among the social workers of the country that the future public organization for the relief of the needy should be based upon the models of relief units and supervision worked out in response to the emergency. It has been suggested that the Federal Government set up a Federal Department of Welfare and that each state likewise have such a department with a corresponding department in each county or "region" for the coordination and actual administration of all the agencies of the communities of the state to meet the needs of the people. The Conference on Governmental Objectives in Social Work held in 1934 under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers, the American Public Welfare Association and the Great Lakes Institute convened by the National Organization of Community Chests and Councils Inc., have all agreed that a coordinated Federal, State and local program is a necessity, and they have urged that every state revise its poor laws and abolish the intra-state laws of settlement. As a sign of the feeling that some reorganization is necessary, in 1934 a number of states³⁰ appointed commissions to prepare legislation

²⁹ Alabama, California, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

³⁰ Alabama, California, New York and North Carolina.

³¹ Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

to cure the evils of the situation in those states. The Social Security Act of the Federal Government made necessary in all states that wished to take advantage of the provisions of that legislation a considerable reorganization of the State departments. The acuteness of the problem is shown by the large amount of published material which has appeared upon the problem.³¹

PRINCIPLES TO BE OBSERVED IN OUTDOOR RELIEF

1. *In small rural communities* outdoor relief may be safely left to private benevolence and the public overseers of the poor, provided there is careful supervision by an efficient state board. In most states, however, there has not been effective state supervision.

2. *In large communities* in which the public poor official does not know each individual to whom he ministers, administration of poor relief in the homes should be in the hands of *trained officials*. By "trained officials" is not necessarily meant people from outside the community, but persons who have had training in the scientific administration of relief. This principle is

³¹ Family Welfare Association of America, *Governmental Relief—The Report of a Path-Finding Study*, 1932 (mimeographed), Kurtz, *Looking Toward a Public Welfare Plan*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1935; Switt "Public and Private Agencies in a Cooperative Community Program for Family Welfare and Relief," *Social Service Review*, September, 1933; Lundberg, "Laying the Foundation for a State-Wide Program of Constructive Public Relief," *Ibid*; Heckman, "The Development of a Local Program in Family Welfare," *Ibid*; Leirugo, "From Alms to Welfare," *Mid-Monthly Survey*, April, 1933; Dunham, "Public Relief—Mastery or Drift," *Mid-Monthly Survey*, December, 1933; Kahn, "The Use of Cash, Orders for Goods or Relief in Kind in a Mass Program," *The Family*, October, 1933; Abbott, "Abolish the Pauper Laws," *Social Service Review*, March, 1934; Murphy, "Elizabethan Hang-Over," *Mid-Monthly Survey*, April, 1934; Heisterman, "Statutory Provisions Relating to Legal Settlement for Purposes of Poor Relief," *Social Service Review*, March, 1933; Heisterman and Keener, "Further Poor Law Notes," *Social Service Review*, March, 1934; De Schweinitz, "Tomorrow in Family Social Work," *The Family*, December, 1933; Switt, *New Alignments between Public and Private Agencies in a Community Family Welfare and Relief Program*, 1934; Colcord and Kurtz, "Public-Private Relationships," *Mid-Monthly Survey*, May, 1933; Glassberg, "Relationships Between Public and Private Agencies as to Service and Tax Support Funds," *Papers, Annual Convention of Travelers' Societies*, National Association of Travelers' Aid Societies, 1933; American Public Welfare Association, *Public Relief Laws: A Digest of Existing State Legislation*, Public Administration Service, Publication No. 37, 1934; American Association of Social Workers, "The Conference on Governmental Objectives for Social Work," *The Compass*, March, 1934, American Public Welfare Association, "Proceedings," *Social Service Review*, September, 1934; Davies, "The Need of Trained Personnel in Public Service; Working Toward One Professional Standard—Public and Private," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1932; Tyler and Sunley, *The Iowa Plan for County Organization of Social Work*, University of Iowa Extension Bulletin No. 260, 1931; Virginia State Department of Welfare, Bureau of County and City Organization, *A Study of Welfare Activities in a Group of Virginia Communities*, 1932.

necessary because of the fact that mere relief does not solve the problem. In many cases it only aggravates it.

3. *Wherever there are skilled case workers cooperation* with these must be close and cordial. In this way public outdoor relief will take on the characteristics of the best private organizations. Instead of being merely a relief agency, the public authority will occupy himself primarily with constructive service to rehabilitate the dependent and with the removal of the conditions that cause poverty and pauperism.

4. In every case reports as to the number relieved and the amount spent should be made to a *state board having supervision*. If local relief is in the hands of untrained persons, detailed reports on methods employed should be made to the state board. Such reports, however, are not a substitute for trained administration.

5. There should be a *county welfare department*, which should administer outdoor relief and might also include mothers' aid, pensions for the blind and deaf, and veterans' relief.

6. With trained persons in charge of outdoor relief, *volunteer visitors* should be organized and used for the rehabilitation of dependent families and for the educational effect upon the public. There are available in every community untouched resources of good-will and common sense, in persons who can be used for the constructive and preventive work which the trained person will not have time to carry out.

7. *Service, not merely relief*, should be the ideal in public outdoor relief as it is in the best charity organization societies. No progress in the redemption of public outdoor relief from its present low estate can be expected unless the constructive methods worked out in the experience of private charitable societies are adopted and consistently followed.

8. *Cooperation with all other agencies* in the community which can contribute to the solution of the problem of destitution should be eagerly and cordially sought. The forces of good-will in any community must not fight their battles alone. They must cooperate.

9. *Good case work* at the hands of well trained workers is absolutely essential for good outdoor relief, whether by private or by public agencies. By case work we mean careful diagnosis to secure the facts touching the dependent family so as to ascertain the factors in causation and to indicate the basis upon which treatment may intelligently proceed.³²

10. The state board of supervision, whatever its name, should hold fre-

³² See Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, New York, 1917; Richmond, *What is Social Case Work?* New York, 1922; Halbert, *What is Professional Social Work?* New York, 1923.

quent conferences of local relief officials and influential citizens to train them in the ideals and methods of effective service in the relief of the poor.

11. *State universities and colleges* should cooperate with state and county boards of welfare by providing courses for the training of relief officials. State agricultural colleges have found it possible to be of great assistance to farmers and farmers' wives by their short courses. There is no reason why departments of sociology should not organize and carry out in a similar way short courses for public relief officials. Extension divisions of universities, wherever they exist, might well carry short courses in relief administration out to communities throughout their states.

12. *Legal provisions requiring that a person be given relief in the political unit where he has resided (the settlement laws) a given length of time should be abrogated* within the area of a state. They lead to all kinds of confusion, consume a great deal of the time of the relief officials, lead to many disputes, and often result in neglect of people who need relief.³³

13. The administrator of relief, especially in all the larger areas, would be appointed under *civil service rules*. One of the difficulties with the administrators is that they are either local politicians themselves or they are selected because of their political leanings by the local politicians.³⁴

14. In order to secure an integrated and effective machinery for the administration of aid to needy people in their homes, thoughtful students of the question are urging the following *changes in our poor relief legislation*: There should be (a) in every state a department of public welfare, whether called by that name or not, having the functions of administering the funds provided by State and Federal Governments for the relief of the needy in the various counties of each state; (b) the organization in every county of a welfare department administering funds raised locally and the funds pro-

³³ Arguments for this position cannot be stated here because of lack of space, but the reader is referred to the following references: Adie and Hirsch, *Compilation of Settlement Laws of all States in the United States*, New York State Department of Social Welfare, April, 1933; Heiterman, *Memorandum on State Statutory Provisions, for Purposes of Obtaining Poor Relief, and the Local Financial Responsibility for Such Relief*, U. S. Children's Bureau, 1931 (mimeographed); "Removal of Non-Resident State-Poor by State and Local Authorities," *Social Service Review*, June, 1934; Goodhue, "Report of the Committee on Uniform Settlement Laws and the Transfer of Dependents," *Social Service Review*, September, 1931; Gillin, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1914, p. 539. "Committee Report on the American Public Welfare Association," *Social Service Review*, September, 1934, p. 506.

³⁴ Adie, "The Citizen and Public Welfare from the Point of View of a State Department," *Social Service Review*, September, 1934, p. 433; Moss, "Report of the Committee on Developing and Protecting Professional Standards in Public Welfare Work," *Social Service Review*, September, 1934, pp. 508-526.

vided as subsidies by the State and Federal Governments for the relief of the needy; (c) the integration in the county welfare department of the various forms of aid to the needy including Mothers' Pensions, pensions for the blind and the deaf, as well as the relief of the unemployed and people in their homes; (d) close coordination between the employment agencies and this local welfare department and between the department and the private agencies in the community.³⁸

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Sketch of the History of the English Poor Law. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Art. "Poor Laws"; Devine, *Principles of Relief*, New York, 1904, pp. 269-278.
2. Outdoor Relief in Missouri. Warfield and Riley, *Outdoor Relief in Missouri*, New York, 1915.
3. Outdoor Relief in Pennsylvania. Heffner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682-1913*, Cleona, Pa., pp. 180, 194, 195.
4. Outdoor Relief in Iowa. Gillin, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa City, 1914. See Index, "Outdoor Relief" and "Out-Relief."
5. The Medieval Guilds and Charity. Ashley, *Economic History*, New York, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 76, 90.
6. An Outline of the Development of Outdoor Relief in Massachusetts. Kelso, *History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620-1920*.
7. The Federal Social Security Act. Burns, *Toward Social Security*, New York, 1936. Bulletins of the Social Security Board, Washington.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain how the English Public Outdoor Relief System grew out of the parish relief on a voluntary basis.
2. What were the fixed methods in use at the beginning of the fifteenth century for meeting the needs of the poor?
3. Describe briefly the economic and social conditions which made necessary in England the passage in the sixteenth century of laws providing for the public care of the indigent.
4. Point out the chief characteristics of each of the early English poor relief laws up to and including the 43d of Elizabeth passed in 1601.
5. What early Colonial methods of poor relief are related to the English system?
6. What were the units of relief in early American states? What changes have occurred in that unit of relief?
7. Of what practical importance to the taxpayer are the figures given on the cost of public outdoor relief?

³⁸ "Resolutions Adopted at the Annual Meeting of the American Public Welfare Association, May 23, 1934," *Social Service Review*, July, 1934, pp. 528, 529.

8. What were the objections raised to public outdoor relief in England which resulted in doing away with it entirely?
9. State briefly the chief arguments: (a) in favor of outdoor relief; (b) against it; (c) what is your evaluation of these arguments?
10. Outline the essentials of the later Hamburg-Elberfeld System of outdoor poor relief. What were the essential elements of this System which account for its success?
11. Outline the essential principles of the Indiana System of public outdoor relief. What principles in this system account for its success? How could it be improved?
12. Name and describe briefly what you consider the five most important principles to be observed in outdoor relief.
13. What is meant by social case work? Why is it important in outdoor relief?
14. Point out in the John Thomas case cited in Chapter X (a) the members of the family which should be treated by case work in their home, and (b) which should be taken care of in institutions
15. Why is outdoor relief when poorly done as bad as institutionalization?
16. What changes in home relief policies followed the World War?
17. What effect is the operation of the Social Security Act having upon home relief?

CHAPTER XIV

THE POORHOUSE

THE poorhouse, as we have seen, was not the original means by which the public undertook to care for its dependents. In English and American experience, however, the poorhouse has come to be the ultimate reliance for the public support of the completely destitute.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POORHOUSE

The Church and Institutions for the Destitute. There were no poorhouses in the first three centuries of the history of the church. All assistance was given to people in their homes or upon the streets.

Following the conversion of Constantine, institutions for the care of children and strangers, and hospitals, caring not only for the sick but for the needy as well, were founded. Says Lecky: "When the victory of Christianity was achieved, the enthusiasm for charity displayed itself in the erection of numerous institutions that were altogether unknown to the pagan world. A Roman lady, named Fabiola, in the fourth century, founded at Rome, as an act of penance, the *first public hospital*, and the charity planted by that woman's hand overspread the world, and will alleviate, to the end of time, the darkest anguish of humanity. Another hospital was soon after founded by St. Pammachus; another of great celebrity by St. Basil, at Cæsarea. St. Basil also erected at Cæsarea what was probably the first asylum for lepers. Xenodochia, or refuges for strangers, speedily arose, especially along the paths of the pilgrims. St. Pammachus founded one at Ostia; Paula and Melania founded others at Jerusalem. The Council of Nice ordered that one should be erected in every city."¹ *Hospitals and asylums for the blind* were founded by the early Christian monks: "Even the early Oriental monks, who, for the most part, were extremely removed from the active and social virtues, supplied many noble examples of charity. St. Ephrem, in a time of pestilence, emerged from his solitude to found and superintend a hospital at Edessa. A monk named Thalasiaus collected blind beggars in an asylum on the banks of the Euphrates."²

¹ Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

With the spread of leprosy throughout Europe, *hospitals and refuges for lepers* were provided by the church and manned by the monks. "As time rolled on, charity assumed many forms, and every monastery became a center from which it radiated. . . . When the hideous disease of leprosy extended its ravages over Europe, when the minds of men were filled with terror, not only by its loathsomeness and its contagion, but also by the notion that it was in a peculiar sense supernatural, new hospitals and refuges overspread Europe, and monks flocked in multitudes to serve them."³

Moreover, the monasteries often served as *indoor resorts* for the poor. "Many of them [the monks], whose revenues were sufficient thereunto, made hospitals and lodgings within their own houses, wherein they kept a number of impotent persons with all necessities for them, with persons to attend upon them, besides the great alms they gave daily at their gates to *everyone* that came for it."⁴

There was, however, another class of institutions for indoor relief, which followed a more excellent way than the monasteries, and might seem to have been free from the evils which resulted from their careless methods. These were *the hospitals*. The medieval hospitals were not only institutions for the care of the sick, but naturally developed into refuges for the destitute and so became the precursors of the poorhouses of later times. They have been singularly neglected by modern historians, misled by the later association of the name exclusively with the care of the sick. But the hospitals of the Middle Ages were foundations not only for the reception of the sick, but also for the sheltering of destitute and enfeebled old age; they were both hospitals and almshouses.

"Institutions of this character, of every degree of magnitude, from the small cottage under one priest to the wealthy establishment rivaling in magnificence a great monastery, were scattered in hundreds all over Western Europe. There were at least 460 foundations in England; in York alone there were as many as 16 at the time of the Reformation. They were, in truth, the characteristic form of medieval charity; . . ."⁵

The almshouses, designed to care for a special class of the inmates of the medieval hospital, developed in the late Middle Ages. They seem to have been the outgrowth of the guilds and of benevolent individuals. As shown in Chapter XII, when feudalism was in flower, there was but little need of special institutions for the poor.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴ Anonymous writer about 1591 quoted by Ashley, *Economic History*, New York and London, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 314, 315.

⁵ Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 318, 319.

Craft and Religious Associations and the Poorhouse. Moreover, the various craft associations in England and on the Continent also furnished lodging for destitute members. At first this was the practice only of the religious guilds, but later was adopted by the industrial guilds as well.

"Accordingly, the various associations began to provide lodging for destitute members; and from hiring a couple of cottages they proceeded, with the help of legacies for the purpose, to erect almshouses with accommodation for a dozen or more members."⁶

"Beginning, probably, with the religious guilds, the practice of maintaining almshouses spread to the crafts. During the course of the fifteenth century all the more important companies in London erected such establishments. . . . Hospitals had been the characteristic form of poor relief in the fourteenth century; in the fifteenth they survive only on the benefactions of the past, and the stream of charity takes the direction of the foundation of almshouses—either unconnected with any other corporate body, such as those founded by Whittington, or, more usually, as we have seen, under the control of a wealthy religious guild or of some powerful company."⁷

"The church-house or guild-hall often became the parish workhouse."⁸

As the able-bodied poor unable to support themselves increased, thoughtful people began to see that what was needed to keep these people from utter demoralization was employment, and began to devise means of providing them labor. In the sixteenth century private bequests were made "for setting people on work," in anticipation of public provision to this end in the Poor Law of 1597.⁹

Charitable Individuals and the Development of the Almshouse. Moreover, in the days of Elizabeth, many private individuals established almshouses. Says Ashley, "As everyone knows who has explored the out-of-the-way corners of the older English towns, the foundation of almshouses was a favorite form of charity in the Elizabethan age, from the couple of little houses built by a wealthy citizen, up to the 'Hospital or Measondieu' established by a great nobleman like the Earl of Leicester."¹⁰ The first public almshouse established under the authorization of national legislation in England was established in the reign of Elizabeth.

Thus, developing out of the medieval hospitals, out of the lodgings provided for destitute members of the various guilds, and from private benefac-

⁶ Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁹ Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy*, London, 1905, p. 26.

¹⁰ Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

tions establishing houses for the poor, there finally grew up among the national institutions of England the public almshouse.

Local Authorities and the Poorhouse. As municipal governments developed on the Continent out of the chaos in the late Middle Ages and became self-conscious, these authorities began to take over the institutions for the care of the dependent. Thus, in France, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, those which survived fell into the hands of the burgesses of the several towns. A statute, quoted by Ashley, says: "Many hospitals, founded as well by the noble kings of this realm, and lords and ladies, both spiritual and temporal, as well as by others of diverse estates, . . . to the which hospitals the same founders have given largely of their movable goods for the buildings of the same, and largely also of their lands and tenements wherewith to sustain old men and women, lazars, men and women out of their senses and memories, poor women with child, and other poor persons, and there to relieve, nourish, and refresh them . . ." ¹¹

Such of these as were doing good work were spared at the dissolution and handed over in England to the municipal authorities.¹² ". . . Many of the hospitals and almshouses still survived to perform their old functions, although they no longer distributed doles to outsiders. In London, for instance, the great hospitals were all utilized. Early in 1547, Henry VIII granted to the mayor and citizens of London the Hospitals of St. Bartholomew and of Bethlehem, together with a portion of their endowments, largely, as it would appear, at the prompting of Ridley. . . . In 1551 he [King Edward] bestowed upon the city the Hospital of St. Thomas with a portion of its endowments; to which he added, in 1553, the royal mansion house of Bridewell."¹³ Gray Friars, renamed Christ's Hospital, in London was devoted to the care and education of poor children, that of St. Thomas to the impotent poor, and the Bridewell to the vagabond and idle strumpet where they were compelled to work.¹⁴

In 1569 all the poor of London were to be taken off the streets and disposed of in its four hospitals. A similar use of already existing institutions was attempted in other towns of England.¹⁵ In 1547 England passed legislation which laid the responsibility of providing poorhouses upon the local authorities. Says Ashley, "In 1547 it was enacted that the local authorities should provide 'tenantries, cottages, and other convenient houses' for the lodging of the impotent."¹⁶

¹¹ Ashley, *op cit.*, p. 320.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 323.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 359; Leonard, *English Poor Relief*, p. 57.

In 1572 the justices were authorized to make direct assessment, and appointed overseers of the poor to take charge of poor relief.¹⁷ Thus, the support of the poorhouses as well as of the outdoor relief, became a public burden rather than a responsibility to be met by voluntary contributions.

* This system of compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor had been introduced in Paris some twenty-eight years before and over the whole of France four years before its enactment in England.¹⁸

THE POORHOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES

Like most of our early institutions, the poorhouse as an institution in this country was inherited from England.¹⁹ "The early poorhouse laws of America were borrowed from England, the chief features being copied from the great act of Elizabeth (43 Eliz., c. 2) and from later English acts. The English idea of a workhouse, however, was adopted in America later than the period when the laws were made upon which the legislators of Iowa drew for models."²⁰ This law came to Iowa from England by way of Ohio, which state had borrowed it from Pennsylvania.²¹ Philadelphia had the first almshouse in America.²² The institution gradually spread to most of the original colonies, except those in the South. For a long time it was the one public institution for the care of the poor, there being no public outdoor relief.

That great hopes were entertained for the early poorhouse in the United States is shown by some remarks of de Beaumont and de Tocqueville when they visited the United States in about 1830. They describe the almshouse system in New York State and report the belief of the Secretary of State of New York that the poorhouse system will save more than half the amount expended under the old modes of supporting the poor. They remark: "From the data already furnished, it is confidently believed that the poorhouse system, when carried into full effect, will produce a saving in the expenditures for the support of the poor in the whole state, of at least *two hundred and fifty thousand dollars*, which is nearly equal to all the ordinary expenses of the state government."²³

In the development of the institution in the United States, two systems arose—the town system in New England, and the county system in Vir-

¹⁷ Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

¹⁹ *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 438.

²⁰ Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa City, 1914, p. 157.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

²² Heffner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682-1913*, p. 65.

²³ de Beaumont and de Tocqueville (Translation by Francis Lieber), *Penitentiary System in the United States and its Application in France*, Philadelphia, 1833, pp. 181, 182,

ginia—²⁴ spreading thence to other colonies and to the states of the Union as they were created. These two systems of almshouses have since competed with each other. While some of the states of the East still have township poorhouses, most of the states of the West have only county institutions.

With the growth of population and the development of the West, the early territories and states of the West usually improvised an almshouse when one became necessary. Many of these early territories adopted laws, including the laws on poor relief, from the older colonies and states. Consequently, in many cases the law provided for poorhouses long before need really existed.²⁵ When the community became conscious of the need for some place in which to care for the destitute poor they usually bought a farm and remodeled the old house for the care of the aged and other helpless people in the community. In many states the care of the poor was let to the lowest bidder, or, as the statutes authorizing this method of caring for the poor put it, "to the lowest and best bidder." In other cases, when the number of paupers was not large or the county did not feel that it could pay the salary of a superintendent, the custom grew up of leasing the poor farm and house and the care of the paupers to the lowest bidder. In an investigation made in 1903 of the poorhouses in Missouri by Professor Ellwood, one-half of them were still under this system.²⁶

With the development of the country and the increase of population there has grown up almost everywhere, either on the county farm or upon a plot of ground near a large city, such an institution. The building now is usually not a remodeled farm house, but one built for the special purpose of caring for the poor of the county. Very frequently it is architecturally a credit to the county. It is usually quite symmetrical, with two wings equal in size, in spite of the fact that there are usually not more than half as many female as male paupers. It is an institution to which the county board as well as the inhabitants of the county can "point with pride." Many times, because of this symmetry, it is impossible to house the men without overcrowding,* while the women's wing is not half filled.

Furthermore, the institutional type is very inadequate for the classification of the inmates of the poorhouse, and thus prevents that attention to the treatment of the paupers which a humane institution should give.

As a result of considerable attention given the last few years to the indoor pauper, the tendency has appeared to modify the institutional system in the

²⁴ *New York State Report of the Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers*, Albany, 1914, p. 111

²⁵ Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, p. 63

²⁶ Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri*, University of Missouri, 1904.

direction of the cottage type of buildings. Thus, the almshouse of the District of Columbia, at Washington, D. C., that of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, that of San Francisco, of Ventura, and of Los Angeles, California, some of the most up-to-date institutions of their character in the country, are built with detached wings or buildings for the more careful classification of the inmates and individualization of treatment. In the cottage system, as this is called, it is possible to separate old couples from the other paupers and give them rooms by themselves, in some cases allowing them to keep their own furniture and little knick-knacks which have very dear associations. Again, the less tractable paupers can be segregated in a cottage or wing and thus discipline becomes a simpler problem. Also the sick and the tuberculous and other classes of inmates for whom special treatment must be provided can be given special attention.

THE PLACE OF THE POORHOUSE IN THE POOR RELIEF SYSTEM
OF THE UNITED STATES

The poorhouse is the one institution in America which is universally provided for the care of those who have no other resort. While outdoor relief preceded it in development, and even at the present time ministers to many more individuals, the poorhouse is the one refuge which cannot be denied to the destitute.

On January 1, 1923, there were 78,090 inmates in the poorhouses of this country. This represents a decrease from 84,198 on January 1, 1910. A like decrease is noted if comparison is made of the admissions to the almshouses in different census years. Admissions during the year 1922 were 58.4 per 100,000 of population which compared with 96 in 1910 and 99.5 in 1904. It is quite evident that great changes are taking place in methods of caring for those who in earlier days were sent to the almshouse. Mothers' pensions, the development of outdoor relief in certain parts of the country, boarding out of the poor, and the growth of old age pensions and of specialized institutions for certain classes who formerly were cared for in the poorhouses, all are supposed to have played a part in this decrease. However, during the early part of the Depression the almshouse population grew.²⁷

A report by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year 1923 has made the most complete study of almshouses in the United States. The

²⁷ Special Report; *Paupers in Almshouses*, Bureau of the Census, 1913, p. 16; *ibid.*, 1923, pp. 4, 5; *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1932, p. 258.

report covered 2,183 almshouses or 93 per cent of the public pauper institutions of the country. Connected with these institutions were 345,480 acres of land, of which 184,087 acres were cultivated. The value of this land and the farm equipment was \$48,366,556; that of the buildings and furnishings \$102,118,675, or a total of \$150,485,231. These buildings had approximately 12,000 persons in their service, composed of doctors, superintendents, matrons, nurses, cooks, domestics, laborers, etc., costing annually \$8,600,000. The total cost of maintaining these institutions for the year covered was \$28,740,535, while the income received from the sale of farm products produced during that time was only \$2,912,566, although the actual amount produced was probably very much larger owing to the fact that no dependable data on the value of the products used in the institutions which were raised on the farm could be obtained. The average cost per head of maintaining a pauper in these institutions was \$334.64.²⁸ Thus we see that in these institutions the people of the country have an enormous investment, caring for 78,090 paupers for the most part in a very poor way. In general, two systems of managing these poorhouses are used in the United States: (1) 88 per cent of the almshouses are managed directly by county officials or in certain states not organized on a county basis, by the poor officials through a paid superintendent or keeper; (2) the rest are managed on the contract system under which the farm and institution is leased to an operator for the care of the poor.²⁹

The census study showed that with the exception of those communities in which people are alive to the evils of the poorhouse, conditions are chaotic. This report said: "The unavoidable conclusion seems to be that dilapidation, inadequacy, and even indecency are the outstanding physical features of most of our small almshouses. Ignorance, unfitness, and a complete lack of comprehension of the social element involved in the conduct of a public institution are characteristic of a large part of their managing personnel. Among the inmates themselves insanity, feeble-mindedness, depravity, and respectable old age are mingled with haphazard unconcern. It is idle then to imagine that social conditions in these institutions could be other than deplorable."³⁰

The laws of all states in the Union except New Mexico provide for poorhouses. However, in the beginning of the century not more than half of the counties in the United States had such institutions. In the South they

²⁸ *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1925, p. 28

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁰ "Cost of American Almshouses," *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1925, p. 30.

are not nearly so numerous as in the other parts of the country. Furthermore, in many of the more rural areas the poor relief authorities board out the few paupers they have with farmers or let out their care on contract.⁸¹

That in the Southern States there are not as many almshouses as in the north and west may be due partly to rural conditions in certain parts of the country, to the negroes and to the climate in that region. There is no uniform policy throughout the country with respect to almshouses and in only a part of the states is there any state supervision of these institutions.

THE CHARACTER OF THE INMATES OF THE POORHOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES

Unfortunately no nation-wide study of the population of the almshouses has been made since the Census in 1923. The inmates of the poorhouses have been classified by the Census for purposes of study as to age, sex, nativity, marital condition, lying-in cases, women who have had children, defectives, literacy, occupation, capability of work, and length of stay.

1. **Age.** The Bureau of the Census⁸² shows an increase in the proportion of the inmates above and a decrease of those below fifty years of age from 1880 to 1923 in the population of the almshouses.

Year	Per Cent of the Total Number of Paupers	
	Under 50 years of age	Over 50 years of age
1923	18.9	80.0
1910	26.2	73.0
1904	30.4	67.7
1890	43.9	54.3
1880	54.1	45.9

In other words increasingly the almshouse is becoming an institution for the aged.

2. **Sex.** Twice as many males as females are to be found in almshouses. This, in part, is due to the tendency to care for females in other institutions, such as old folks' homes, and to the greater possibility of old women getting a place in a family. This disparity between the sexes has been increasing. Of those in the almshouses on January 1, 1923, over two-thirds (69.1 per cent) were males, while but 30.9 per cent were females. If we take into

⁸¹ Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri*, 1904, p. 4; *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 41; *Summary of the State Laws Relating to the Dependent Classes*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 322-328.

⁸² *Paupers in Almshouses*, 1923, Washington, 1925, p. 11, Table 8.

consideration those admitted to almshouses during the year 1922, 73 per cent were males, while but 27 per cent were females.³³ Moreover, the male paupers are considerably older than the female.

3. **Nativity and Color.** Every study of the almshouse population by the Census Bureau has shown a very large disproportion for the foreign-born, whether the number enumerated on a given date or the number admitted during any given year be considered. This disproportion has been steadily decreasing in the interval between the first census study of the population and the last. While in 1910 the foreign-born constituted four times as many in the almshouses as the native-born whites, and the foreign-born admissions were four times as many as the native-born admissions, by 1923 the proportion of foreign-born to native-born had decreased to 3 to 1.³⁴

Negroes provide a lower number per 100,000 of the population of that color in the almshouses than the whites.³⁵

4. **Marital Condition.** A much larger proportion of the single, widowed and divorced than married people are to be found in the poorhouses. The high proportion of paupers among the single and among the widowed and the low proportion among the married indicates that, in some measure at least, pauperism is associated with the lack of normal family life.³⁶ Why this is so we can only speculate. Possibly the most efficient industrially marry and these people in the almshouses have not married to so great an extent because they are economically deficient or so deficient in personal qualities that they have not appealed to the opposite sex. Possibly they have gone to the poorhouse in some cases because they have not had children to support them outside.

5. **Lying-in Cases in Almshouses.** The number of lying-in cases in almshouses in the United States has been gradually decreasing. In the earlier periods the almshouses were used largely as lying-in hospitals for the poor mothers of illegitimate children. In 1910 of 1185 lying-in cases found in almshouses nearly half of them were single women. This use of the almshouse as the only place of confinement for certain of the most helpless women is not peculiar to America. Say the Webbs concerning Great Britain: "It is not generally known that some 15,000 babies are born in the workhouse every year. To the feeble-minded woman, or to the woman who is mentally and morally degenerate without being actually imbecile, the Poor Law offers free and unconditional medical assistance at the time of her confine-

³³ *Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 12, 13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 19.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁶ *Paupers in Almshouses*, 1923, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1925, p. 27.

ment. Thousands of these 'unfit' mothers treat the local workhouse or Poor Law infirmary simply as a free maternity hospital."³⁷

However distressing is such a condition it is of interest that the proportion of paupers in almshouses made up of children under 16 years of age has been steadily decreasing since 1904. In 1904 the percentage was 8.1, while in 1923 it had dropped to 2.6 per cent.³⁸

6. What Proportion of the Almshouse Woman Had Had Children? Surprising as it may seem at first glance, the proportion of women in almshouses who have had children is much smaller than of the women in the general population. The fact that a larger number of them are single than in the general population of the same age might explain the matter of their dependency. Unless they have children to support them when they become old, the almshouse is the natural last resort.

7. Defectives. The proportion of the almshouse inmates who are defective have been gradually decreasing. In 1910 63.7 per cent of the inmates had some physical or mental defect; in 1923 only 47 per cent. Evidence that the defective increasingly are being cared for otherwise is indicated by the fact that in 1922 only 24.6 per cent of all those admitted to almshouses were defectives.

In 1923 a little more than three-fourths of the defectives were either feeble-minded or crippled. The negroes had the highest proportion defective, the native whites the next highest, both followed by the foreign-born whites. Females were more defective than males.³⁹ One-third of the inmates were aged and infirm. Earlier studies showed that as high as 27.5 per cent of the children in almshouses were of illegitimate origin, and that in some of the states the mental defective, insane or epileptic inmates constituted more than 50 per cent of the almshouse population.⁴⁰

8. Illiteracy. 33.8 per cent of the inmates of the poorhouses of the United States in 1910 were illiterate, while in the general population the proportion was but 7.7 per cent.

9. Occupation. Most of the inmates of the poorhouses of the United States in 1910 had come from the ranks of unskilled laborers. Eighty per cent of the females in almshouses had been domestics, while in the general population of gainfully employed women, domestics constituted only 31.3

³⁷ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Prevention of Destitution*, London, 1920, p. 53.

³⁸ *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1925, p. 28.

³⁹ *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, Washington, 1925, p. 33.

⁴⁰ Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri, 1904*, p. 8; Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Proceedings, State Conference of Charities and Correction of Iowa*, 1911, p. 43.

per cent. These figures simply mean that the domestic who does not marry usually has no one to care for her in her old age except the public.

10. **Capability of Work.** With the increasing tendency to take care of dependents in other ways than through the almshouse the proportion of the inmates able to work has diminished. In 1910 the able-bodied inmates constituted 15.4 per cent; in 1923 only 7.1 per cent.⁴¹ This again points to the almshouse becoming a home for the hopeless aged and infirm.⁴²

11. **Length of Stay.** Yet, the almshouse is used increasingly as a temporary shelter by large numbers and as a permanent home by a diminishing proportion. In 1910, 30.5 per cent of the almshouse population had been in the institution less than a year.⁴³ In 1923 almost 7 out of 8 (87.1 per cent) of the paupers discharged or transferred during 1922 had been in the almshouse less than a year since their last admission.⁴⁴ What effect old age pensions may have on this tendency we do not know.

12. **Mortality in Almshouses.** It is difficult to get a death rate among the paupers in almshouses because of the rapidly moving population. If we take the number enumerated on January 1, 1923, as a basis, the death rate was 202 per thousand. If we take the number admitted during the year and the number enumerated January 1, 1923, the rate is 112. On either of these methods, however, it is apparent that the death rate in almshouses is very much greater than in the general population, since the latter was only 11.8 per thousand of population in the registration area of the United States in 1922. This high death rate is due partly to the large proportion of old people in the almshouses and possibly partly to the health and general physical and mental condition of paupers admitted to almshouses.⁴⁵

From this brief survey of the character of the almshouse population it is apparent that it is constituted of the most hopeless classes of the dependent. They are those, who, by reason of abnormal circumstances in life have no children or other relatives upon whom they can depend for support in their old age, or they are seasonal workers of low earning capacity, or they are women who have served as domestics, and therefore had either been maltreated, with the consequence that they fled to the poorhouse as the only lying-in hospital open to them, or they are old people to whom the poorhouse is the last resort. The rest were the cripples and feeble-minded, unable to

⁴¹ *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, Washington, 1925, pp. 31, 32.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴³ For further discussion of these statistics see *Paupers in Almshouses, 1910*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1915, pp. 17-43.

⁴⁴ *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, Washington, 1925, pp. 36, 37.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

endure the "buffetings of outrageous fortune" or else foreign-born in a strange land, without natural supporters or friends.

THE FAILURE AND SUCCESS OF THE POORHOUSE IN THE
UNITED STATES AND THEIR CAUSES

The almshouse has occupied an important, though not a highly respected, place among the institutions of our country. Growing out of the demand that the unsuccessful, whatever their character, should be cared for, it has served the useful but inadequate purpose of keeping the poorest from starvation.

Elements of Failure. In spite of the fact some almshouses have been successful, it must be admitted that the larger number in our country have been a disgrace to civilization. They have miserably failed to do anything more than to give the merest necessities to the inmates.

Why has the public almshouse failed to be the constructive institution that an awakened social conscience demands?

1. *Because it is usually a catch-all institution.* Since generally it is a small institution, classification is very difficult, discipline is next to impossible, and a home-like atmosphere out of the question. It fails of being a home for the aged and infirm, and, because of the disreputable classes admitted to it, many respectable dependents would rather die than go to such a place.⁴⁶

Moreover, much of the hatred of the poorhouse arises from the poor food, badly cooked, the institutional smell from lack of cleanliness in the floors and walls of the building or the clothing and the persons of the inmates.

The sick often are neglected, the visits of the doctor being very infrequent, or only on call; no nursing by skilled nurses, only by patients or by the matron or the superintendent or unskilled attendants.

So long as the inmates are of all classes of dependents, including debauched individuals and criminals of a petty class, the self-respecting will feel that they are disgraced by being placed among them. All classes which are not infirm or aged should be excluded.

Even with only those admitted who are aged or infirm often inmates are not properly classified within the institution; hence, the inmates are not happy because they are forced to associate with those who are not congenial. "A few years ago, almost everywhere, inmates of almshouses were, and in too many places they still are, a very heterogeneous mass, representing almost every kind of human distress. Old veterans of labor, worn out by many

⁴⁶ Quoted in Johnson, *The Almshouse*, App. XV.

years of unrequited toil, alongside of wornout veterans of dissipation, the victims of their own vices; the crippled and the sick; the insane; the blind; deaf mutes; feeble-minded and epileptic; people with all kinds of chronic diseases; unmarried mothers with their babies; short-term prisoners; thieves, no longer physically capable of crime; worn-out prostitutes, etc.; and, along with all these, little orphaned or deserted children, and a few people of better birth and breeding reduced to poverty in old age by some financial disaster, often through no fault of their own."⁴⁷

2. *Because as a county or town institution, except in the more populous communities, it is usually a small institution.* Since it is small, a skilled manager is too expensive, the buildings are often inadequate, it is neglected by both the county supervisors and the public, and classification of the inmates is impracticable.

In the first part of this century studies in various states of this country showed conditions of neglect of inmates of almshouses which could be characterized as nothing less than disgraceful. At the beginning of the century Ellwood found that in not more than one-sixth of the almshouses of Missouri there was no classification at all, not even the separation of the sexes. The salaries were very low, and consequently the kind of people they were able to hire were ill suited to the necessary duties with which they were charged. As recently as 1925 the Pennsylvania Poorhouse Commission and the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare found that many of the almshouses in those two states were characterized by conditions which no respectable community could defend.⁴⁸

3. *Because conditions of admission and discharge are very lax* in most states, unsuitable people are admitted. Inmates can stay as long as they wish and then discharge themselves and return, often with vicious results. These are what are known in the English workhouses as "ins and outs."

"The woman about to become a mother makes a strong appeal to our sympathy, especially if she is one on whom the burden of her own support, as well as that of her prospective child, is laid. All country almshouses, and many in the cities, frequently admit cases of this kind. The best method of dealing with the unmarried mother and her babe should, therefore, be studied. Too often the woman comes in pregnant, bears the child, and goes

⁴⁷ Johnson, *The Almshouse*, New York, 1901, p. 57.

⁴⁸ Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri*, 1904, p. 19; *Ibid.*, p. 18; *Proceedings, Iowa Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 43, 44; Solenberger, "Pennsylvania Poor Laws—A Tangle of Good Intent," *The Survey*, April 15, 1925, p. 81; *Poor Relief in North Carolina*, Bulletin No. 4, North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. Raleigh, pp. 1-20; Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa Applied History Series, Vol. 2, No. 11, pp. 26-28.

out again as soon as she can walk, sometimes taking the baby and sometimes leaving it behind.

"The inadequacy of the legal control of such cases is one of the many weak places in our system of public relief and reformation. Under the usual present arrangements, the almshouse, as a maternity hospital, is certainly more of an encouragement to immorality than a deterring influence."⁴⁹

4. *Because in most of the institutions no work test is possible for the winter time*, that period which brings to the poorhouse its largest number of inmates. Therefore, the vagrants gather to the poorhouse, where they can spend the winter in warmth and with enough to eat until summer comes round, allowing them to renew their journeys.

5. *Because the poorhouse is usually located too far from the center of population*, hence it is neglected often by the Board and even more by the public. Consequently, evil conditions can grow up without the public being conscious of the conditions. A most monotonous life results because the charitable people of the center of population are not near enough to see that entertainment and religious exercises, and perhaps simple work, such as needlework or basket-making, is introduced to occupy the idle hands.

6. *Because there is very little or no coordination of the institution with other institutions for the care of certain classes of paupers*. It is not a part of a thoroughly thought-out plan for the treatment and prevention of pauperism. Consequently, the almshouse usually is not a curative or preventive institution. It is only palliative at the best, and in many cases often a cause of demoralization and the last step in the pauperizing process from which there is no hope of rehabilitation.

It has been suggested that connected with every almshouse there should be a *social service worker* to look into the conditions surrounding those who apply for admission to the poorhouse and also serve to get them out of the poorhouse as soon as possible.⁵⁰

7. *Because the superintendent of the almshouse is charged so often primarily with the duty of making the poor farm pay*. The county board insists, and the public sanctions that insistence, that the poor farm support as nearly as possible the paupers cared for in the institution.

The result is that the superintendent is a farm manager rather than a social service official. He takes more pride in his stock and farm produce

⁴⁹ Johnson, *The Almshouse*, p. 123; Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Proceedings, Iowa Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 43.

⁵⁰ Brackett, "Public Outdoor Relief in the United States," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 452; Sartwell, "Social Research in an Infirmary," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1926, pp. 519-523.

than in the inmates of the almshouse; in his cash balances than in the proper social treatment of his inmates.

If there is a "poor farm," there should be a farm manager. The superintendent, however, should be selected because of his skill in handling the social problem of the pauper, not for his farming or business ability. If both cannot be afforded in a small county, then either the farm should be given up or a district poorhouse replace the county institution.

8. *Finally, because of community neglect and indifference to the poor.* So long as no one is starving to death and the county possesses an institution to which anyone may go before he starves, frequently the community dismisses the whole disagreeable subject from its mind. The consequence is that the poorhouse is given no publicity and no attention from the public-spirited citizens of the community.

Conditions of Success. This institution was a comparative success when the country was thinly populated, and the number of inmates was very small. The inmates under such conditions were really members of the keeper's family. Moreover, they were usually unfortunate creatures who were not particularly disreputable and could be quite easily managed. That condition, however, soon passed away in the development of our country, and the inmates became increasingly defective and diseased.

It has also proved to be quite successful when the numbers have become large enough to require a large institution challenging the thoughtful attention of the community. The management, then, has become more intelligent; more careful attention has been given to the care of the inmates, larger salaries have been paid the superintendents, and the latter have been skilful enough to provide careful classification within the institution by means of separate wards and separate cottages, and have aimed to make it a real home with living interests. In the case of a large population usually other institutions are to be found for the care of special classes like the feeble-minded, vagrants, and prostitutes who in a smaller community would have been kept in the poorhouse. Recently in some of the larger centers of the country increased interest has been taken in this ancient but dishonored institution. Serious attempts have been made to redeem it from its previously evil reputation. In these newer experiments the attempt has been made to transform the almshouses from general catch-alls for the most destitute and helpless dependents into decent and comfortable homes where the aged and the infirm may receive humane care. This movement for the rehabilitation of the almshouse began in the early part of this century under the leadership of different men in various parts of the country. George Wilson, Secretary of the Commission having charge of the dependent classes in the District of

Columbia, led the movement to build an almshouse for the District which should not be a disgrace to the National Capital. Harris R. Cooley, once Tom Johnson's pastor and then Mayor Johnson's Commissioner of Charities and Correction in Cleveland, led the City Council of that city to transfer the municipal institutions to a large area outside of the city. There he built an almshouse which at the time was a model for the entire country. San Francisco, California, has an architecturally magnificent almshouse at the edge of the city. It is beautifully appointed but it lacks the grounds desirable for such an institution. Los Angeles County, California, and some of the other more populous counties of California have provided institutions for dependents which combine the decency and comfort of a home with hospital facilities, classification of different types of inmates, equal to the best to be found anywhere in the world. The main conditions of successful operation of the almshouse are (1) intelligent leadership; (2) support by at least an intelligent minority of the population; (3) an understanding of the needs of this class of dependents, and (4) the sympathy and will to minister to them in humane and constructive ways.⁸¹

THE PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSFUL POORHOUSE MANAGEMENT

That the poorhouse has failed is the result of mismanagement. Among an increasing number of people there is a belief, justified by the experience of certain places, that the poorhouse can be successfully managed and occupy a place of real usefulness, if not of honor, in the community. What can be done by good management in the transformation of an old antiquated poorhouse has been shown by V. Everit Macy, in the transformation which he wrought in the Westchester County Poorhouse in New York. In 1913 he was elected Superintendent of the Poor of that county. In two years he transformed the whole system of the care of county dependents in a most remarkable way. The story is too long to tell here, but the explanation of the marvelous transformation wrought under his administration is to be found in the management, business and social, which he brought into that decadent institution.⁸² What are some of the principles of successful poorhouse management?

1. **A Home for the Aged and Infirm.** It is generally agreed that it should be made a home for the aged and infirm only. That means that con-

⁸¹ Cooley, "A Substitute for the Poorhouse," *Outlook*, April 22, 1911; also in *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1912, p. 437; Lane, "A Rich Man in the Poorhouse," *The Survey*, November 4, 1916, p. 101; Harriman, *Los Angeles County Farm, Hondo, California*, June 7, 1930.

⁸² Lane, "A Rich Man in the Poorhouse," *The Survey*, November 4, 1916, p. 101.

ditions of admission and discharge must be strictly regulated. Again, it means that before conditions of admission can be made such that only the aged and infirm can come into the poorhouse, provision must be made for other classes of dependents in other institutions or by other means.

Again, within the institution, in order to make it a real home, classification of even the aged and infirm is necessary. This classification should be by sex, by physical condition and by character, so that the congenial can be together and those who disturb each other can be kept apart. The successful division of the inmates depends, in part, upon the physical plant and, in part, upon the ability of the manager. If the building is not adapted to the classification of inmates, the best manager will fail. The best institutions, therefore, are built with detached wings or separate cottages so that classification of the inmates may be possible. The sick and the well should be separated so far as possible. If the number in the institution is too small to have a separate hospital building or wing, a ward should be set off for hospital purposes. In addition to that space, provision should be made so that cancer patients and others with disagreeable afflictions can be isolated.

Old people are often querulous and difficult to get along with. If they sleep in a large ward or dormitory, many times the snores, for example, seriously disturb others. The best solution, of course, is separate rooms.

If, however, two or more must occupy the same room, a deaf person and a snorer may be placed in the same room.⁵³ A similar exercise of ingenuity on the part of the management would solve many problems arising in the administration of the almshouse.

In the best conducted almshouses in the country there is provided a small cottage for the accommodation of old couples, for whom separation would be a hardship. For example, the Cleveland almshouse has a cottage that accommodates 17 such old couples. In their rooms they can have some of their former possessions and feel more at home than would otherwise be possible.

It is important, too, that classification in the almshouse be made on the basis of character. Even among the aged and infirm there are people of high and noble ideals who are the victims of misfortune, and people of debased character. It is cruel to force the decent paupers to sit all day in the same room with the foul-mouthed and listen to their talk. So far as possible, therefore, provision should be made by which people of congenial temperament and character associate together.

In order to make it a home, provision must also be made for the mental and social life, as well as for the physical. The terrible poverty of mental

⁵³ Warner, *American Charities*, Revised Edition, New York, 1908, p. 217.

stimulus to be found in most county poorhouses in the United States constitutes one of the severest indictments against the institution. A daily newspaper or two is given to the inmates after the superintendent has read them. Very few of them have any collections of books or even a supply of old magazines. I have personally visited dozens of poorhouses where there was absolutely no healthy stimulus to the mental or emotional nature. In some of the poorhouses there is occasionally some religious service. In visiting an almshouse in Illinois, the author asked the attendant whether they had religious services. She answered, "Oh, yes, the ministers from the city come out in the summer time about once a month and hold religious services." I said, "Are there no religious services in the winter time?" She replied, "No, unless somebody dies. You see, the roads are too bad for the ministers to get out." In Iowa, in 1910, 55 out of 87 county poorhouses had no religious services at all; 29 of them had religious services occasionally, and only a very few regularly.⁵⁴ It is a disgrace that even the consolations of religion are denied to these neglected human beings.

Certainly in this day of cheap and numerous magazines there is no excuse for the lack of old magazines in the poorhouses. That there are no entertainments simply indicates the indifference and neglect of the community towards these exiled poor.⁵⁵

In many of the poorhouses there is lacking the homelike atmosphere by reason of the poorly cooked food in the institution. Dr. L. L. Nascher, Chief of the Clinical Department of Internal Medicine, Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York City, in an address on the Institutional Care of the Aged, said that in the almshouses the proper feeding of the aged is very important for their health and happiness. He pointed out that many of these old people are fed a diet which is so improper for the aged that there is resulting sickness and irritability of temper.⁵⁶

Dr. Nascher also emphasized the importance of giving the aged something to do both for the economy of such a plan and, more important, for the happiness of the old people. In the absence of anything with which to occupy their minds they become irritable and quarrelsome. The New York City Home for the Aged and Infirm on Blackwell's Island found a very great improvement in the tempers of the old people in that institution after a society in the city provided manual work of a light and agreeable character, such as basket-work, raffia, embroidery, knitting, needlework, etc.

⁵⁴ *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 43.

⁵⁵ Harriman, *A Guide for New Patients, Los Angeles County Farm, Hondo, California*, 1930; "Old Folks at Play," *The Survey*, January 15, 1931, p. 453; "Delaware Leads in Care of Aged Indigents," *Literary Digest*, December 2, 1913, p. 20.

⁵⁶ *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, p. 350.

2. **Location.** The location of the poorhouse is of considerable importance for its proper management. It should be close to the city because its very isolation prevents easy access by people who might be interested in making the poorhouse a real home for the old people.

Usually it should be on a small piece of ground. Otherwise the manager of the poorhouse will be forced to devote his time to the running of the farm and to the financial management rather than to the care of his charges. If, on the other hand, for purposes of economy, it is thought wise to have a large farm connected with the institution, provision should be made for a farmer to have charge of this end of the work, leaving the superintendent free to devote himself to such a management of the institution as will conduce to the welfare and happiness of the inmates.

So far as possible it should be located on well-drained ground, and so placed as to have as much beauty of outlook as possible.

Enough ground should be attached to the institution to provide garden stuff for the table and some light work for the able-bodied inmates. It should be located on soil that will produce well, and the soil should be adapted to diversified cultivation and use. Poultry and gardens with a small stock of hogs and cattle to supply meat, milk and butter can frequently be attached with good results.

3. **District Almshouses.** Except in counties with large population, several counties should unite and establish a district almshouse. It is now coming to be quite generally recognized that the county institution in most of our states is too small, and the law provides in some states for the establishment of district almshouses. For example, in Virginia the district almshouse is all but universal and in North Carolina and Illinois laws providing for them have been passed.⁵⁷

A recent study by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics has shown the inefficiency and waste involved in the large number of small poorhouses in the United States. 38 5 per cent of the 2,046 almshouses having inmates were operated for not more than ten paupers, while more than 50 per cent of these institutions had twenty-five or fewer inmates. A comparison made of two groups of almshouses, each of which included 11,959 paupers, showed the inefficiency and excessive cost of the small houses. The group of small almshouses included 333, having from 26 to 50 inmates. The other group, consisting of 16 institutions, had from 501 to 2,000 inmates. Consider first

⁵⁷ "North Carolina Joint County Almshouse," *The Survey*, April 17, 1915, p. 61; James, "The Almshouse in Virginia," *Welfare Magazine*, September, 1927, pp. 1207-1210; Johnson, "Back from Over the Hill," *The Survey*, September 15, 1920, pp. 600, 610; *Poor Relief in North Carolina*, Special Bulletin No. 4, North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh, 1925.

the wastefulness of the small institution. Both had the same number of inmates. However the 333 institutions occupied 58,699 acres of land, representing a total investment of \$22,019,674 at a cost of \$335.66 per capita annually. The 333 institutions required 333 superintendents and employees. Of the 1,918 employees in the group of small almshouses only about 800 ministered directly to the inmates. The rest were farm laborers, unskilled workers, and domestics in 333 separate dining rooms and kitchens. On the other hand, the 16 institutions with 90 per cent less land and \$3,381,411 less investment maintained the same number of inmates at \$281.72 per head. In addition, consider the superiority of those large institutions and the equipment averaging approximately \$1,000,000 in value as compared with the other group averaging a little less than \$42,000. In the 333 small almshouses 135 nurses were reported, and only 9 of these institutions had staff doctors. On the other hand, each of the 16 institutions had a resident physician, and the number of nurses, orderlies, and other persons directly concerned in caring for the paupers was 566. In spite of the fact that in the 16 institutions a large percentage of the employees were skilled professional men and women, the service cost per inmate was \$6.98 less per annum than in the group of small almshouses, where the overhead covered 21 times as many almshouses. The writers of this report say: "Manifestly it is reasonable to assume that the 11,959 indigents who are housed in institutions constructed and equipped to care for them in illness or in health and who are in the care of trained persons are better off than are the 11,959 scattered throughout 333 institutions with 333 different standards of treatment and efficiency in management."

Furthermore, as showing the wastefulness of the small almshouse, this study showed that there were 137 almshouses having 19,668 acres of land which had no inmates whatever. The value of these properties amounted to more than a million dollars. Their maintenance cost was \$18,831, of which \$7,347 was for salaries.⁵⁸

The district unit enables the authorities to provide buildings suitable for the classification spoken of above—separate buildings for hospital use, and cottages for old couples. It also permits the hiring of a high-grade superintendent and matron for the management of the institution. It permits the employment of a regular medical attendant and nurses for the care of the sick. Sickness is frequent in the poorhouse. Under the present system they have little care.⁵⁹ It also enables the superintendent to provide work

⁵⁸ *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1925, pp. 29, 30.

⁵⁹ Potter, "Future Development of Almshouses," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1926, pp. 527-532.

adapted to the capabilities of those able to work only in part, because he would have more inmates and therefore a larger number of able-bodied for whom he could arrange occupation suited to their needs.⁶⁰ Such a plan is more economical than the present plan.⁶¹ Nothing could be more extravagant and inefficient than the present system of county almshouses. This might be excused if the inmates were securing proper care. When, however, the present system involves not only waste of money, but disgraceful care of these helpless paupers, there is nothing to be said in favor of it.⁶² These district almshouses could be more easily supervised by a state board than the present county almshouse.

The superintendent of the almshouse must be a man of high qualifications. If the institution has a farm connected with it, he should have practical knowledge of farming. Even if he has a farmer employed for that end of the business, he should know enough about farming to be able to appreciate the kind of work done by the farmer. He should be a man of fair business ability, strict integrity, the best personal habits, an even temper, great patience, a kind heart, a good reputation among his neighbors, and a man of tact, resourcefulness and management. He should be an expert in his line.⁶³ Such a man cannot be hired for the sums that are now being paid in the county almshouses of the United States, except in the large institutions.⁶⁴

4. **County Boards of Charities.** Until the present system of county poorhouses are supplanted by district poorhouses, county boards of charities should be appointed in every county to inspect the poorhouses and make reports upon the institution at stated intervals. In Indiana formerly such a board had to be appointed upon the petition of 15 reputable citizens. These people served without pay, except necessary traveling expenses. They made reports quarterly of the conditions in the county institutions to the county commissioners and annually to the circuit judge who appointed them. Copies of their reports were furnished the newspapers and had to be sent to the Board of State Charities.⁶⁵ Said McKinniss before the National Conference of Social Work, in 1918, concerning the almshouse: "The institution should have a cooperating organization unhampered by the undesirable type of local

⁶⁰ Edson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 264.

⁶¹ For further development of views of the author on this subject, see Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa Applied History Series, Vol. II, No. 11, pp. 26-33.

⁶² Hinrichsen, "The District Almshouse for Illinois," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 270.

⁶³ Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁴ Johnson, *The Almshouse*, p. 48.

⁶⁵ Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 470.

politics.”⁶⁶ At present the trend is to have a county welfare department to include in its care all classes of dependents. Such boards or departments, however, must be supplemented by state supervision.

5. **Close Supervision by State Board.** In a considerable number of states, at the present time, the county almshouses are inspected by the state department having to do with welfare activities. In some states the plans of new almshouses must be submitted to a state board for approval before the institution is built. In other states, the state board may order the improvement of dilapidated or unsanitary almshouses.

That, however, is not enough. The state board should also give its attention to the management of the institution and the welfare of the inmates in every respect. Until we get centralization of control over these institutions, evil conditions are bound to prevail. County boards of supervisors are notoriously penurious and socially blind. Even with a county board of charities to inspect and report, unless there is constant oversight by a state board with a skilled secretary to uphold standards, to inspire by giving information as to what is being done in other communities, and to enforce regulations in the interest of the inmates, evil conditions are sure to continue. Therefore, the state board should be given control over the county poorhouses and have such a force of inspectors as will enable it to exercise proper supervision and enforce its regulations for the improvement of the institution.

6. **Correlation with Agencies and Institutions for Care of Other County and State Charges.** One of the difficulties with the almshouse up to the present has been that it has not been coordinated with the other social institutions dealing with the problem of the dependent. Cleveland, Ohio, has tried the experiment of placing on a large tract of land, comprising some 2,000 acres, four different institutions. These institutions are widely separated from each other, but they are coordinated in their activities. These four institutions are the city almshouse, the city tuberculosis sanatorium, the house of correction, and a cemetery under municipal control. The commissioner of charities and correction of the city connects these activities in one plan for the care of the pauper and the misdemeanant, as well as the care of the dependent tuberculous. The prisoners from the house of correction care for the cemetery and work the farm. The gardens and barns connected with the almshouse are cared for by the able-bodied men in the institution. In this fashion there is such a correlation of forces that the institution is run economically and yet with great efficiency. There is no reason why there

⁶⁶ McKinniss, "Standards of Administration of the Almshouse," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*. 1918, p. 258.

should not be located on the same land the asylum for the insane and a hospital for the sick.

Mr. Macy did something of the same thing in the Westchester County, New York, Almshouse, Hospital, and County Penitentiary. By a central heating plant and management under one person he reduced the cost very materially and obviated the difficulty of having people not criminal in institutions connected with the county penitentiary by having approaches to the three institutions from different directions. Under his leadership the work of more than two hundred authorities in Westchester County who were dealing with the dependents was unified and brought under his direction as a consequence of his far-sighted business management and social vision.⁶⁷

Some objections have been offered to thus associating criminals, paupers, and insane, and sick folks. Cleveland endeavored to obviate this difficulty by separating them widely and by improving the character of each.

The indoor and the outdoor relief in the county and in the state must be coordinated. The experience of German cities under the Hamburg-Elberfeld system, as indicated in the previous chapter, shows the value of such correlation. When a pauper's condition has changed so that he needs institutional care, he should be removed to the almshouse, and, on the other hand, when a person who has been in the institution can be better cared for in family life outside, such a step should be taken. At the present time frequently two different officials deal with these two problems. Centralization of authority should take the place of the present separate authorities. Such centralization could well occur by placing the supervision of both indoor and outdoor poor in the hands of one official. At present there is a trend to centralize all activities for the dependent in a local unit called the welfare department.

7. **Rehabilitation of Almshouse Inmates.** Some effort should be made to rehabilitate in normal family life many of the present inhabitants of the almshouses. In our almshouses at the present time we have a rapidly moving population. Only a small percentage, as we have seen, remain in the almshouse a considerable length of time. To those who are drifting in and drifting out at present we pay no attention. We know not what they are doing before they come in and after they go out. Most county boards and poorhouse superintendents rejoice when they go, and give no thought to the problem of what shall be done to prevent their coming back. This situation has led to the suggestion that connected with every almshouse should be *a well qualified investigator* to study the conditions which bring people to the poorhouse, and to follow up those who are discharged, the purpose being

⁶⁷ "A Rich Man in the Poorhouse," *The Survey*, November 4, 1916, p. 101 ff.

to ascertain causes, to discover relatives upon whom the burden of support should be laid, to investigate the previous history of an applicant for admission, and to endeavor to rehabilitate those who are discharged. Under the present conditions, the poorhouse generally is a payperizing agency, pure and simple. With social service attached to it, it might become a constructive and helpful institution. It could serve as the receiving home for those who were denied the privileges of family life, and from which some of them could be rehabilitated and placed in normal home life by a trained social worker. Many of them could earn their way, if properly placed, by doing chores in a farm home; others of them could be boarded very much more cheaply—as is done in Massachusetts—than it now costs to care for them in an almshouse. Still others could be secured a job and placed upon their own feet again, while others, through the efforts of the social worker, could be placed in institutions where they belong for the safeguarding of society and their own protection.

Francis Bardwell, Inspector of Almshouses for the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, has summarized these suggestions for the improvement of the almshouse, as follows:

1. The common necessities—shelter, personal cleanliness, food, clothing, and medicinal attendance, including nursing;
2. The following comforts—kindly attendance, quiet and decent quarters, reasonable freedom from objectionable fellow-inmates, and the opportunity of receiving visits from friends; and
3. Some form of recreation—the privilege of attendance at religious services at least monthly, employment suited to the inmates' age and physical condition, the right to protest, without detriment to the inmate, any hardship he may feel that he is suffering.

The superintendent should possess executive ability; he must be honest and kindly, and he should conduct the poorhouse for the welfare of the inmates.

He suggests that, since many times the friends of inmates are working at the regular visiting hours during the week, that there be provided visiting hours on Sundays and holidays.

He suggests that the superintendent and the board in charge of the poorhouse should secure the cooperation of various church societies and fraternal orders to provide entertainment for the inmates, such as talks, concerts, simple treats and illustrated lectures or moving pictures. Papers, books and reading matter should be provided; also games, Christmas celebrations and an annual picnic.

He suggests that in every poorhouse an attempt should be made to restore the people to self-support. He estimates that among men admitted for the first time at least one-fourth could be restored to independence.⁶⁸

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Almshouse Conditions in Certain Parts of the United States. Ellwood, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1903, pp. 386 ff.
2. Some Results of Promiscuous Mingling of Different Classes in the Almshouses of England. Johnson, *The Almshouse*, New York, 1911, App I.
3. The Cleveland Almshouse. Cooley, in *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1912, p. 437; Cooley, "A Substitute for the Poorhouse," *Outlook*, April 22 1911.
4. A New York County Almshouse. Lane, "A Rich Man in the Poorhouse," *The Survey*, November 4, 1916, p. 101.
5. The District Almshouse. See footnotes 57, 58, 62.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How did the poorhouse originate (a) in England; (b) in the United States?
2. Describe the situation with respect to almshouses in the United States in 1923 and 1924, noting the following points. (a) the number of institutions; (b) the number of paupers cared for in these institutions; (c) acres of land attached to them; (d) the total value of the land and equipment; (e) the total cost of maintaining these institutions; (f) the two methods of management.
3. Describe the kinds of people who are to be found in the poorhouses of the United States
4. Describe the kind of care given to the inmates of poorhouses: (a) in the small poorhouses; (b) in the larger institutions.
5. What conditions explain the failure of the poorhouse in the United States?
6. Point out the leading principles on which a successful conduct of the poorhouse is based?
7. What change has taken place in the character of the inmates of the poorhouse in the last half century? Why have these changes occurred?
8. For what classes of dependents should care in the poorhouse be reserved?
9. Outline a plan of almshouses for a State like Wisconsin; like Illinois; like Delaware.

⁶⁸ *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, pp. 357-364.

CHAPTER XV

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC AGENCIES FOR DEPENDENTS: A COMPARISON

HISTORICALLY, private care of the pauper arose first; in our survey, we have seen that after private relief originated for centuries there was no public poor relief. In the United States, however, organized private outdoor relief developed later than public ¹ for the reason that public indoor relief was brought over to the colonies from England and thus became established in their early laws.

After the establishment of private outdoor relief subsequent to 1877, debate arose as to the comparative merits of public and private agencies. While this discussion tended to center upon the relative merits of private and public outdoor relief, inevitably the debate widened to take in also private and public indoor relief. Hence, with the later development of public outdoor relief and the growth of indoor relief, comparison inevitably arose.

In any comparison of the relative merits of private and public relief agencies, we must start with the consideration that, to be fair, the comparison must be made between the two in the same general situation, which usually means in the same region. It would not be fair to compare private relief in an old city like New York with public relief in one of the newer states of the West. Moreover, any comparison worth while must be made on the basis of experience. Evaluation of the two systems must rest on the results of a fair study.

Public and Private Agencies are Non-competing. As a result of this debate, it has become clear that in any rational plan for the care of dependents, public and private agencies should be looked upon as not competing, but as supplementing each other. Each has its advantages and its disadvantages. In many cases the strength of the one is the weakness of the other. Bias should not blind our eyes to the merits and demerits of each.

Mr. Francis McLean, on the basis of his experience in Montreal, which had no public relief agency, says: "With no public institution as a place for final refuge, the usual standards have to be done away with. Now differentiation and classification are nowhere better illustrated than in private

¹ Devine, *Principles of Relief*, pp. 314-357.

charitable institutions. But place the public burden upon private charity, and these two of its shining excellencies are crushed under the weight without at the same time its satisfactorily performing the additional duties."²

Public and Private Agencies—their Fields. In the care of chronic dependents, public agencies are more widespread. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor early in its history conceived its mission to be to help those whose condition could be improved by relief. Says Devine, "The mark which visitors of the Association were asked to recognize as indicating their own poor was the possibility of alleviating the moral and physical condition of the applicant."³ This policy rested upon the assumption that public relief did not attempt to rehabilitate, and relegated to the public relief authorities all the so-called hopeless cases. Such a program, on the theory that public relief cannot do constructive work, assumes that there should be a division between public and private relief. By this program the association emphasized a neglected side of public relief work, but if public relief actually becomes constructive in its efforts, then this division of labor would not hold, and another would have to be made.

Public care is the more usual for special classes of dependents, such as the chronic insane, defectives, blind, and vagrants, on the theory that the improvement of these classes is rather hopeless, or—in the case of the insane, defectives, and vagrants—that proper treatment calls for public authority.

In the care of incipient paupers we have figures to indicate that public agencies are caring for the greater number. Wherever public outdoor relief is established, larger numbers are relieved by public than by private outdoor relief. In the care of the sick poor, it is probable that private agencies are more numerous. However, in a great many cases the bills are paid out of public funds. Skilled service is met much more frequently in private than in public agencies, especially for the care of outdoor dependents—adults as well as children. Private agencies have led in the introduction of trained workers, for the private agency is usually the pioneer in experiments.

Social Case Work in Public and Private Agencies. Up to date the outstanding difference between public and private agencies in dealing with the poor and dependent is in the use of case work. Until the depression, social case work was most consistently carried on by the private agencies for outdoor relief. It is being introduced into institutions for the sick under the name of medical social service and into institutions for the mentally defective or diseased under the name of psychiatric social work. As a technique it has also found a place in work with children, juvenile protective work, and

² *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1901, p. 142.*

³ Devine, *Principles of Relief*, p. 319.

probation work. Here and there it has also been used in dealing with the unemployed, with those dealt with by traveler's aid societies, in a few cases by the public outdoor relief officials, and in children's protective agencies of every sort. Only as it is introduced into all kinds of social agencies dealing with individuals will constructive social work be done and rehabilitation accomplished.⁴

Historically poor relief has been intended to keep the person alive; but to give the minimum necessary for this purpose and under such circumstances as to make it a very disagreeable experience, in order to reduce the applications as much as possible and thus prevent pauperism. Experience has shown that such a course produces poor results. If relief must be given at all, it should be adequate; not to pauperize, it must be made constructive on a basis of careful diagnosis in each case and the adaptation of means for restoring the person to independence and self-respect. This last is known as social case work. Experience has shown that mere disagreeable repression cannot bind up the broken relationships which have brought the family or individual to dependency. That is the function of social case work. The personality has become unadjusted to the situation either because of conditions in the individual or conditions in the environment; case work is the process of establishing proper adjustment between the individual and his circumstances. Miss Richmond defines it saying, "Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously affected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment."⁵ Using the term "social case work" in its broadest sense, it includes, then, two parts (1) social diagnosis, by which is meant careful gathering of all available facts about the person or family concerned, the purpose of this being to understand what has brought about the maladjustment; (2) social case work in the narrower sense, or social treatment. By this is meant adjustment either (a) of the difficulties in the personality or

⁴ The following are the chief American books on social case work; Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, New York, 1917; Richmond, *What is Social Case Work?* New York, 1922; Colcord, *Broken Homes*, New York, 1919; Sheffield, *The Social Case History*, New York, 1920; Halbert, *What is Professional Social Work?* New York, 1923; Cannon, *Social Work in Hospitals*, New York, 1923; Cabot, *Social Work: Essays on the Meeting Ground of Doctor and Social Worker*, Boston and New York, 1910; Todd, *The Scientific Spirit in Social Work*, New York, 1919; Devine, *Social Work*, New York, 1922; Deacon, *Disasters*, New York, 1918; Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History*, Philadelphia, 1922; Robinson, *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1930. Besides these books there is a large and growing literature in pamphlets and magazine articles on various phases of the subject.

⁵ Richmond, *What Is Social Case Work?* New York, 1922, pp. 98, 99.

(b) of the circumstances surrounding the person so that the conditions which produce dependency or social difficulty may be removed. The social case worker must keep clearly in mind all the social agencies or resources of the community, all that science can tell about personality, both in the diagnosis of the case and in the treatment.

Private and Public Agencies in the Matter of Unified Control or Cooperation in Each Field. With the organization of the first board of state charities in 1867 there began the movement for the coordination of the various public agencies in a given state with a unified purpose. While the purpose of these first boards was not administrative control, but supervision, and securing unified action through conference and suggestion, this plan did provide for consideration by each agency of the relation of its work to the whole state work. In the meantime, however, the public agencies in many of our states have been more closely coordinated and they have been organically unified through the state board which administers them directly or supervises them.⁶

On the other hand, it is only recently that attempts have been made to unify and coordinate the private agencies in any one city. Hitherto the private agencies have been occupying each its own little field without any particular reference to its relationship to the other agencies in the same community. Through central councils of social agencies, state conferences of social welfare, and state councils of social agencies, the movement is now well under way for the discussion at least of the relative place of each agency in the community scheme of welfare. The community chests and federations are but another index of this movement toward coordination and unification.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF

The debate on the relative merits of public and private relief has centered largely upon those concerned with outdoor relief. *For the private agency it is argued:*

(a) That private relief is more personal and less mechanical. The private agency has a smaller clientele, and can select its cases, while the public agency must take all who come to it.

(b) More emphasis is laid upon service and less upon relief by the private agency. The endeavor is made to cure the dependency, therefore construc-

⁶ These various agencies of coordination will be discussed in later chapters. See Reynolds, "Relationship between Public and Private Agency," *The Welfare Magazine*, Illinois Department of Public Welfare, January, 1926, p. 146

tive service is made primary and relief only a means to accomplish that purpose.

(c) Less stigma attaches to private relief than to public relief, hence private relief can help some who shrink from public relief. These are the very ones for whom there is hope of rehabilitation.

(d) On account of this fact, private relief is less pauperizing than public. No one can claim relief from private agencies as a right, therefore private relief can be more discriminating.

(e) The private agency can make experiments; so that if one constructive method does not solve the problem of relief, it tries another. On the other hand, the public agency works on fixed lines laid down by law or established by custom and cannot so easily change.

Private relief, however, usually having less funds at its disposal is less adequate in times of crises. Moreover, since a slighter stigma attaches to such aid, it may be easier for people to learn to depend upon somebody else in private than in public relief, which is avowedly deterrent in its purpose.

(f) It is claimed for private relief that because of its emphasis upon service rather than relief it is more economical and efficient and can do better constructive and preventive work.

The arguments for public relief are:

(a) Public relief is more democratic than private because the funds are provided through taxes. Public relief recognizes the obligation of organized society to care for dependents.

(b) In experimenting on a large scale public relief has a decided advantage because of its financial resources. In its experiments, however, it is at a disadvantage because it must secure the consent of a larger number of people than a small private organization.

(c) In times of unusual demand public relief is more adequate than private because of its vastly greater resources.

(d) Political corruption, lack of skilled service, and lack of constructive and preventive work certainly come up more often in public than in private outdoor relief agencies. In states and cities which subsidize private institutions it is probable that political corruption is more characteristic of private institutions. It must be added that political corruption and lack of skilled service, as well as lack of constructive and preventive work, are incidental and not inherent in public care of the poor. Skilled supervision and education of the public can probably remedy these historic evils of public relief.

(e) Without a doubt, public outdoor relief is more pauperizing than private because it has not been characterized by constructive case work.

(f) It is urged that care of dependents is a public duty and therefore

should be conducted by a public agency.⁷ That argument is valid provided the public agencies also accept the responsibility to do as good work as the private.

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COOPERATION

The developments which have occurred since the onset of the depression beginning in 1929 have changed very much the points of emphasis in the relationship between the public and private agencies. The confusion in thinking about the matter has been much clarified by the experience of the emergency. Some points, however, still remain to be settled on the basis of experience in the new situation as it develops with the disappearance of the emergency. However, the following principles appear to be fairly well accepted.

1. In the care of the sick there is no reason why the public should not take over the responsibility, except the fact that there exists a large number of privately-managed hospitals. However, with the growth of attention to public health, present facilities are entirely inadequate. Every community should begin to establish its own public agency for the care of the sick. Hospital management is now so standardized that it can be administered as well by public authorities as by private boards.

2. In the care of special classes, such as the insane and defectives, experience shows that state care can be as good as private, and it is more adequate.

3. Formerly it was believed that the private agencies should pioneer and standardize methods which would then be accepted by the public agencies. Then the private agencies would go on to experiment and work out solutions of other problems. The emergency created by the depression, however, has suggested that the public agency itself can sometimes experiment on methods more successfully than the private because it is forced to do so by the pressure of an emergency. It is probable, however, that the private agency will continue to develop fields which it is impossible for the public agencies to undertake because of the pressure on the latter to meet a specific need, such as that of relief in an emergency.

4. Public and private agencies existing side by side should supplement the work of each other especially in the field of outdoor relief, the care of children, of the aged, and such special classes as the sick and the insane. The private agency should not assume that a public agency cannot and should not handle cases in which skillful case work is necessary. It appears, how-

⁷ Kingsbury, "Municipal Welfare Work as Exemplified in New York's Treatment of Dependent Children," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, p. 372.

ever, that as a practical matter for the present, at least, the public agency will handle those in which the problem is one of domestic difficulty, threatened delinquency, emotional upset, and similar types of cases in which very careful case work is required.

5. Very close cooperation, mutual understanding and respect should be developed between the public and the private agency. A superior attitude on the part of either will not result in the best care of the clients.

6. As rapidly as possible all the agencies in the community, both public and private, should use the social service exchange for the clearing of their cases in order that they may know what agencies are working on the case and thus more intelligent work may be done and less overlapping occur.

7. As rapidly as public opinion will support trained service and constructive work, the public agency should take over the relief work done by the private agency.*

8. The experience in the emergency relief organizations during the depression beginning in 1929 in many communities raised the standards of relief very decidedly. This was because the various local communities could not get the money needed unless they operated in accordance with certain standards. So far as possible trained personnel was introduced and certain fundamentals of case work investigation were insisted upon. This points to the necessity of some agency in every state having the authority to set standards especially in public outdoor relief. Such standards have already been set by many of the State Boards concerned with the supervision of public and private institutions caring for the dependent. These standards can be very much more effectively insisted upon if the state or the nation is making certain contributions to the care of the dependent in the localities or have given the authority to license the private agencies. So far as one can see at the present time such assistance from the National or the state treasury will be essential in the years ahead. That will give a state authority an opportunity to raise the standards in every local community.

9. It has become clear that unplanned work for the care of the dependent along lines established by tradition and custom will no longer suffice. In

* In 1915 I stated my opinion on this question as follows: "In like manner gradually it is coming to be seen that both relief and correction not in alleviation and repression alone, but also in the doing of constructive remedial work as well as providing preventive agencies, must come under the management of public authorities as fast as private agencies by experiment point the way in which it may best be done. There is need of the private agency, but to assert that it is impossible for public relief agencies to command the men, means and methods necessary to do the needed work is a counsel of despair which democracy is not ready to accept. Each type of work has its peculiar advantages and drawbacks. Each has its field of work. Each must supplement the work of the other." Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1915, p. 514.

every community there should be what corresponds to a council of social agencies in the larger centers, and in every state there must be an agency which plans for a coordinated program for the care of the dependent including both private and public agencies for the entire state.⁹

10. The state and the nation must each undertake to handle in a constructive fashion the problem of the transient dependent. This will be done partly through a coordination of the employment agencies and perhaps by developing camps for transients, both state and Federal, or state camps subsidized partly by Federal funds.¹⁰

11. The emergency has made clear the necessity of considering the abolition of the settlement laws which have come down from the English poor relief legislation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is urged that inter-state compacts be made with regard to the care of dependents who have settlements in other states. The principle of the abolition of intra-state settlement has not yet been fully agreed to by social workers but is advocated by an increasing number of those concerned with the matter.¹¹

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Statement of the Case for Private Relief. Brackett, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Corrections*, 1903, pp. 297 ff., Devine, *Principles of Relief*, Part III, Chap. II.
2. Views on Public Relief Measures. Butler, "Official Outdoor Relief and the State," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 437; Brackett, "Public Outdoor Relief in the United States," *Ibid.*, p. 446; Riley, "A Discussion of Public Outdoor Relief," *Ibid.*, p. 474; Vaile, "Principles and Methods of Outdoor Relief," *Ibid.*, p. 479; Riley, "The Aftermath of Public Outdoor Relief in Brooklyn," *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 336.
3. Relations of Public and Private Relief Agencies. Almy, "The Relationships of Public and Private Charities," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1916, p. 304.

⁹ Swift, "Public and Private Agencies in a Cooperative Community Program for Family Welfare and Relief," *Social Service Review*, September, 1933, pp. 451, 463; Lundberg, "Laying the Foundation for a State Wide Program of Constructive Public Relief," *Ibid.*, pp. 463, 471.

¹⁰ Wilson, *Community Planning for Homeless Men and Boys*, New York, 1931; *Individualized Service for Transients*, New York, 1934, National Association of Travelers' Aid Societies.

¹¹ Abbott, "Abolish the Pauper Laws," *Social Service Review*, March, 1934; Adie and Hirsch, *Compilation of Settlement Laws of all States in the United States*, New York State Department of Social Welfare, April, 1933; Goodhue and Colleagues, "Report of the Committee on Uniform Settlement Laws and Transfer of Dependents," *Social Service Review*, September, 1931; "Report of the Committee on Inter-state Problems of the American Public Welfare Association," *Ibid.*, September, 1934, pp. 505-507.

4. Public Departments and Boards in Relief Work. Garland, "The Municipality and Public Welfare," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1916, p. 306; Ford, "The Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, Missouri," *Ibid.*, p. 400.
5. Cooperation between Public and Private Agencies. Kelso, "State Supervision by a Board of State Charities," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 34; *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 598; *Ibid.*, 1915, pp. 57 ff.
6. Collect Cases Illustrating the Various Kinds of Case Work. Breckenridge, *Family Welfare Work*, Chicago, 1924; Richmond, *What is Social Case Work?* Drucker and Hexter. *Children Astray*.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Compare private and public relief agencies as to (a) the fields occupied by each; (b) as to the methods used.
2. In what sense are private and public relief agencies supplementary to each other?
3. Define social case work.
4. Why is the social case work method better than inadequate relief and repressive measures in the prevention of pauperism?
5. State the arguments for and against private and public outdoor relief.
6. State five principles which should underlie the cooperation between private and public agencies. Discuss two of these.
7. What changes in the relations between public and private agencies occurred as a result of experience in the depression beginning in 1929?

CHAPTER XVI

PUBLIC SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE AGENCIES

A LONG debate has raged over the question whether the policy of subsidizing private relief agencies for the care of public charges is justified. So widespread has been this practice in some parts of the country, and so important is its bearing upon the development of charitable work, that it is necessary for us to give it attention.

DEFINITION

Professor Fetter has defined charitable subsidy as "any payment from the public treasury, whether of the Nation, State, County or any other political division, to charitable agencies, not entirely controlled by public officials, whether the payment is given in gross amount or specifically for specific services."¹

In the long discussions over this question which for many years occupied the sessions of the National Conference of Charities and Correction there was a difference over the definition of subsidy. Some public officials think that the term should be applied to grants which are in lump sums and not to those paid to agencies for specific services at a per capita rate.² Thus the Honorable Bird S. Coler, at that time comptroller of the city of New York, before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1901, said: "There are certain things that private institutions can do better than public institutions and if they are paid on a per capita basis for these after you hire them to do the work, I do not consider that a subsidy or gift; it is strictly a business proposition."

There is difficulty in drawing the line in some cases. Thus does the boarding out of children by a state authority, or the boarding out of the insane by the state—as in Massachusetts and Scotland—involve subsidy to the individuals who care for them on contract? Is it a subsidy, when one county pays another county to house and care for its paupers, as is the practice in some of our states, or when one county having no county asylum sends its insane to another county asylum, and pays for their care, as is the

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume VII, p. 350

² *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1901, p. 132.

practice in some counties of Wisconsin? In neither of these cases is it a subsidy. For in none of these cases is public money paid to a private charitable agency. Nor is there subsidy, when the county lets the care of its paupers out to private individuals on contract, whether to the lowest bidder or otherwise. That is known as the contract system of caring for public charges. *It is a subsidy, then, when the public which has been charged in the law with the care of any class of dependents, defectives or delinquents, grants to a private charitable institution a sum of money from the public funds, whether that sum be for buildings in which these public charges may be cared for, whether it be a lump sum grant, or a per capita payment for services rendered.* The institution may have been already in existence and doing charitable work at its own charges, or it may have been newly organized for the purpose of taking advantage of a law providing for public subsidies, as has happened in every state in which the policy of subsidizing private charitable agencies has been introduced.³

HOW SUBSIDIES GROW UP IN THE UNITED STATES

As Professor Fetter said long ago, "The subsidy method is not a policy; it is an accident."⁴ We have already seen that the functions of the state were assumed in many different ways by private individuals and groups before the modern state was developed. With the breakdown of the Roman Empire, the medieval church assumed the task of caring for the poor. Later, private organizations took the place of the church and the monasteries when the latter were dissolved. In the United States the first task of the nascent state was the defense of its territory and people against foreign foes, then against the criminals within; meanwhile private individuals were allowed to make the most of the opportunities of the new land under the protection of the government. Private individuals and organizations began to look out for the care of the helpless. The burden has always been heavy. As soon as the consciousness developed that the care of the helpless is a duty of the state, these heavily burdened institutions which had risen at the behest of men's philanthropic feelings, began to feel that the state should take these burdens off their hands. They had, however, their money invested in the properties. This problem of material, vested interests might have been settled by having the state—meaning the political unit responsible for the care of the unfortunate—buy the properties. However, many of these institutions which had been caring for the dependent were religious organizations and had mixed

³ See Fetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII, pp. 366, 367; Coler, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1901, for instances.

⁴ Fetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII, p. 384.

religion with philanthropy. This vastly increased the difficulty. Some of them, feeling that what they were doing was much better than what the state alone could do, found a way around the difficulty by suggesting that the state pay a part of the bills and allow them to continue in control of the institution and provide the religious teaching which was an essential part of the system. That suggestion created the subsidy problem. Legislators adopted the suggestion, because the plan promised to be cheaper than for the state to build new buildings or to buy those already existing.⁵

Thus naturally, subsidies have been fastened upon the public charity systems of a considerable number of our states. What was originally an accident must now either justify itself in the light of experience or make way for a system that accords better with the spirit of American institutions.

EXTENT OF SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE CHARITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Professor Fetter, in 1901, reported that "Excepting possibly two territories and four western states, there is probably not a state in the Union where some aid is not given either by the state or by counties and cities."⁶ The amount given by state and local units at that time amounted to \$10,984,715.⁷

The later report of the Census issued in 1904 shows that of a total of \$22,353,184 paid out of public funds to all benevolent institutions both public and private in 1903, \$16,263,958 was paid to public institutions, while \$6,089,226 was paid to private and ecclesiastical institutions—27 plus per cent of the total.⁸

⁵ Mr. Dripps, the Executive Secretary of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, described the methods by which states usually developed public subsidies to private institutions thus: "Generally a state begins early in its history to assume the burden of one or more classes of dependents, and thereupon establishes and erects institutions, which it thereafter maintains. Sooner or later these institutions become inadequate and there is demand for additional institutions. Not infrequently other demands upon the state have so increased that it is not convenient, perhaps not even possible, to erect the additional institutions needed, and so private philanthropy comes to the aid of the state and establishes and erects institutions to help out, feeling all the time, however, that the work done is really the state's and not the province of private philanthropy. Under these conditions it is almost inevitable that in due course of time an effort should be made to unload the cost of such institutions upon the state, and, unfortunately this generally takes the form, not of asking the state to take over the institutions as a whole, but rather to grant annual appropriations toward the expense of their maintenance" Dripps, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 463.

⁶ Fetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII, p. 360.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁸ *Special Report: Benevolent Institutions, United States Census, 1904*, p. 21.

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Ten years later a summary of the subsidy situation in the United States was made by Mr. Alexander Fleisher. He pointed out that 22 states made no appropriations whatever to privately managed charities, 15 made such appropriations sparingly, and nine placed no apparent restrictions on their grants. The Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Fleisher was the secretary, made a careful analysis of the last two groups.

The following table indicates the situation in 1914 in four of the states in which the subsidy system was most widely extended.⁹

STATE	HOSPITALS		SANATORIA		HOMES, ETC.	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Connecticut	23	\$ 123,875	..	Per capita	5	\$ 33,118
Maine	16	56,650	7	\$23,100	16	42,450
Maryland	24	220,500	2	31,500	45	119,750
Pennsylvania	149	2,528,910	5	45,000	116	427,850

Fifteen states which made their appropriations sparingly restricted their appropriations to the care of a few special classes of dependents. These special classes were those which the states had not yet made provision for in publicly managed institutions, and therefore in using them were merely resorting to such institutions until such time as they could undertake the task themselves. Mr. Fleisher says:

... several states, notably Massachusetts, Michigan and New Jersey, have already gone so far as to assume complete responsibility for dependent children. In 13 states the proper care of the tuberculous is being sought by citizens through joint action by state and county. Delaware and New Hampshire, although making some public provision for the tuberculous, have not developed adequate facilities, and are therefore boarding out a number of patients.

One of the most interesting of these apparently temporary expedients is the state care of fallen women in Arizona, Nevada, Oregon and Washington. None of the older and more experienced states has regarded the care of fallen women as a state function.

The nine states in the second group do not restrict their subsidies to the care of special classes, but bestow their money quite miscellaneously. The number of institutions receiving help from these states and the amounts of their annual appropriations are as follows:

⁹ Fleisher, "State Money and Privately Managed Charities," *The Survey*, October 31, 1914, p. 111.

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<i>State</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Connecticut	28	\$ 156,993
Kansas	61	15,000
Kentucky	3	70,000
Maine	41	139,400
Maryland	82	453,450
New Mexico	11	22,000
Pennsylvania	277	3,714,713
Rhode Island	4	13,000
West Virginia	3	14,700

Several differences of practice between this group of states and the former are observable. Among the nine making such miscellaneous appropriations there is slight differentiation between state and private responsibility. We have already seen that a tendency to such differentiation does exist among the fifteen that restrict their gifts to special classes and that these states for the most part appear to consider their subsidies to privately managed charities as mere temporary expedients pending the establishment of adequate facilities by the state itself. This conception of public responsibility does not seem to enter into the policy of this second group of states, which appropriate money to more varied groups of charities.

Another difference is that whereas the first group of states shows a tendency to make its appropriations on a per capita basis and is often represented on the boards of managers of the subsidized institutions, the second group is more apt to make its grants in lump sums without retaining any control over their expenditure. These lump sums are generally for maintenance, though not infrequently provision is made for buildings also.

A third difference between these groups is that many of the first show a disinclination to subsidize charities operating in a local area, while few of the second group make any distinction between charities doing state-wide and those doing purely local work. Frequently hospitals, day nurseries, and other institutions whose very nature confines their service to narrow geographical limits are given help.

The nine states making unrestricted and miscellaneous appropriations also fall into two classes. The first includes those that give to but few institutions or that give comparatively small amounts. These are Kansas, Kentucky, New Mexico, Rhode Island and West Virginia. The second includes those that give to many institutions or that give large amounts. These are Connecticut, Maine, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

A significant difference in the policies of these smaller groups appears. It is that the first five states, giving to few institutions or giving only small amounts, tend to limit donations to one or two kinds of charities, while the second group spreads its money out over a heterogeneous assortment of institutions. Thus, of the first five, Kansas gives to sixty-one hospitals and homes; Kentucky to two children's homes and one home for incurables; New Mexico to eleven hospitals;

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Rhode Island to two hospitals, one children's home and one prisoners' aid society; West Virginia to two hospitals and one children's home.

Maryland typifies the policy of the second group. She gives to eight reformatories, one institution for epileptics, two for the deaf, one for the tuberculous, twenty-two general hospitals, two special hospitals, eleven homes for adults, two rescue homes, one home for incurables, twenty-two children's homes, three placing-out societies, four day nurseries, and two homes for crippled children.

The lack of any differentiation between local and state-wide charities is strikingly seen in the four states that give large amounts or to many institutions.

These are the important facts to be borne in mind by anyone who would turn to the experience of the past for safe guidance in determining the proper relation of the state to privately managed charities. The twenty-two states making no appropriations to such charities include some that are regarded as the most advanced in their state charitable work and some that are regarded as backward: Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin and Wyoming.¹⁰

The following table from Mr. Fleisher's article shows the situation in a number of these states concerning subsidies:

CLASSES OF DEPENDENTS FOR WHICH THE STATES ENUMERATED MAKE APPROPRIATIONS TO PRIVATE CHARITIES

	Ariz.	Cal.	Del.	Idaho	Mass.	Nev.	N. H.	N. J.	N. Y.	N. C.	Okla.	Ore.	Vt.	Va.	Wash.
Children:															
Dependent	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	.	.	.
Delinquent	#	#	#	#	#	#	.	#	.	#	.
Defectives:															
Blind	#	.	#	.	.	#	#
Deaf	#	.	#	.	.	#	#	.	.	.	#	.	.
Feeble-minded	#	#	#	.	.
Tuberculous	#	.	.	.	#
Fallen Women ..	#	.	.	.	#	#	.	.	#

INCREASE OF SUBSIDY SYSTEM

That the policy of subsidizing private charities once established tends to increase is shown by the history of the matter in Pennsylvania which is pre-eminent in its policy of caring for the state's charges by means of subsidies to private organizations.

¹⁰ Fleisher, "State Money and Privately Managed Charities," *The Survey*, October 31, 1914, pp. 110, 111.

In Pennsylvania, for example, in 1871, 17 privately managed charitable institutions received from the state \$239,295. For the two-year period of 1872 and 1873 the total amount appropriated to private charities was \$604,981.24. For the two-year period ending 1913 the Legislature of 1911 appropriated to 275 privately managed institutions the sum of \$6,249,400. The number of institutions had increased over two thousand per cent in 40 years; ten times as much money was appropriated. One-tenth of the entire revenue of the state today is being given to privately managed institutions not under the control of the state.¹¹ [We have no evidence as to whether or not this tendency continues.]

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST PUBLIC SUBSIDIES

The debate over this question has been long and sometimes heated. The representatives of the subsidized institutions have usually defended public subsidies. On the other hand, the members of state boards of supervision and many other public officials, as well as the representatives of private institutions not subsidized, have been opposed to public subsidies.

The arguments for public subsidies:

1. *It is claimed that subsidies save the state money.* In case a state has inadequate facilities to care for its charges, private individuals or organizations may erect institutions for the care of these various classes; or they may have already such institutions going. The state may become conscious of its duty to support these charges. In these cases the site and the buildings cost the state nothing. Moreover, the private organizations are already bearing the expense of maintenance and on that theory the state will be called to bear only the additional expense caused by caring for the state's charges. The private organization sees an advantage to itself in securing public money for the support of state charges and to the state it appears that the expense will be less than to build and support a new institution.¹² The private organizations can put the matter to the state authorities in a very strong fashion. It can argue that the state can go ahead and build an institution if it so desires, but it assures the state that it will cost it a great deal more to pay a small subsidy to the private institution to care for the state's charges. There is no doubt that in certain instances this argument is practically unanswerable, taking into account the present only. If it could always be assumed that the private institution would be interested in getting the state's charges off its hands as soon as the state has an institution supported by itself, or that the state in the meantime would pay for its charges on a per capita basis only, the argument would be unanswerable. History, however,

¹¹ Dripps, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 464.

¹² See *First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, January, 1865*, quoted in Breckenridge, *Public Welfare Administration: Select Documents*, Chicago, 1927, p. 300.

is against all these assumptions. It has been shown frequently that subsidized private institutions never have shown such a self-denying attitude.

2. *Subsidies prevent institutions receiving aid from the state from becoming state-owned and controlled, and in this way they are kept out of partizan politics.* This argument has lost much of its cogency. Really the argument is a double argument. It assumes that the state's care is poorer in quality than the care in a private institution. In the second place it assumes that if it is a public institution it will naturally be the football of politics. However, the state-owned institutions in the last few years have become much more efficient than formerly. On the second point, it is probable that politics does very little, if any, more harm in the case of public institutions than in the case of subsidized private institutions. Experience has shown that as soon as a private institution begins to receive public money the public-spirited men and women who serve on its boards, and other citizens interested in the organization, are drawn into an attempt to influence the legislators to make appropriations which the institution desires.

3. *Subsidies make possible in many cases the religious and moral training of the state's charges.* This plea is made with special force by private institutions for children. Formerly this argument had much more force than at present. In most public institutions today religious and moral instruction by the clergy of the church to which the children may belong is unhampered. Moreover, there is very grave doubt as to the constitutional right of many states to contribute public money for sectarian religious teachings.

4. *It is urged that private institutions relieve public charges maintained therein of the stigma of pauperism.* The progress of the last few years in the character of our public institutions has removed the stigma of pauperism in practically all cases except the almshouses. Our great state institutions for the most part receive not only those unable to pay but also pay-inmates.

5. *Subsidies are so thoroughly established in many states that a change is almost impossible.* From the practical standpoint, perhaps this argument is the most cogent of all. The private organization can argue that under the encouragement of the state it has made large investments which it does not need for the care of those who are not state charges. Hence, the state would be unfair to undertake a course which would destroy a large part of the corporate property. However, if the public has made appropriations for the extension of the plant, it has already paid for that part and therefore is not destroying any property provided by the agency.

This argument brings out some of the difficulties which grow out of subsidies to private agencies. The private institution in the first place argues that it will save the state money by caring for the public charges until the

public authorities can make such arrangements as they wish for their care in their own institutions. Then, after the state has done so, the private institution argues that it has a vested interest in a plan which the state will destroy if the relationship ceases. Furthermore, when once the policy of public subsidy is fastened upon a state, experience has shown that the pressure for subsidies is so great upon the legislators that the public institutions are starved. For example, Dr. Haviland of New York, in a study of all the institutions in Pennsylvania found that while the state institutions for the insane were quite superior to the average institution maintained by a city or county, nevertheless that in almost every legislature it was very difficult to secure appropriations for necessary improvements and extensions for the public institutions. The private institutions had a strong lobby backing the appropriations for subsidies, while the state institutions had no one to plead for them except the State Board of Charities. Furthermore, subsidized institutions are so much more numerous than public institutions that many more legislators were living in communities having private agencies, and therefore were moved by local pride to work for appropriations for the latter.

The danger of the subsidy plan is clearly indicated in the figures already given, showing the increase of subsidy paid out of state funds between 1871 and 1913. When the policy of public subsidy has once fastened itself upon the state the number of institutions subsidized and the amounts appropriated to them show a constant increase. The policy of public subsidies, therefore, is inimical to the development of public institutions.

6. *It is contended that private institutions are much more careful in ascertaining whether those who apply for admission are entitled to free treatment than are public institutions.* This argument assumes that those in charge of the spending of public money are less careful about its expenditure than those who are spending the money of people who give in large amounts and who hold them more strictly responsible for the expenditure. This argument holds, perhaps, with reference to the institutions which are owned and financed exclusively by private benevolence. It is very doubtful, however, whether it amounts to much when public moneys are received by the private institution for expenditure.

Opponents of the subsidy system insist:

1. *It discourages private benevolences.* Long ago Dr. Amos G. Warner pointed out that:

Individual contributors dislike to have their mites lost in the abundance of a public appropriation. Almost without exception those institutions that have received public aid the longest and the most constantly receive least from private contributors. In looking up the history of a considerable number of institutions,

it was found that after the public became a contributor, private contributions fell off from year to year, not only relatively, but absolutely, and in some cases ceased altogether.¹⁸

Every experience indicates that the subsidies dry up the gifts from private individuals. If the class for whom the private institution is caring at the public expense is a legitimate public charge, then because of the drawbacks incident to subsidies, the public should provide the institution and care for these charges.

2. *Subsidies have resulted frequently in the creation of institutions not at all needed.* Let a law be passed providing for public subsidies for the care of a certain type of dependents and immediately there will spring up institutions whose ostensible purpose is to care for these people but which would not have risen had it not been for the attractiveness of the subsidy. This has been especially true of privately-owned hospitals, but is true also of other institutions.

3. Because of the numerous institutions which may plead for public money on the ground that they are doing a public service as great as the institution to which a subsidy is given and by reason of the tendency to retain in subsidized institutions inmates who are not proper public charges or should be disposed of otherwise, *the expense of the subsidy policy is likely to grow to proportions altogether beyond the sums which would be needed by a carefully administered series of state institutions.* The tables and facts cited in a previous paragraph tend to confirm this statement. Moreover, the money thus used is withdrawn from other worthy public projects. It also results in provision for certain sections of the state and the neglect of other sections; in provision for certain classes and neglect of others equally worthy.

4. *Subsidies confuse people's minds as to the discrimination between public charities and private charities.* Where shall the line be drawn as to what is a public charge and what is properly the responsibility of a private organization?

5. *The subsidy system also tends to block all attempts to improve the public charitable work.* Any criticism of private institutions is resented not only by the organizations conducting them, but often also by the state authorities charged with their supervision. This is well illustrated in the experience of the city and State of New York. Moreover, attempts to introduce unified systems of accounting are objected to.

6. *In a number of states it is unconstitutional for the state or any of its*

¹⁸ *American Charities*, 2d ed., p. 423.

political subdivisions to make appropriations to private charitable institutions. Nevertheless, sometimes courts have construed the constitutional provision liberally. The Illinois Supreme Court has decided that any payment to a private charitable institution, where the charge is less per capita than the cost of caring for the ward, is not in contravention of the constitutional provision. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, on the other hand, has held that such appropriations may not be made to private charitable institutions.¹⁴

PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES IN DEALING WITH SUBSIDIES ¹⁵

The principles which should govern in dealing with subsidies may be summarized as follows:

1. Those states which up to the present have avoided entering upon a system of subsidies should keep out of it.
2. Those states which are already involved in the subsidy system should immediately take steps gradually to do away with it.
3. Those states where the subsidy system has become so firmly established that practical difficulties in the way of its complete elimination seem insurmountable, should make every effort so to regulate its use as to minimize the evils which flow from it. In the effort to do away with the system in the states in which it is already established or to minimize it the procedure should be gradual and carefully considered, in order to prevent suffering by the wards due to hasty and ill considered action.
4. Where the subsidy system exists, the subsidy so far as possible should be paid only upon a per capita basis for services rendered. No appropriation should be made to private institutions for buildings or equipment. Furthermore, the per capita rates should diminish as the number of inmates increases in order that the institution may not make a profit above the actual cost incurred.
5. No legislative body in a state where subsidies exist should allow the subsidies to private institutions to interfere with adequate appropriations to the public institutions, or prevent the development of public agencies to care for the state's wards. Under no circumstances should the legislative body

¹⁴ The Illinois opinion was rendered in the case of *William S. Dunn, Appellee v. The Chicago Industrial School for Girls et al.*, (1917), 280 Illinois Reports 614-19.

The Pennsylvania opinion was in the case of *Collins, Appellant, v. Kephart et al.*, (1921), 271 Pennsylvania State Reports, 432-41.

These are cited in Breckinridge, *Public Welfare Administration: Select Documents*, Chicago 1927, documents 6 and 7, pages 729-736.

¹⁵ For a good discussion of this subject see Dripps, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, pp. 465-473.

award a greater sum to a private institution than is recommended by the public body charged by law with the supervision of charities.

6. In any state in which the subsidy system prevails no new institutions should be admitted to subsidies.

7. In the states in which subsidies exist an adequate staff of experts should be supplied to the public body having powers of supervision over subsidized institutions. This body should lay down rules and regulations governing the different classes of institutions under its care and should be empowered to enforce those regulations by withholding licenses from those institutions which do not come up to the standards set by the board.

8. In those states in which the subsidy system exists no aid should be granted to any private institution not licensed by the supervisory body.

9. State supervisory bodies should require a uniform system of accounting for all charitable institutions whether private or public.

If these principles are observed the extension of the subsidy system will be definitely limited, and gradually it will be liquidated where it exists at present.

RECENT TENDENCIES CONCERNING PUBLIC SUBSIDIES

Following the long discussion of the matter in the National Conference of Charities and Correction and elsewhere, a decided check has been given to the establishment of public subsidies. Students of the question have increasingly advocated the limitation of the subsidy system wherever possible.

The tendency where subsidies exist has been to limit them to payment on the basis of services rendered per capita. Neglect of supervision of the subsidized institutions seems to result in increased appropriations, while careful supervision of the institutions subsidized results in keeping people out of the institutions who should not be there and in getting them out into normal family life as soon as possible.¹⁶

As the result of a growing appreciation of the evils of public subsidies, some states have put a prohibition of public subsidies to private charities into their constitutions. Others have put only partial restrictions on their legislators as to subsidizing private charities. Among these some require a two-thirds vote for such appropriation. In spite of this limitation, some still make such appropriations. Others in their constitutions forbid appropriations except to special groups of institutions.¹⁷

¹⁶ MacFarland, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1906*, p. 232.

¹⁷ Fleisher, "State Money and Privately Managed Charities," *The Survey*, October 31, 1914, p. 112. On the essentially anti-social character of subsidies see Millspaugh, *Public Welfare Organization*, Washington, 1935. pp. 69, 70.

After the intense discussion of the problem of public subsidies to private agencies during the first fifteen years of this century, little has appeared concerning the matter. That this discussion, however, bore fruit, is indicated by the fact that gradually states which were subsidy-ridden were endeavoring to control the problem and limit its application. Perhaps the most outstanding indication of the reaction against subsidies was shown by rules and regulations laid down by the F.E.R.A. when it came into existence in 1933. None of the Federal money was to be handed over to private agencies for emergency unemployment relief. While the F.E.R.A. had to modify that rule for a time in order to get action, it gradually worked the matter out so that at the close of that experiment public funds were being handled by public authorities. However, some of the states in which the practice was most deeply entrenched are still struggling with the problem.¹⁸

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Public Subsidies to Private Institutions for the Care of the Dependent. Fetter, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1901, p. 118
2. Ascertain the Number of Private Charitable Institutions Subsidized from Public Funds in Your State; in Your County
3. Compare the Amounts of Public Funds Spent on Public Charges in Private Institutions and in Public Institutions in Your State, or City
4. Has the Amount Spent on Public Subsidies Increased or Diminished in the Last Ten Years?

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define a public subsidy.
2. How did public subsidies arise?
3. Give figures showing the extent of public subsidies in charity work in the United States.
4. State briefly the arguments for and against public subsidies.
5. Evaluate these arguments for and against public subsidies.
6. State what you consider the five most important principles which should govern public subsidies.
7. What has been the recent tendency with respect to public subsidies for private charities?
8. Is money paid by a county for boarding with a private family dependent children a subsidy?

¹⁸ Burnett, "State Aid for Private Agencies," *Mid-Monthly Survey*, August, 1935, pp. 234-235; Johnson, *Public Policy for Private Charities*, University of Chicago Social Service Monographs, No. 16. 1931.

9. *Is money paid by a county to a private child-placing organization for the placement of dependent children a subsidy?*
10. *Is the money paid by one county to another for the care of an insane person a subsidy?*
11. *Is a mother's pension a subsidy?*

CHAPTER XVII

STATE SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION

IN THE last chapter we have seen how it was most natural that the public authority should wish to exercise some supervision over a subsidized agency. But the state has other responsibilities than that of seeing that the money it contributes to a private agency is properly used. It has an obligation to insure the protection of individuals ministered to by the private agency. It also has an obligation to protect the private agency against unwarranted attacks.

In the past institutions have been found which did not give proper care to the inmates. Private child-placing societies sometimes were not careful in their investigations of the homes in which they placed helpless children. Frequently private agencies which are doing a good piece of work are attacked by irresponsible individuals. In such cases state supervision provides a protection for them. In addition state and county institutions need supervision and help in coordinating their activities with other agencies and institutions for the realization of a common purpose.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF BOARDS OF STATE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL

With the development of state charitable and correctional institutions, the need arose for the investigation of conditions in these institutions. At first the state institution was under the control of a local board of trustees. In some states, in the beginning, no supervision was provided except such as the governor could give. The legislature frequently felt the responsibility of investigating conditions in the state institutions and therefore appointed investigating or visiting committees from the legislature to visit them and report conditions. Such an arrangement was bound to give place to more efficient supervision. The first State Board of Charities in the United States was appointed in Massachusetts in 1863. It arose out of the following circumstances: Massachusetts had a very strict law of settlement,¹ which

¹ "Settlement" is the term used to designate a person's place of residence for legal public relief.

raised many disputes between various towns and cities as to a person's legal settlement. Because of this strict law, a large number of drifters in the state had no legal settlement for purposes of poor relief. One of the objects of the board was to care for these nonsettled dependents, or "alien poor."

A part of these nonresidents came from the very large number of immigrants who for a number of years had been coming into Massachusetts. While there had been a "State Alien Commission" whose business it was to care for dependents having no legal settlement, and who had some control over the institutions for the state dependents, it was felt that the care of state dependents would better be in the hands of a single board.

Moreover, a chaotic condition prevailed in the state institutions. Each was under the immediate control of a board of trustees. There was little or no coordination between the various institutions; each had its own standards; there was no agency which could advise these various boards and no agency charged with the responsibility of coordinating their various functions in a unified plan for the whole state. While the governor and the members of the Council were supposed to supervise the institutions, they had many other duties and were not particularly skilled in charitable work; therefore, their supervision was very general and superficial.

At first the board's membership consisted of seven men. It had as salaried officials, a secretary, a general agent, besides several clerks. When organized, the board was charged with the duty of acting as a commission for "aliens" to handle the state paupers who had no settlement in any of the towns of the state. It also was authorized to inspect and report on all the charitable and correctional work done in state institutions,—institutions still remaining under the direct control of local boards of trustees. The state board also had supervision of the county jails. Thus, at its beginning, this board had to attack the problem of examining some 18,000 nonsettled dependents, removing two or three thousand persons a year, from the places in which they had become dependent to their places of legal settlement, securing from some 330 cities and towns returns of public charges, and inspecting three hospitals for the insane, four state almshouses containing about 2,000 state paupers, three reformatory institutions for youth, the state prison, a score of local prisons, and five other state institutions, such as for the blind, deaf-mutes, etc.² In 1867, two states—New York and Ohio—followed the example of Massachusetts, and established state boards.

In New York this state board was called at first the State Commissioners of Public Charities. It arose out of the necessity of controlling indifference

² Brackett, *Supervision and Education in Charity*, New York, 1903, pp. 20-22.

to the welfare of the poor, and local selfishness and jealousy. The bad condition of the insane in the county poorhouses was presented to the legislature by a special committee of the Senate and aroused a sense of the necessity of properly supervising these local institutions. At first the board had visitatorial and supervisory powers only and could visit only the charitable and correctional institutions receiving state aid, and county and city poorhouses. Its powers were broadened somewhat in later years, and in 1873 its name was changed to the State Board of Charities. Until 1889, when a State Commission in Lunacy was appointed, it had supervision of the care of the insane also. Prisons were never under its care. Both the Massachusetts and the New York boards made and published valuable studies on child saving, insanity, idiocy, causes of pauperism, etc.

In Ohio, interest in a board of state charities was inspired by a member of the legislature who had visited a number of the state institutions and observed the loose way in which they were managed. The objects of the first board, therefore, were to bring economy into the management of the institutions, to improve the quality of the care which they gave to the wards of the state, to study the causes of pauperism, and to lead in the endeavor to lessen these evils. It was to visit and report on all institutions maintained by public money, including the charitable, correctional, and penal. In 1872 it was abolished, but was reorganized in 1876, this time with a paid secretary.

All three of these boards supervised practically all the state institutions caring for the dependent, the defective, and, except in New York, the criminal. As time went on, in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio some of the functions were given to separate boards. In all of them the object was supervision, for the most part, not control. They were chiefly educational in their aims rather than administrative. However, in Massachusetts, as we have seen, the board was given administrative authority only for the care of the "state poor."

Rather rapidly after 1870 New York and Massachusetts were imitated by other states. Pennsylvania and Illinois established state boards in 1869, and in these five states where state boards existed in 1870, almost two-fifths of the population of the country was to be found. In 1871 Michigan and Wisconsin, in 1873 Connecticut, in 1883 Minnesota, in 1889 Indiana and North Carolina, in 1891 Colorado and Oregon, in 1895 New Hampshire, in 1896 Tennessee, and in 1897 Missouri established state boards. The process of organizing state boards of either supervision or control has gone on to the present time.³

³ Brackett, *Supervision and Education in Charity*, Chap. II.

EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF STATE BOARDS

In 1913 there were 37 states including the District of Columbia which had boards of supervision or control. At that time 23 had authority only to supervise and inspect and 19 were administrative boards for the state institutions.⁴ By 1923 there were only three states which had no general state board of any sort concerned with the supervision or administration of welfare agencies. By 1935 the movement for the organization of state boards of some character had steadily advanced so that by that date only two states (Arkansas and Utah) had no state agency concerned with general public welfare activities. Two other states, Colorado and South Carolina, had provided by law for such a state board, but they were not functioning. In a number of the states a state board or state department of public welfare had responsibility for some other activities than those which we usually designate as public welfare.⁵

PRESENT STATE AGENCIES

In 1934 there were over 1000 separate state agencies in the public welfare field in the 48 states. An average of about 22 agencies per state. The largest number found in any state was 52 in Pennsylvania. The smallest number was 8 in Georgia and in Idaho. Of the total number over half, 580, were agencies existing primarily for the carrying out of public welfare functions. The total number of directing and controlling agencies was about 495. The others were agencies having certain welfare aspects such as departments or boards dealing with health, labor, education, administration and management of schools for the blind and deaf, fiscal control, personnel, purchasing, housing, and liquor control.

The agencies which had functions of direction or control or both functionally were divided into three classes: (1) agencies managing institutions; (2) special agencies; (3) integrating agencies. In that year there were about 275 separate agencies managing institutions. About 50% of the agencies the country over were performing the function of the integrating agencies. Special agencies were usually concerned with a particular portion of the public welfare field—child welfare, emergency relief, services to the blind or physically handicapped, old age pensions, care of veterans, pardons,

⁴ *Summary of State Laws Relating to Dependent Classes*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 312-321.

⁵ "Public Welfare, State Agencies," Note 2, *Social Work Yearbook*, 1935, p. 398; note 3, p. 246.

parole, and probation. Others deal with mental health, old age assistance, emergency relief financing, and narcotics.

Millspaugh in his study, *Public Welfare Organization*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, 1935, divides the 495 directing and controlling agencies in the United States into three functional classes: (1) institutional managing agencies; (2) special agencies; and (3) integrating agencies. In 1934 there were about 275 institutional managing agencies; the remainder were divided between the two other classes, about 257 of them being special agencies.

The third functional group, the integrating agencies, he divides into three kinds: (1) the central control; (2) the general service; (3) the general service and control. The first class, central control, has as its primary function the control of the business management of three or more institutions. The second class, the general service agency, usually supervises local and private institutions in addition to state institutions and often exercises certain other functions having to do with child welfare and dependency. It also functions as a preventative agency. It deals with individuals outside institutions and is the agency usually charged with promotion and dissemination of information. It corresponds roughly with what historically has been known as "Board of Charities", as distinguished from a "Board of Control".

The first class, "the general service agency", performs functions of the first two types. Such an agency both controls and renders general service or supervision.

He found that there were 63 of these integrating agencies in the United States. Of these 17 he classified as general service, 22 as central control, and 24 as general service and control agencies.⁶

DIFFERENCES IN FUNCTIONS OF STATE BOARDS

For a long time after their origin in Massachusetts in 1863, state boards of charities received the approbation of all interested in state supervision of charitable and correctional work.

Until about 1917 there were in existence two types of state boards. One was the supervisory board following the plan initiated in Massachusetts in 1863. The other was the administrative board originating in the middle west and represented by the board of control in such states as Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Since 1917 the trend has been to organize departments of public welfare to supplant these two types of boards. While the name has changed, func-

⁶ *Public Welfare Organization*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, 1935, Chapter 6.

tionally these two early types of state boards are followed in the various departments of social welfare. Sometimes they are paid boards thus following the organization of the board of control pattern and sometimes they are unpaid boards following the pattern of the state board of charities. The tendency is to make a secretary or a commissioner the executive of the board, especially of the unpaid board.

Another tendency has appeared along with this trend toward what is called the Department of Public Welfare. Often on the organization of such a department various boards or commissions have been combined under the department as divisions or subordinate bureaus of it. However, functionally they are primarily either supervisory or administrative. In order that one may visualize the variety of organization among these boards and departments, diagrams of a number of these state agencies are included. Plate II is a diagram of the Massachusetts organization for public welfare. In this diagram "E" is the Department of Health, "G" is the Department of Correction, "I" is the Department of Public Welfare with which we are here concerned, and "P" is the department of mental diseases; "B" is the Department of Supervisor of Administration, and "C" represents certain state departments which have control over specific activities. Through "B" and "C," especially through "B," these various state departments concerned with public welfare, are coordinated.

Plate III is a diagram of the Department of Welfare of Pennsylvania. It is so detailed that no explanation is necessary.

Plate IV is of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare of North Carolina. This is a supervising board entirely, very much like the original Massachusetts State Board of Charities, except that it has very many more duties.

Plate V is a diagram of New Jersey's Welfare Department. It is called the State Department of Institutions and Agencies.

Plate VI represents another type of organization, that of Illinois. In that state the Public Welfare Department is one of eleven departments of the Government with a director who is a member of the Governor's cabinet, and who therefore changes with each new governor.

Plate VII represents the Board of Control organization in Wisconsin. A somewhat similar plan exists in a number of other states. This is really not a department of public welfare but functions somewhat in that way and is more closely allied to the public welfare department of Illinois in that it is appointed directly by the Governor and oftentimes board members are political appointees, a condition which can be controlled only by a public opinion which is awake to the necessity of good care for the state's wards.

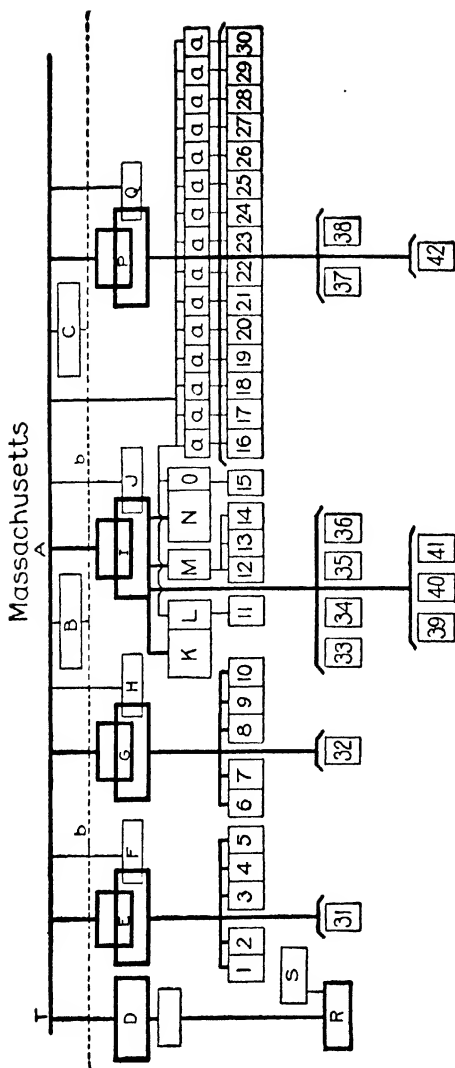


PLATE II
By courtesy of Odum and Willard, *Systems of Public Welfare*,
Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935, p. 80.

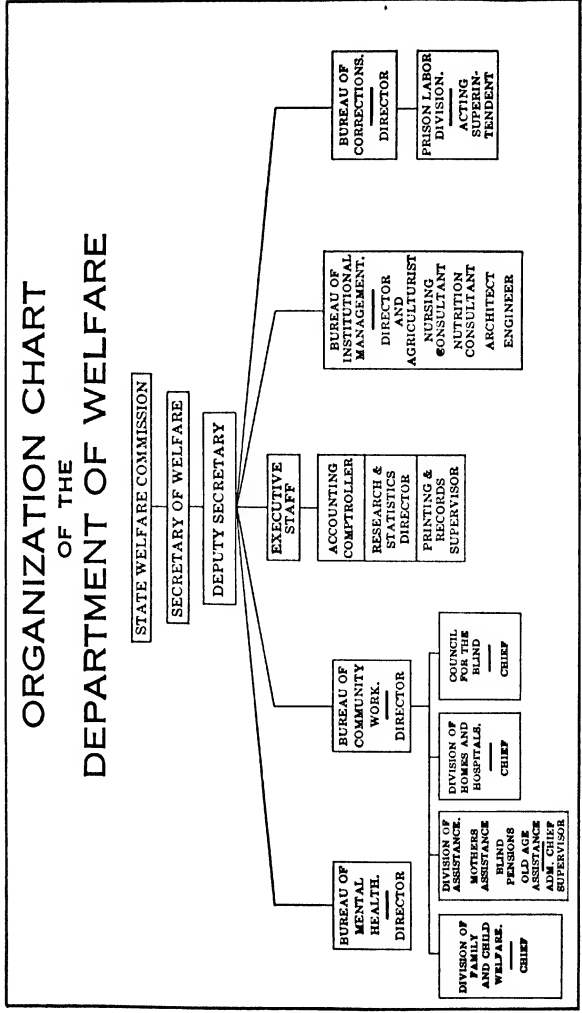


PLATE III

FUNCTIONS OF A STATE BOARD OR WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Three-quarters of a century of experimentation in the hard school of experience has tried out various methods of state supervision and administration. During a part of that period there was serious debate between those who advocated a board of supervision rather than a board of control or administration. The original state board in this country was organized in Massachusetts in 1863 in the midst of the Civil War. Its functions were partly administrative and partly supervisory. It had administrative control of all the "alien" poor, both adults and children, in that state. Its functions with reference to the other state institutions were supervisory. The administrative board for each of these was the local board of trustees. Consequently the function of the Board of State Charities in Massachusetts was supervisory over these other institutions and over the county and town institutions caring for wards other than the "alien" poor.

In general the states of the eastern part of the country followed the plan of Massachusetts and set up advisory boards. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, some of the states farther west, some of which earlier had organized supervisory boards, devised what was then known as the board of control. This board had direct administrative charge of the various state institutions. None of these institutions had local boards of trustees as in the East. This board of control, however, exercised supervisory powers over the various county institutions, and gradually the legislators commended to its charge the licensing and supervising of certain private institutions.

We cannot stop with the details of that debate or an evaluation of the merits of each kind of board. For the most part emphasis has been transferred to other aspects of the problem.⁷

Whatever name given to the state department concerned with the welfare of people unable to care for themselves, it is probable that the form—supervisory or administrative—will conform to the practices established early in the history of each state. If the state has been accustomed to a board whose chief function was supervisory, even though the name be changed from that of the State Board of Charities to that of a Welfare Department, it is quite likely that the functions will still continue to be advisory, but if the chief function before the reorganization was chiefly administrative, the new board will most probably continue to function in that

⁷ Anyone wishing to examine a brief survey of the arguments on both sides of this question is referred to the previous edition of this book: *Poverty and Dependency*, New York, 1926, pages 557-563.

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

manner. With the proper personnel and adequate appropriations, experience has proved that either kind will function fairly well. However, if politics dominates the appointments of the members of the board, if its personnel is not proper persons for such important functions and if the appropriations

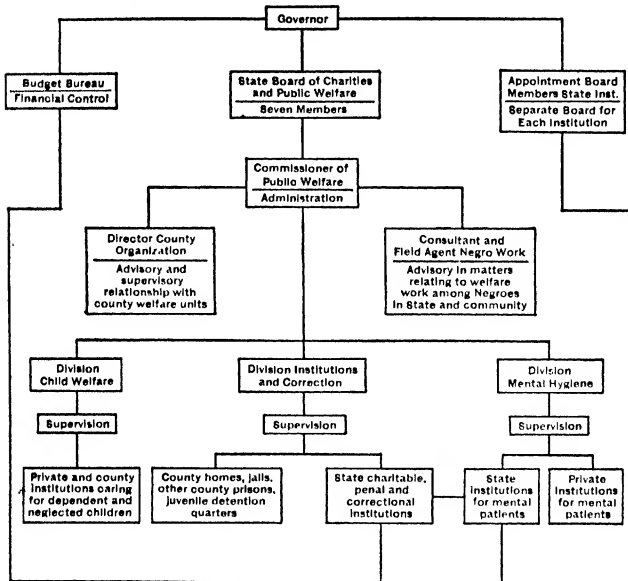


PLATE IV

ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION OF NORTH CAROLINA PRIVATE AND PUBLIC
CHARITABLE, PENAL, AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

are niggardly, no matter what the form of the board or what its name, it will function badly.

It is plainly apparent that in the United States a number of experiments are going on in state supervision of charitable and correctional institutions and agencies. What will be the outcome only experience can tell. On the functions of a state board, however, there is less debate. The main object is the improvement of the service given to the wards of the state by means of supervision of an expert body somewhat removed from direct administrative control.

DEPARTMENT INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

MAY 1934

GOVERNOR

**STATE BOARD OF CONTROL
INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES**

COMMISSIONER OF
INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

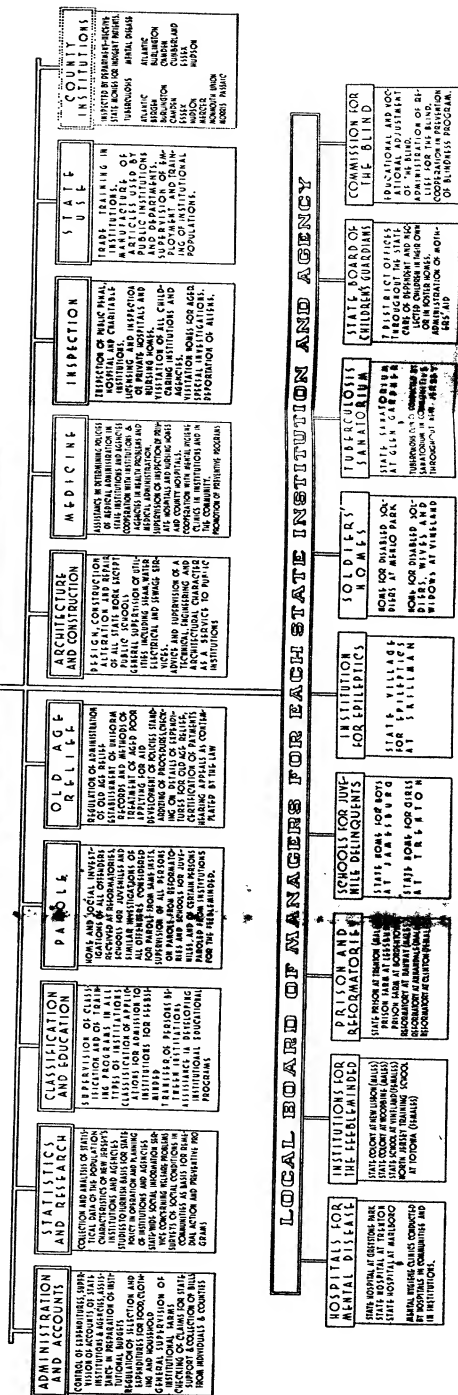


PLATE V

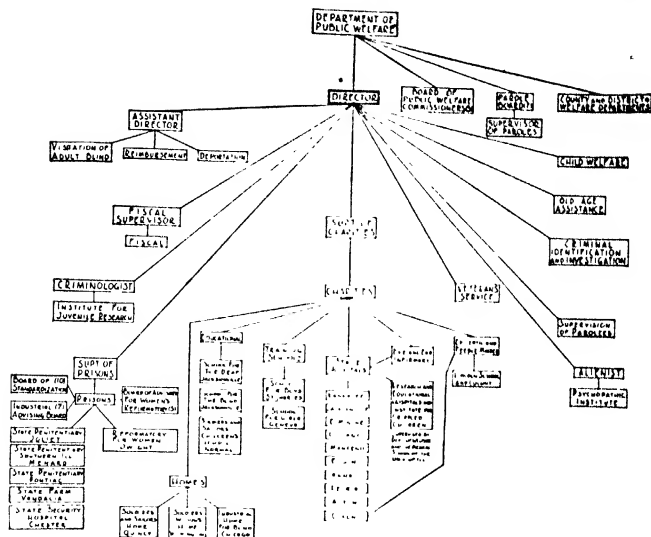


PLATE VI

ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

* County welfare departments have been created in all counties other than Cook to administer welfare activities in the respective counties. See H. B. 32 enacted by the Fifty-ninth General Assembly at the first special session thereof.

I. Supervision of Private Institutions Receiving Public Moneys.

In a number of the states, to one of these state boards has been given the right to supervise private charitable organizations. This supervision usually began with supervision of subsidized private charities. Says Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the District Board of Charities of Washington, D. C., "The right of public supervision of private institutions in receipt of public funds has long been generally recognized and exercised."⁸

Practically all the states that grant public money to private institutions now provide for their supervision.⁹ Such supervision is necessary in order to insure the public that its money is properly expended by the private organization. As we have already indicated in the previous chapter, large

⁸ Wilson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

sums of money early were expended by the municipalities and some states for the care of dependents in private institutions. Before there was public supervision, numerous abuses arose in these institutions. Unsupervised private charities in receipt of public funds often develop abuses both costly to the public and inimical to the best interests of the inmates. Public supervision has quite largely eliminated these abuses. While it can never eliminate entirely the evils inherent in the subsidy system, it can and has in many cases reduced the evils to a minimum.

2. **Supervision of Private Institutions Not Receiving Public Moneys.** Increasingly the right of the state to supervise the work of private charities has been accepted. In many states, however, the authority of the public board to supervise private charities does not exist. The debate on the question went on for many years but has been largely settled in principle although in practice many states still lack laws providing for it. What were the arguments for and against state supervision of private institutions? In general, it may be said that the members of state boards of charities favor state supervision of private charities. The members of these state boards by reason of their responsibilities saw the importance of uniformity of standards of care for all wards whether in public or in private institutions. All charity work, as it was called at that time, they insisted, is a matter of public concern.¹⁰

Opposition to public supervision of private institutions engaged in the care of dependents was based upon the theory that strictly speaking these institutions are neither "private nor charitable." To make the case strong the representatives of private institutions argued that they solicit their funds from individuals and members of their organizations and not from the public at large. Therefore they deserved to be left alone by the state and are amply able to inspect themselves. They also argued that state supervision was paternalistic, unnecessary, an almost insulting infringement of private personal liberty, and an unwarranted interference with religious liberty.¹¹

3. **Establishing Standards.** One of the most important functions of any state board is to establish standards for the protection and care of the helpless wards of the state. In the past whether the board has had supervisory functions or administrative functions primarily, it has long been recognized that its chief function was to see that proper standards of care

¹⁰ Wilson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 39. Conant, "The Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CV, No. 104 (January, 1923), p. 121.

¹¹ Biederman, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 42, 43.

were given to these helpless people under state charge. The various state institutions must be brought by this board to such a state of excellence as the conscience of the people of the state demands. Likewise county institutions, city institutions, and even private institutions caring for helpless individuals, especially those receiving public subsidies, must be aided to give such care as humanity and decency demand. Perhaps this function has been the most outstanding accomplishment of the various boards and departments.

4. Coordination of the Public Agencies in the Care of the Helpless. Before state boards were established each state institution, and the institutions and agencies of each minor political subdivision, as well as the private institutions, went its own way without attempting to coordinate its work with that of any other agency. The state boards charged with the responsibility of affecting coordination of the work among various institutions and agencies have to some degree solved the chaos prevailing in that period before the state board was established. It is probably fair to say that at the present time the various state institutions and agencies have fairly well coordinated into a comprehensive plan. The various correctional institutions cooperate together in the performance of their common task, each with its individual function. So likewise with the institutions for the care of the insane, the mental defectives, the institutions for children, etc.

5. Protection of Private Institutions Against Reckless Charges. Another function which these various state boards have found to be important is that of protecting the public and private agencies against charges of reckless people. Instance after instance has occurred in which a private organization doing good work has been subject to the charges of irresponsible persons regarding its work. The board after investigation is able, if the charges are baseless, to protect that institution against such charges. Because of the board's disinterestedness its findings will be generally accepted. Likewise such supervisory body may protect a county almshouse or county asylum, county jail, county tuberculosis sanatorium against charges or innuendoes rumored about by someone who has a grudge against the institution or its superintendent.

6. Social Planning in the Welfare Field. With the passing of time knowledge as to the overlapping of institutions, as to the lack of coordination between agencies has grown. With the clearer conceptions of new functions to be performed, the state board should plan for a coordinated and integrated plan for the welfare of the wards of the whole state, whether cared for by public or private agencies. Since the passage of the first law providing for a board of this character a great deal of such planning has been done. A part of this planning has kept in operation the licensing of

a state board makes possible the easy transfer of an inmate who is in one institution, but really belongs in another, for example, an insane person in the state's prison or an epileptic in the state school for dependent children.

As long ago as 1911 a study made by Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the District Board of Charities, Washington, D. C., showed that in eighteen of the states there was no law whatsoever on the supervision of private charities. Many of the others had laws providing for the supervision of only those private institutions which received public subsidies. Very few had provided legal authority for thoroughgoing and effective supervision.

Since that date an increasing number of states have insisted on supervision of the private agencies, especially those which care for children, the insane, and the mental defectives. Some of the states endeavor to provide control over the private agencies by means of an annual license.¹²

RECENT TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE SUPERVISION

Almost universally in the United States there is some statutory provision for state-wide public welfare agencies. Sometimes these are mere skeleton boards with a very narrow range of functions. In others where they have set up they are public welfare boards only in name. However, since 1917 there has been a steady development toward consolidating the various boards and commissions concerned with the welfare of public wards. In many states these boards, commissions, or departments had grown up haphazardly as the people of the state become conscious of a need. In certain of the states the functions are divided between several departments—California is an illustration; in others according to the class of persons served, as in Massachusetts and New York, where the division is largely on the basis of dependent persons, insane, and prisoners. The reorganizations, however, which have occurred recently have tended to organize under one department the administration or supervision of all the state institutions caring for different types of wards, and the supervision of county and private agencies. In over half the states a single welfare department now exists integrating the functions of the state over these various classes of institutions. In the majority of these the department is responsible for planning and endeavoring to carry out a broad program of public welfare. In the case of the public institutions this is done either through direct administration or through supervision. For the private institutions it is done through inspection and supervision and educational measures endeavoring to build up the standards

¹² Williams, "Chartering and Fiscal Control by State Authority of Voluntary Agencies", *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1916, p. 321.

of all institutions and to promote those methods in both public and private institutions which have been approved by experience.

The constitution of the board varies with different states. In the endeavor to keep it out of politics it is sometimes a non-partisan board, sometimes a bi-partisan board, and frequently the members of the board are appointed for a number of years with each one's term ending at a different time. This is done in order to prevent any one political party from obtaining control over the board.

In some states this public welfare board is salaried and in others is paid only a *per diem* and necessary expenses. In some the director of the department is appointed by the governor and in others by the board itself. Usually salaried boards are governing boards administering the state institutions. These have usually been called boards of control. They are to be found chiefly in the central and western states—Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Wisconsin, but exist also in Texas and West Virginia.

There is a tendency to gather under this general welfare board a series of bureaus dealing with specific functions or a specific class of persons—a bureau of child welfare, known by any one of the number of different names; a bureau of probation and parole for delinquents; a bureau of mental diseases, etc.

For a long time heated arguments were carried on between the advocates of a state board whose main function was supervision originally known as a board of state charities and the advocates of an administrative board known originally as a board of control. While the matter is not entirely settled emphasis has shifted to other points. Now the chief interest of those concerned lies in keeping these boards, whatever they may be called, and their functions, out of politics and in securing properly qualified personnel.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

1. Whatever be the form of state board, it is imperative that there should be centralization of supervision. It is also desirable that there be centralized business administration. What is needed is a state purchasing agent or business manager for the state institutions under the state board.

2. The state board, of whatever character, should have the supervision of county and city charities and institutions, with authority to enforce standards. The period of widespread experiment by counties without any control of the state is past. Reasonable experimentation is possible under close supervision.

3. The state board should have supervision of all private charitable and correctional agencies, and all charitable trusts created by donations and bequests.¹³ The lack of such supervision is exemplified by an instance in Massachusetts. A patent medicine company without adequate capital endeavored to get subscribers to its stock among wealthy employers of labor. Each dollar so contributed entitled the contributor to a card providing the bearer free consultation at the medical company's office. These cards were given by the employers to their employees, who, upon presentation of the card, were advised to purchase a 75-cent bottle of the company's nerve tonic or lung cure. This concern, when it applied for a charitable charter in Massachusetts, naturally was refused. The Massachusetts legislature provided for the investigation of applications for charitable charters by the State Board of Charity. The same Board was required to inspect all incorporated charities and to demand a financial report from each. Failure to file a report for two successive years was ground for the withdrawal of the charter. Such a system prevents undesirable charities from entering the field and disseminates information through conferences with representatives of charitable organizations.

In speaking of the motives that have led to the demand for supervision of private charities by the state, Mr. Kelso, in 1917, uttered truths still pertinent:

It is to protect itself against fraud, then, we conclude, that society should keep a guiding hand upon charity.

But is that the sum total of our conclusion? Is it the fear of fraud that should justify supervision? Important though that may seem, I feel certain, and I believe all our speakers will agree, that protection from fraud is the lesser reason. The great justification is that the community should look after its own. All funds given in trust for charity belong to the indefinite public. Such funds may be recovered in equity. If they are being applied by the trustee in a manner derogatory to the public weal, the court may dismiss that trustee and appoint another. If the original purposes of the trust, through lapse of time and changing conditions, can no longer be carried out, the court may devise a scheme of its own as nearly like the original purposes as possible. . . . Every charitable society that receives funds for charity, then, receives them in trust for public use. That society is a trustee. And, as trustee it should be accountable by some rational method to the public that is to benefit therefrom.¹⁴

4. The state's supervision should extend also to the licensing of all unincorporated agencies. In every state there is a large number of unincor-

¹³ Brackett, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, p. 340.

¹⁴ Kelso, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, pp. 368, 369.

porated charities soliciting public funds and engaged in activities that concern the public welfare. The stricter the supervision of incorporated charitable agencies, the less likely the frauds are to incorporate. Therefore, the board should have authority to supervise all persons and agencies, whether incorporated or unincorporated, purporting to render charitable or correctional services.

5. A board should also standardize methods and promote the education of the people in standards of relief and correction. The standardization of methods can be worked out best by a central board, leaving, of course, sufficient flexibility to provide for experiment within limits. One of the great difficulties in securing support of progressive policies in charity work is lack of public understanding. The education of the public should be one of the active aims of the state board. Indiana and Massachusetts are splendid examples of what such boards can do in this respect.

6. The board, whatever its nature, should study problems throughout the state and make known the results. Indiana's Board has made extensive studies of feeble-mindedness in almshouses and many other studies of the very greatest importance in the conduct of their institutions and the molding of their policies with respect to public wards. The State Board of Control of Wisconsin likewise made a number of studies to ascertain the need of a mothers' pension; of the effects of the sterilization of the feeble-minded; of the extent of feeble-mindedness in Wisconsin; of the results of probation.

7. The board should have a program of prevention as well as a program of treatment. It should be the body which has its eyes upon the horizon, endeavoring to prevent pauperism, poverty, and crime as well as to correct them after they have appeared.

8. Such a board should be absolutely free from politics, and the best possible men in the state, and even in the nation, should be secured to carry on such important work. It is now recognized that those who are appointed to such boards must be people of first-class ability. Moreover, they should be people who have become acquainted at least on general lines with the nature of the problems with which they have to deal. They should not be appointed for their political affiliations, but for character and understanding. They should be people of vision and of tact, and they must be leaders of men, able to convince others of the soundness of their proposals and able to get the people to see the importance of the problems with which they deal and to support them. They need not be experts themselves on any one line of social welfare, but they should know enough about the problem to enable them to select experts and to supervise the latter in their work.

9. Administration in charity, as in industrial relations, is the important

matter. Good laws are needed, but they should not be the result of an attempt by the legislature to control the details of administration. Legislative administration is a failure. Administration under law, not by law, has been shown to be the hope of efficiency in government. Our states got no encouraging results as long as the lawmakers attempted to write into the laws just how women and children were to be protected in industry, just how much compensation each injured employee is to receive from his employer, and under what circumstances in detail an employer must pay for injuries, leaving to a court to decide the matter after a legal battle of lawyers. Progress came when the legislature enacted laws bearing on the general policy and set up an administrative body to apply the law to the varying circumstances of an industrial situation.¹⁵

So with the improvement of public welfare—administration is the important matter. On the administration of our laws regulating the care of the poor, the insane, the feeble-minded and other dependents hangs the success of our united efforts to redeem charity, public and private, from its well-earned disgrace. With a supervising board given broad powers to secure results under the law, composed of people who have studied these difficult questions and who possess tact and ability, whose decisions are subject to review by the courts as a safeguard against injustice, there is hope of progress not only in providing proper care of the dependent, but in educating the public to appreciation of constructive measures and to the importance of prevention.

10. The trend at the present time in all except the most densely populated states is to integrate in one department the various social welfare activities in order that there may be a smoothly working machine to carry out a comprehensive and carefully thought out program. Integrated with this state department should be, according to the present judgment of those concerned with the problem, a similar department in each county or in each city. Such an arrangement has become almost necessary in view of the fact that the Federal Government has passed the social security laws giving grants in aid to the various states for certain types of social welfare activities. It has been urged that the Federal Government itself should have a department of public welfare. The problems raised by the depression have magnified as never before the importance of this field of governmental activity. The Federal and state departments concerned with these matters have an opportunity and an obligation to develop this phase of government in accordance with the lessons learned in this depression. The apparent haphazard methods of

¹⁵ See Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, Chap. IX.

dealing with the different classes which have come down to us from the past are now seen to be in their decline. Now there is an opportunity for constructive development which has not existed before since the days of Elizabeth.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Evolution of the State Board. Wines, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1897, p. 163.
2. Historic Review of the Debate on the Form of State Board as Found in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*. Johnson, *Guide to the Study of Charities and Correction by Means of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1908, pp. 27-31.
3. The Political Theory of State Supervision of Charitable Institutions. Clark, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1904, p. 180; Kingsley, *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 394.
4. The Legal Theory of State Supervision of Charitable Institutions and Agencies. (Study the court decisions, state and Federal, drawing therefrom the theory on which such supervision is based.)
5. The Organization and Functions of the Department of Public Welfare of Illinois. *The Illinois Quarterly Bulletin*, and *The Welfare Magazine*.
6. A Comparison of Various Forms of State Boards. Odum and Willard, *Systems of Public Welfare*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1925; "Public Welfare in the United States," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CV, No. 194 (January, 1923).

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What state, and at what date, organized the first board of charities in the United States?
2. What conditions gave rise to the demand for state supervision of charities and correctional institutions?
3. Name the different kinds of state boards concerned with charitable and correctional institutions in the United States. Describe in a general way the functions of each.
4. What tendencies appeared between 1913 and 1923 in the nature and character of the state boards?
5. Why did the supervision of public institutions and of private institutions receiving public moneys become subject to state supervision before private charities?
6. State the chief arguments in favor of the public supervision of private charities.
7. State the chief arguments against public supervision and control of private charities.

8. Make a diagram or an outline of what you consider the best form of state board: (a) for a state with a small number of institutions; (b) for a state rich in institutions and a large number of private institutions and agencies.
9. What are the chief purposes of public supervision of charitable and correctional institutions?
10. What, if any, are the dangers involved in state control and state supervision of all the charitable and correctional agencies, public and private, in a state? (See Gillin, "The Public Welfare Movement and Democracy"; Hart, "Public Welfare and Our Democratic Institutions" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CV, No. 194 (January, 1923), pp. 13, 31.
11. What changes has the National Security Act made necessary in state boards?

PART IV
SPECIAL CLASSES OF DEPENDENTS

CHAPTER XVIII

THE AGED DEPENDENT

HAVING surveyed the problems of poverty and dependency—extent, factors in their causation, and the history of efforts to deal with their victims—we are now in a position to inquire how society may treat the dependent and the poor *constructively*, so as to enable the dependent to become self-supporting again, or, if that is impossible, to live out their lives in as useful and happy a way as possible, and to prevent the poor from falling into dependency. We shall consider first the dependents, and later the prevention of dependency. In order to know how to treat them, we shall study the different classes of dependents, for it is not wise to treat all dependents alike. For example, the aged dependent must be dealt with differently from the dependent child; the tramp from the unemployed seeking work. Hence, in discussing treatment, we must classify the dependents and adapt certain principles of relief and social treatment to each class. The aged dependent first engages our attention.

EXTENT OF DEPENDENCY DUE TO OLD AGE

In Great Britain. It was not until the last half of the nineteenth century, that students in England gave scientific attention to the problem of the aged dependent. Probably the results of the Industrial Revolution brought the matter to the attention of thoughtful people. Then an attempt was made to ascertain the proportion of dependency due to age. One of the earliest of these students was Canon Blackley. Upon inquiry in 26 country parishes he found that no less than 42 per cent of the old who had died had had relief during the closing years of their lives. Charles Booth, who made a separate study of the matter, thought that figure somewhat too high, and placed the estimate throughout England at 30 per cent.¹ Further inquiry revealed further the plight of the aged. Moreover, particular attention has been given to the question of the proportion of the aged who were in need. In 1908, while in England and Wales, 1.27 per cent of the population were

¹ Booth, *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*, London, 1892, p. 165.

aged and infirm adult paupers, they composed nearly half, 47.9 per cent, of the total pauperism in England and Wales.²

That old age contributes greatly to pauperism is indicated, furthermore, by the large proportion of the population of England and Wales who were paupers above 60 years of age.³ At the beginning of this century it was estimated that in Great Britain, out of 1,000 men living at the age of 20, 500 would be living at the age of 65, two-fifths of whom would become paupers. It was estimated that eight-ninths of the pauperism beyond 65 years in England is due to old age.⁴ One-fifth of those 70 years of age and above dying in London died in a workhouse, hospital, or other public institution. In Dublin less than one-half died in their own homes.⁵

The conservatism of these estimates is confirmed by what has happened since the passage of the Old Age Pension Act in England in 1908. Thus, in January, 1913, of the total number of persons in England and Wales over 70 years of age, exactly 60 per cent were old age pensioners.⁶ In 1923 old age pensions were paid to 889,000 persons in England and Wales at a cost of £19,868,603.⁷ Twenty-three and three-tenths per cent of the unemployed in Great Britain were such by reason of old age.⁸ With the depression of 1929 the lot of the aged became even more distressing. In 1934 in Great Britain 1,636,905 were receiving old age pensions at a cost of £41,703,000.⁹ In that year so dire was the need of these people that 8.3 per cent of the total number in England and Wales had to have the old age pension supplemented by outdoor relief.¹⁰ The seriousness of their need is further indicated, if one remembers that except for the relatively few who contribute

² *Public Health and Social Conditions*, London, 1909, p. 55.

³ While only 2.51 per cent of the total population and but 2.12 per cent of the population below 16 years of age were paupers, nearly one-sixth of those 60 years of age and over were public dependents. *Public Health and Social Conditions*, London, 1909, p. 56.

⁴ A wage census cited by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate on the Old Age Pension Law adopted in England in 1908 showed that 57 per cent of the wage earners of the United Kingdom earn less than 25 shillings per week. Lewis, *State Insurance*, Boston, 1909, p. 163.

⁵ Foss and West, *The Social Worker and Modern Charity*, London, 1914, p. 85.

⁶ The proportion of the population over 60 years of age receiving old age pensions varied from 26.7 per cent in Bournemouth to 77.8 per cent in Bermondsey, both urban areas, and from 44.8 per cent in Surrey, to 80.1 per cent in Northamptonshire, both outside the metropolitan urban area. Foss and West, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89. It must be remembered that these figures do not represent all of the aged dependents, since not all dependents can qualify under the Old Age Pension Act.

⁷ *Public Social Services*, Return to House of Commons, No. 12, 1925, p. 5.

⁸ Epstein, *Facing Old Age*, New York, 1922, p. 3.

⁹ *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*, Cmd. 4801, London, 1935, pp. 76, 77.

¹⁰ *Persons in Receipt of Poor Relief*, (England and Wales) Return to an Order of the Honorable the House of Commons dated 25th June, 1934, No. 95, p. 5.

to the old age pension fund no one is eligible unless he has an income of less than about \$155.00 (31 pounds, 10 shillings).

In the United States. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give statistics of such definiteness for the United States. So far as the situation can be made out, the facts are these:

In 1930, 6,633,805 persons or 5.04 per cent of the population of the United States were above sixty-four years of age.¹¹ We have no way of knowing the economic condition of these people. Mr. Squier estimated that, "One person in 18 of our wage-earners reaches the age of 65 in penury; and the indications are that the proportion of indigent old is increasing."¹² The old age pension commissions in some of the states have indicated the serious economic condition of many of the aged. For example, the Massachusetts Commission on Pensions in 1925 studied 17,420 persons sixty-four years of age and over selected so as to be representative of the entire population of the state. None of these was in receipt of organized charity or in receipt of public pensions of \$360.00 a year or more. The Industrial Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation in 1926-27 studied 13,785 of the same age-group in eleven cities of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. This study did not include the Civil War Veterans, their wives or widows, or others receiving military pensions. In both of these studies it was found that 16.8 per cent had neither property nor income. Likewise in these studies between 55 per cent and 57 per cent either singly or with their spouses had annual incomes of at least \$1,000 or property to the value of \$5,000. The Massachusetts study found that about one-third of the total group had neither property worth \$5,000 nor incomes of over \$300,000.¹³ Assuming that the Massachusetts study is more representative of the country at large than the National Civic Federation study, since the former included rural townships as well as urban communities, we can say that about one-third of those over sixty-five years of age will before they die become dependent. The Ohio Commission on Health Insurance and Old Age Pensions in 1919 reported that their study showed that in Hamilton and Cincinnati from 15 per cent to 25 per cent of the people over 50 were dependent upon relatives or friends. The Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission stated that 43 per cent of the aged population 50 years of age or over in the State had no other means of support than their own earnings.¹⁴

¹¹ Release of the Bureau of the Census, September 11, 1931.

¹² Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States*, New York, 1912, p. 324.

¹³ "Care of the Aged", *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. 30, No. 4, April, 1930, pp. 12, 13.

¹⁴ Epstein, *Facing Old Age*, New York, 1922, p. 24.

It has been estimated there are over 2,000,000 persons in the United States dependent because of old age.¹⁵

Furthermore, the study of income levels shows large numbers of the population who were unable on their incomes to provide adequate security against old age. The National Bureau of Economic Research found that 98 per cent of the population of the United States receive incomes of less than \$5,000 a year. The great majority of these have incomes of less than \$2,000 a year. From 1917 to 1926 the same organization found that 99 per cent of the population had an average income of \$1400 a year.¹⁶

The economic security of the aged varied with the different occupations. In 1920 about twice the normal ratio of the aged were farmers, lawyers, judges, and justices. Moreover, the aged more than held their own among retailers, brokers, bankers and money lenders. It was among the industrial and transportation workers where the aged had a ratio of from one-fourth to one-fifth of the general average. Less than 2 per cent of the minor clerks, mechanics, moulders, printers, plumbers, etc., were over sixty-five years of age. Yet during one generation the number in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits increased 125 per cent.¹⁷

A few illustrations chosen from a study of the life of retired teachers in Boston, a group of people whose circumstances are probably above the average of working people, are here added:

Most cases of more comfortable living had been made possible by inheritances from rich relatives or by the solicitous care of older brothers or other devoted members of the family. As an illustration of this, one teacher was found living with her sister in a very lovely part of the city, in a charming house. An older brother whom she had helped when he was struggling to start in business had bought the house for them, supplied coal and light, leaving them to pay only for their personal expenses. Another woman had gone to live with a widowed sister where she had all the companionship and comforts of a home of luxury.¹⁸

In one case the inheritance of a dilapidated old house was all that had enabled the woman to remain independent. This house, unpainted for a decade, with one wall leaning and crumbling, and with leaking roof, stood a mere remnant of what had been a prosperous home. Once on a popular, residential street, it now stood unsalable, in a forlorn and neglected part of the city, though still boasting a

¹⁵ *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, p. 33. See also Conyngton, "Extent and Distribution of Old-Age Dependency in the United States," *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 1934, pp. 1-10.

¹⁶ *News Bulletin*, National Bureau of Economic Research Inc., November 8, 1929, Table IV, p. 3.

¹⁷ Epstein, "The Older Workers," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1931, p. 28; *The Challenge of the Aged*, New York, 1928, p. 3.

¹⁸ Lucile Eaves, *Old Age Support of Women Teachers: Studies in Economic Relations of Women*, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, 1912, p. 66.

professional sign—put up some 30 years before—as if to lift its head above its neighbors. Inside, there were some books in beautiful bindings, chairs of the colonial period but with the stuffing falling out of their haircloth, pictures and engravings from England, and other relics of a better day. There were no rugs upon the floor. The woman could afford to buy neither coal to keep her warm nor food to nourish her adequately. Her only means of heat were the gas plate in the kitchen and the gas grate in the parlor.¹⁹

Besides the run-down family homesteads and shabby rooms or apartments there were also the decrepit family hotels and the old ladies' homes to which these teachers had turned for shelter. While those in the hotels were fairly comfortable, there was a certain air of sordidness in their surroundings suggesting the gradual decline in the standards of these places. Taking a typical case, when the teachers first came to the hotel there were two janitors, an elevator and all corresponding services. Now the one janitor comes when he cares to, the rooms are cold, no elevator lightens the burden of four flights of dismal, ill-smelling stairs. The furnace heat is insufficient and often the gas lights are allowed to burn throughout the day to supply a little additional warmth.

In comparison with the hotels, the two old ladies' homes seemed quite attractive since they were immaculately clean, well-heated, and suitably furnished. The women there were assured necessary attendants, medical care and nursing. While these institutions seemed to care for all physical needs, the associations might prove somewhat wearing for women of education and refinement. One retired teacher said that she objected to an old ladies' home because she could not endure constant contact with women who were garrulous and empty-headed. She declared that silence was her refuge and that she wanted to enjoy the peace of quietude during which she could live over experiences of the past.²⁰

Mrs. A's life is still another typifying the real struggles of these women. When 21 she was left a widow with a baby one month old. She went to live with her mother whose resources were small. As she had previously graduated from Normal school, she started teaching. For many years she helped support her mother and daughter. While a successful teacher she was able to give her daughter a good education. The girl, however, soon married. In the meantime, Mrs. A. had been put in charge of a school and was teaching other teachers in night classes, and was quite prominent in educational activities. With the marriage of her daughter and death of her mother, her family responsibilities should certainly have ceased, but not so. A sick aunt came to make her home with her. The woman had experienced no anxiety for her own future because after her retirement she had expected to be very happy in her daughter's home. After unusual success as a teacher, she retired at the age of seventy and continued to care for the sick aunt until the latter's death. Soon after that the daughter came for a visit and suddenly died.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 69.

Somehow the woman had managed to put \$100 in the bank for an emergency. She had no other savings and no inheritance. Her sole income was the \$45 a month which she received as a pension. She could not afford to board with her landlady but had the privilege of cooking in the kitchen. "An old lady," she said, "needs very little to eat." But she was worried about what might happen if she should be ill. Her health was broken and all her hopes shattered, yet as a means of supplementing her tiny allowance and of occupying her still active mind, she has undertaken to teach eight hours a week at fifty cents per hour, in an industrial school.²¹

We described the homes of these women and have shown some of the causes of their poverty; let us consider for a moment the condition of the women themselves. Some were wonderfully active and well-preserved in mind and body, but there were those who were less fortunate. One woman was so crippled that she could scarcely hobble to the door to admit the visitor; another in the midst of the most deplorable circumstances was slowly dying of cancer; one was so deaf that the only means of communicating with her was by writing. Another was palsied and almost blind.

One brave woman not yet bowed down by adversity, was visited in her one little room which still boasted a beautifully embroidered counterpane, a vestige of her former prosperity. She was gowned in a black silk dress trimmed with jet spangles which plainly betrayed many makings over. She told us that she had not had a new garment in seven years and that she did not know how she could get along if it were not that she had a knack of sewing so that she could fashion and refashion the clothing worn before her retirement.

Of all those who have given much to their families, there is one particularly beautiful example of devotion to family life and ties. This woman might almost have been conducting an old people's home. When she was young an aunt assisted her in getting an education. At the time of this investigation, the aunt was nearing eighty and had little but her pension so that the main burden of supporting the home, fell, in turn, upon the teacher. When relatives of the aunt's generation became ill or unable to take care of themselves they drifted back to the old home. For eighteen years, two old ladies besides the aunt were partially supported. During one year a child was added to the household. For ten years an aged man was given a home to which he contributed little except his services in the care of the garden. Moreover, two other men and a fourth woman, unable to care for themselves, found shelter under this generous roof. In addition to all this the woman said, "We have had the usual cases where Aunt and I have had to help someone who had claims on us 'over the stile.' It either meant a new coat, a whole outfit for school, or a scholarship to business college."²²

²¹ Lucile Eaves, *Old Age Support of Women Teachers: Studies in Economic Relations of Women*, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, 1912, pp. 73, 74.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

There is no indication that the causes of this deplorable condition of old age dependency, such as misfortune, low wages, unemployment, failing health, etc., are on the wane. Nor are the efforts to meet this need through industrial pensions, homes for the aged and similar measures meeting the necessities of the case. Mr. Squier estimates that these measures may perhaps care for one-third of the wage-earning class in America. "Whereas," he adds, "two-thirds of this great industrial army are not provided for by any present or prospective old age relief other than that afforded by the operation of the poor laws."²³

Whatever the extent of old age dependency, "the number of the aged who require support presents a problem serious enough to justify far more attention than it has received."²⁴ Says Mr. Lewis, "From whatever point of view we look at it, we must agree that old age poverty is the result of an industrial or economic system which is at fault somewhere. The correction must come through radical legislation, but upon scientific economic principles."²⁵

HISTORIC AND PRESENT METHODS OF CARING FOR THE AGED POOR

Among many primitive peoples there is a simple and effective method of dealing with the pauper and the aged poor. A council is called, and if the aged person has reached a certain stage of economic uselessness, a feast is held in his honor, stoically he bids his friends farewell, and then he is knocked on the head. Horrible as such a practice seems in our eyes, as Mr. Lewis suggests, in reality it is a very humane custom compared with the practice of most civilized nations, "where the aged pauper, physically exhausted, destitute, friendless, forsaken, drags out a miserable existence in the workhouse or as the recipient of some humiliating form of poor relief. The pathos of the situation is heightened when it happens that the unfortunate one is a veritable soldier of toil, worn out on industrial battlefields, perhaps after fifty years of ill-requited labor. His misery is sometimes emphasized by his conviction that an undefined portion of the material prosperity that surrounds him is rightfully his; that the community in which he lives, and perhaps the fellow citizen who looks upon him with mingled aversion and pity, have unduly profited by his toil."²⁶

In most English-speaking countries, the reliance of the aged has been

²³ Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States*, New York, 1912, pp. 324, 325.

²⁴ Devine, *The Normal Life*, New York, 1917, pp. 177, 178.

²⁵ Lewis, *State Insurance*, Boston, 1909, p. 164.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

chiefly their savings, their earning power—whatever it may be in old age—or support from children or other relatives; in the United States upon military pensions, and for the veterans of the Confederate Army, state pensions; upon private homes for the aged, sometimes maintained by admission fees of inmates and sometimes free, quite often a combination of both plans; upon the poorhouse, upon public and private outdoor relief, or upon the benevolence of churches and charitable agencies. Others of the aged dependents are in institutions for special classes of dependents, such as those for the insane.

Savings for Old Age. In individualistic United States, great emphasis has been placed upon thrift as a provision for old age. This policy has accorded well with the spirit of our institutions, with their emphasis upon individual capacity and responsibility. With the increasing complexity of our economic society has come growth of institutions to encourage thrift. In Great Britain and the United States, as well as in many other countries of the world, to encourage savings on the part of the people, the post office department has initiated postal savings banks. In France these were established as early as 1860. All of these devices have been of value to the better paid workers who have some surplus above absolute necessities, but not to the man whose income provides no surplus.²⁷

The experience of people during the depression with saving institutions and investments were not such as to encourage denying oneself in order to save for old age. Many people found their savings accumulated by great struggle swept away. At the present time there is probably less confidence in savings for old age than ever before.

There are those who hold that the rational expenditure of the weekly income of American wage-earners should leave a sufficient margin to pay for an annuity beginning with the age of 60 or 65 sufficient to meet reasonable needs in old age.²⁸ "How," asked Mayor Hebbard, of Boston, at the National Conference in 1908, in discussing Mr. Hoffman's paper, "are you going to inculcate thrift into the laborer getting \$2.25 a day? How can he save money to retire when he becomes 60 at the present high cost of living?"²⁹ Thrift is a good safeguard against old age dependency when the income is sufficient. It should be encouraged in every possible way and defended against the aspersions sometimes cast upon it by pseudo-economists. Nevertheless, the fact remains that for large numbers of people the income

²⁷ Lewis, *State Insurance*, Boston, 1900, p. 154.

²⁸ Hoffman, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1908, p. 228.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

is too small to enable the family to maintain a decent standard of living and at the same time to provide a fund for old age.

The Almshouse. In the United States the final resort of all dependents, the aged included, is the almshouse, just as the general mixed workhouse in England provides a refuge for those who could be cared for nowhere else. We have already seen that there is a vast army of old people herded in the poorhouses of America. Probably more than one-half of the poorhouse inmates in America are homeless and helpless old folks. Being the resort of the wastrel and vicious, aged poor, the poorhouse has so bad a reputation in England and the United States, that respectable old persons would usually rather starve than enter it.

Homes for the Aged. On this account there have risen all over the country homes for the aged. In 1929 the Bureau of Labor Statistics found 1,268 such homes caring for 69,000 persons at an average annual cost of \$437.57 per person.³⁰ Sometimes these are endowed, and admission is granted without the payment of an entrance fee. In most cases, however, an admission charge is made which partly assists in defraying the expenses of the inmates, the remaining expense of maintenance being usually provided by endowment. Such homes have the shortcoming that usually they do not provide for those who cannot pay an admission fee. They are very good for the class for which they are intended, but they do not touch more than the fringe of the problem of the aged poor.

Outdoor Relief. Private and public agencies in many of our states provide a pittance for the care of the aged poor in their homes. Usually, however, it is not given in sufficient amount to sustain the aged person or persons in any degree of comfort. What it usually amounts to is slow starvation. Most of our poor relief laws provide against any outdoor relief, so long as the person has any resources whatsoever. Then, when the last penny is spent, a grudging and deterrent dole is given, on the theory that relief must be made as unpleasant as possible in order to deter frauds from seeking aid. However, as a policy on which to depend for the proper care of aged dependents, outdoor poor relief is a broken reed. It is probable that before the adoption of old age pensions by the state the majority of dependent aged persons, not cared for by relatives, were on outdoor relief.

Care by Relatives. From time immemorial the care of the aged has been a responsibility of their children and near relatives. Were such a plan al-

³⁰ *Care of Aged Persons in the United States*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. 489, 1929. See for Delaware State Home for the Aged, *Monthly Labor Review*, January 1934, pp. 11-13.

ways feasible, it would be the best and most natural solution of the problem. In large numbers of cases the aged person has no relatives upon whom he can depend. Moreover, under our modern industrial conditions, it is often impossible for the children and relatives to afford the old person proper care or even any care at all. Investigations in England have clearly demonstrated that among the lower paid wage-earners it is absolutely impossible, with even the most careful management, for a son with a large family to support his old parents. Also in many cases the domestic harmony is disturbed by the presence of the aged, and they are not happy. To send the aged, after he has been a respectable person until old age, to the poorhouse is to curse his declining years with the stigma attaching to that institution.

Boarding Out. To care for those who have no relatives with whom they may live, and as an alternative to the poorhouse and the private home for the aged, it has been suggested that aged dependents be boarded. This plan has been tried in this country chiefly in Massachusetts.³¹ It would be an admirable substitute for outdoor relief, were the public authorities to adopt a liberal policy of paying for board. The homes would have to be selected carefully and afterwards supervised, in order that the evils which attended the contract system of caring for paupers, prevalent in many states earlier and still surviving in some, should not appear. It has the advantage that it would be a substitute for outdoor relief for those old people who need personal care.³²

Life Insurance. Recent years has seen an enormous growth of insurance companies throughout Western Europe and the United States. With the development of other contracts, the insurance companies have devised policies which provide for old age. These, for the most part, take four forms: Endowment policies, limited payment policies which are paid to the insured after 20 or 30 years, policies maturing at 65, and annuities. At their maturity the face of these contracts is paid to the insured. Since they provide for the payment of the face of the policy at death, even though it occurs before maturity, they partake of the character of insurance. Other kinds of insurance, which are payable to beneficiaries at the death of the insured have as one of their purposes the protection of beneficiaries in old age.

All of these forms of insurance are a method of saving, with the additional element of insurance in case the insured does not live out the expected term of life. However, all of them except annuities are subject to the danger of ill-advised investment. There are always some beneficiaries who lose their

³¹ Bardwell in *United States Daily*, April 12, 1932.

³² Devine, *Principles of Relief*, New York, 1904, p. 134.

money through foolish investments or through changed conditions and therefore would have to be cared for in other ways. As a matter of fact, but a small per cent of the poor carry insurance of any kind—in 1909 in Massachusetts only 15.9 per cent of the "non-dependent" aged poor.³³

Industrial Pensions. A movement looking in the direction of old age pensions is the pensioning of the employees of a company after they have reached a certain age. A pioneer in this field in the United States was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which inaugurated its old age pension policy in 1884. This policy has been followed by other railroads and by some industrial concerns.³⁴

The Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission in 1925 received information from 1600 industrial concerns of whom 594 provided pensions. The inquiry showed that the total number of persons in receipt of pensions at that time from industrial concerns did not exceed 100,000 or from five to six per cent of all the needy aged persons sixty-five years of age or over in the country. The amount of the average industrial pension was estimated to be \$485 per year or a total to the 90,000 individuals covered of about \$43,000,000.

These private industrial pensions were for the most part confined to industries in the public service—railways, urban transit, power and light companies, etc. In fact these public service industries covered two-thirds of all the wage earners protected by formal pension plans. If those protected in the metal industries are added, these two industrial groups represent roughly four-fifths of all the workers protected by private pension plans.³⁵

These plans are good as far as they go but have decided disadvantages. They have not fulfilled the expectations of the employers in preventing labor turnover. They have disappointed the employees, because they interfere with change of occupation, for a better job, and because they are not guaranteed in many companies and may be suspended at will. Furthermore, they have not resulted in eliminating the old and inefficient employee to make room for the younger and more efficient. Apparently from the standpoint of the protection of the aged worker, such plans cover a very small proportion of the workers of the United States.³⁶

³³ Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

³⁴ For details see Seager, *Industrial Insurance*, New York, 1910, pp. 119-122.

³⁵ *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1927, p. 518.

³⁶ Henry Rogers Seager, *Social Insurance*, New York, 1910, pp. 144, 145. For a discussion of industrial pensions from the employers' point of view, see *Industrial Pensions in the United States*, National Industrial Conference Board, New York, 1925, Chap. III; Lescotier and Brandeis, *History of Labor in the United States*, New York, 1935, Vol. III, Chapter XXI.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics published in February, 1928, a study of provisions of the labor unions for the care of their aged members. They found only ten national or international unions which have old age pension plans. In that year only 11,269 persons were in receipt of pensions.³⁷ In addition a number of the unions have provided homes for their aged. These provisions, likewise, are of benefit but are limited to so small a proportion of the workers that they do not solve the problem.

Military Pensions. The form of public service pension best known in the United States is the soldiers' and sailors' pensions. The principle upon which military pensions are based was expressed by the Plymouth Pilgrims in 1636 when they enacted a regulation that anyone serving as a soldier who returned maimed should be maintained by the colony for the rest of his life. Eight years later the Virginia Assembly provided pensions for disability, and the Continental Congress passed the first real pension law in this country in 1776. From the time of the Revolutionary War down to quite recent times the Government had more land than money. In addition to special grants made by Congress since the Revolutionary War, the Government up to 1906 had issued to men who had been in the army and navy 598,628 warrants for 783,030 acres of land. However, the United States has paid out for pensions from 1790 to June 30, 1934, a total of \$11,713,708,530.16 besides a large sum by some of the former Confederate states to their veterans—a liberality far exceeding that of any other country. As Devine once remarked,

The federal and state pensions, in theory merely a deferred recognition of services performed now half a century ago, have become in fact a main national provision for old age. Judged from that point of view, it is not an equitable provision. The federal pensions have been distributed mainly in the Northern states, where the need for old-age support is certainly not greatest. Their cost has been enormous. They have had no relation to proved need, to thrift, or to merit. As a provision for old age, they have violated every known canon of actuarial, ethical, and social policy. They are a cost of the Civil War, and in that light alone could they be defended as devised and administered. And yet the federal and state pensions are not without some substantial justification in their social results. If the government had not expended the four of five billion dollars which it has spent in pensions, the problem of old-age dependence would have been far more pressing than it has been. Much of that money has been wasted; some of it has been demoralizing; but it has been one means of support, perhaps on the whole the best means that we have had after savings and maintenance by relatives.

One minor reason for the long-continued poverty of Southern states, as com-

³⁷ *Monthly Labor Review*, February 1928, pp. 1-29.

pared with the greater economic prosperity of the North, has doubtless been the drain on its resources to care for its aged white and colored dependents. The pension fund, drawn from general taxation, has been expended in the North. Another fund, not so enormous but still large in the aggregate, has then had to be raised for the support of the relatively larger and poorer number who served the lost cause or were impoverished by the war. The result has been a serious national maladjustment, which cannot be without its effect on physical well-being and economic prosperity.⁸⁸

Civil Service Pensions. Some states have provided for retirement pensions for their own *civil service employees*, and have authorized cities to set up plans for certain classes of the municipal employees. A study by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1927 showed that 6 states at that time had retirement plans for employees not covered by some already existing pension system.⁸⁹ In all these states having retirement systems for state employees, except Connecticut and Maine, the system is contributory on the parts of the employees. In the two states just named the state pays the entire pension. In the others the plan follows somewhat closely the Massachusetts State Retirement Act of 1911 or the Federal Act of 1920. California and Minnesota have adopted similar schemes. However, the number of aged people covered by these retirement schemes is negligible in comparison with the large number of aged who need such protection.

Many of the states have set up retirement plans for teachers. New Jersey in 1896 created the first state-wide plan for teachers. In 1933 there were 24 States, 4 territories, and the District of Columbia which had teachers' retirement plans. These plans vary with the several states, from a plan whereby the entire benefits are paid from public funds, as in Arizona and Rhode Island, to those in which the plan is wholly contributory, depending upon the assessments of the teachers as in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio, and Washington are partially contributory, the state providing part of the funds. This is the plan most prevalent in this country.

Plans vary from state to state also as to the amount of the pension. In six states and in Alaska a flat amount is given each retired teacher, ranging from \$400 per year in Illinois to \$800 in Alaska. In the others the retire-

⁸⁸ Devine, *The Normal Life*, New York, 1917, pp. 179-180.

⁸⁹ The 6 states just mentioned which had legislation providing retirement allowance for state employees were Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Massachusetts was the first state to enact such legislation in 1911. *Care of Aged Persons in United States*, The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 489, Washington, 1929, pp. 222-233; 264-283.

ment allowance is in accordance with the amount of annuity which the deposits will purchase.

There is scarcely a city in the United States which does not have a retirement system for some of its employees. Since the hazards to police and firemen and their families first were impressed upon the conscience of the public, retirement systems for those two classes of municipal employees are practically universal. Some cities have retirement systems for their teachers also, and others protect other classes of municipal employees. The municipal systems of relief for *policemen and firemen* are the most haphazard and unsystematic by reason of the fact that they grew up earliest. Practically none except those which have recently been established are based on actuarial principles.⁴⁰ A study by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1926 of the situation in 12 cities with populations over 400,000 each, showed that there were 12,000 policemen protected by retirement systems. At the same time there were about 7500 firemen and 5000 other municipal pensioners in these cities. The study did not show the situation in cities of lesser size.⁴¹

In Europe, "there is hardly a city," says Squier, "that does not make provision for pensioning all its employees after they have served a given number of years and have reached the age of 60 or 65." In some of the cities of Europe the plan is contributory. However, at least one-half of the European cities make no deductions from the wages of the employees for the establishment and maintenance of these funds.⁴²

Where there is no retirement pension, the old municipal employees are continued on the payroll although increasingly inefficient. Where there a retiring pension, this deadwood among the municipal employees could be removed, and more efficient persons could take their places.⁴³

A similar movement for the *municipal pensioning of teachers* has been going on for a long time, both in the United States and abroad. Russia established such laws as early as 1819; Saxony in 1840; England in 1848; France in 1858. In the United States the first movement of which we have record was made in Brooklyn in 1878. New York City secured the passage of the first law in 1894, and Brooklyn in 1895.

These systems are not uniform in all respects. Many plans do not specify any retirement age but make it dependent entirely upon the number of years of service. Some have a retirement age of sixty years; others sixty for men

⁴⁰ Epstein, *Insecurity, A Challenge to America*, New York, 1933, pp. 522-524.

⁴¹ *Care of Aged Persons in the United States*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Bulletin no. 489, p. 264.

⁴² Squier, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 224.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

and fifty-five for women. In most cases the teachers contribute from their salaries from one to three per cent. The length of service varies from twenty-five to thirty years, although in a few instances it is only twenty, and in others it is thirty-five or more. The amount of pension received in some cases is a fixed sum; in others it is determined by the number of years of service and in still others upon the average salary received, usually one-half of the salary during the last few years previous to retirement.⁴⁴

A few of the *universities* of the country have provided retirement pensions for their teachers. In most universities, however, the retirement provisions are connected either with the state retirement system or with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, established in 1906, undertook to provide a free pension for superannuated professors in colleges, universities and technical schools of the United States, Canada and Newfoundland. For a time free pensions as well as disability allowances and widows' allowances were paid directly from the Foundation's resources. However, the officers of the Foundation found that there were more teachers eligible and that they lived longer than had been anticipated. Consequently, it was decided to discontinue these free pensions to all teachers who entered the service of the institutions covered after November 17, 1915. The Foundation set up the Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association of America in 1918. This provided annuity contracts on legal reserve insurance principles with the Foundation paying overhead and managerial costs. By the end of the year 1931, 10,136 teachers held contracts for old age annuities with this Association. The Carnegie Foundation at the end of 1931 had 959 pensions in force totaling \$1,587,352 per year, averaging \$1,655 for each pensioner. Of these pensions 499 were retirement allowances on the basis of age, 50 on the basis of service or disability and 410 allowances to widows. It is clear that the teachers in about one-half of the states are not protected against old age or disability.

Civil Service Employees of the United States were not pensioned until 1920. For a number of years efforts had been made to have Congress pass a pension act for employees of the United States in the classified Civil Service. In the Sixty-second Congress there were presented five such bills. In all but two of these provision was made for contributions by the employees as the basis of a pension or annuity in old age. Lengthy hearings were held by the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. Nothing, however, came of the matter until the Sixty-sixth Congress, when an act was passed and ap-

⁴⁴ *Care of Aged Persons in the United States*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 489, Washington, 1929, pp. 264-283.

proved May 22, 1920. This act was amended in 1926, 1930, 1932, and 1934. At the present time the employee contributes $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of his basic annual wage. The Government is responsible for the amount necessary to keep the fund intact. Up to date the Government's share has amounted to about 2.45 per cent of the payroll. The law provides both for retirement and for disability benefits. The annuities are not less than an amount equal to the average annual basic salary not to exceed \$1,600 received during any five consecutive years, multiplied by the number of years of service not to exceed thirty, divided by forty. Thus the maximum annuity would not exceed \$1,200 per year. It provides for refunds to those who leave the service before they reached retirement age. On June 30, 1934, there were 44,000 annuitants receiving an average annual payment of \$989.00.⁴⁵

OLD AGE PENSIONS

These various schemes, generally involving contribution on the part of the beneficiary or applying only to certain classes, or to public servants, while excellent so far as people are able to take advantage of them, fail to meet the need of large classes of the aged in all countries. In spite of the development of insurance, of the preaching of thrift, or various forms of industrial and service pensions, in the United States the problem has not been solved. The poorhouses are still filled with old people. With the increasing complexity of life, the hardships of the aged have become more pronounced; the care of aged parents by their sons and daughters has become more difficult in our congested industrial cities. Students of the question recently have been looking into the facts more carefully. The result is that today there is a keener appreciation than ever before of the suffering endured by old people because of poverty.

Ever since the beginning of the second decade of the present century different states have appointed commissions to study the subject of old age dependency and methods of providing for the aged. In practically all the states old age pension bills have been introduced. The movement for old age pensions was stimulated by certain fraternal orders such as the Eagles, by labor organizations, such as the Association for Labor Legislation, and by various social agencies.

In this country Alaska was the first to pass an old age pension law (1915), which has been frequently amended and which was put into actual operation in 1927. The movement gained momentum very slowly at first. By the end of 1928 only six states (Colorado, Kentucky, Maryland, Montana,

⁴⁵ *Care of Aged Persons in the United States*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 489, p. 221.

Nevada, Wisconsin, and Alaska) had enacted laws providing for some kind of old age pension. By the close of 1934, twenty-eight states, four territories, and the District of Columbia had passed either permissive or mandatory acts. Up to 1935 there was no state-wide mandatory law in any of the states. All of them were acts permitting or enabling the counties to put in an old age pension system.

Most of these laws provided for a subsidy from state funds to the local unit administering the pension. Most of them set the age of eligibility at seventy years and based the award on need and limited it to those who had lived in the state a certain length of time, were citizens of the United States, and had not been in prison within a given number of years previous to application. In some states there were also property limitations varying from "wholly unable to support self," to assets of not more than \$3,000, or an income of not over \$400 a year. Practically all provided for non-eligibility if there are relatives who are able to support them.

THE UNITED STATES SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

The most important stimulus to pensions for the aged was given by the passage of a law by the United States Congress in 1935. This Act grew out of an investigation and recommendations by the Committee on Economic Security appointed by President Roosevelt under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act. It was signed by the President and became law on August 14, 1935. This act is essentially one providing subsidies to those states which set up old age security laws satisfactory to the Federal Social Security Board established by this law, and to establish a federal system of "old-age benefits" or annuities.⁴⁶

Requirements Necessary to Receive Federal Grants for State Old-Age Pensions. The plan of the state must be submitted to and secure the approval of the Federal Social Security Board. This plan is required by the law to be effective in all political subdivisions of the state, must be mandatory upon those subdivisions if administered by them. The state plan must provide for financial participation by the state except that this condition may be waived until July 1, 1937, in case the Board finds that a state's constitution prevents such participation. The state must either establish or designate a single state agency to administer the plan or to supervise its administration by the local political units. The state must provide machinery whereby an individual whose claim for old age assistance has been denied by the local administrator can have an opportunity for a hearing

⁴⁶ Public—No. 271—74th Cong. (H. R. 7260) Section 1.

before the state agency. It must also provide methods of administration approved by the Social Security Board for the efficient operation of the plan. The state must also provide for the submission of reports in such form as the Federal Social Security Board may require. It must also provide that if the state or any of its political administrative units collects from the estate of any recipient of old age assistance any amount, one-half of this amount must be paid to the United States. Moreover, the state plan must after January 1st, 1940, provide for eligibility at the age of sixty-five years. Up until that date the state may require seventy years as the eligible age. The state plan must not exclude any resident of a state who has resided therein five years during the nine years immediately preceding the application for old age assistance, and who has resided in the state continuously for one year preceding application. The state plan must not have any requirement of citizenship which excludes any citizen of the United States.⁴⁷

" The Social Security Act provides that the United States government shall each quarter allocate an appropriate sum to each state which has an approved plan for old age assistance. This amount must be used exclusively as old age assistance, and equals one-half of the total sum expended—but not to exceed \$15 per month—during such quarter as old age assistance under the state plan for each individual 65 years of age or older not an inmate of a public institution. In addition the Federal authority will add to this subsidy five per cent of the Federal subsidy to be used by the state for administrative costs and for old age assistance. In other words, the United States will pay to each state 52½% of the total amount spent by the state as old age pensions during any quarter. This part of the Act was intended to stimulate the states to enact non-contributory old age pension laws. It was intended to take care of those cases which at the time the Act goes into operation are too old to benefit by another part of the Act providing for compulsory contributory annuities.

Old Age Annuities. The Social Security Act also sets up a system of what is called "Old Age Benefits." In essence this system is a compulsory contributory annuity plan. In time it is intended to displace in part the old age assistance or pension plan just discussed.

It is provided for all employees except those in occupations specifically exempted. The exempted occupations are: agricultural labor, domestic service in a private home, casual labor not in the course of the employer's trade or business, officers or members of the crew of a vessel registered under the laws of the United States or any foreign country, employees of the United States government, employees of a state or other political subdivision,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Section 2.

employees of non-profit institutions operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, and employees of a carrier as defined in the Common Carrier Retirement Act of 1935.

The qualifications for the receipt of this old age benefit are: The person must be at least 65 years of age, must have received not less than \$2,000.00 total wages after December 31, 1936, and before the age of 65, and must have been paid wages on some day in each of five years after December 31, 1936, and before reaching the age of 65. The amount of the pension depends upon the total wages he was paid after December 31, 1936, and before he became 65 years of age. If the aged person does not qualify under these provisions for an old age annuity, because before he reaches 65 he has not been paid in wages at least \$2,000.00, he or his estate is to be paid in a lump sum $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of his earnings between December 31, 1936, and the time at which he became 65 years of age.

Source of the Fund. This fund is to be created by a pay-roll tax on employers and an earnings tax on the employees. This tax at first is one per cent on the annual earnings of the employees and one per cent on the pay-roll of the employer, the latter not to be taken from wages. The tax is to be increased one-half per cent every three years or until it amounts to a total of six per cent in the twelfth year. This fund invested by the Secretary of the Treasury at three per cent annually is expected to finance the benefits. These payments are to begin in 1942. This tax levied on both employers and employees applies only to the first \$3,000.00 of income of any individual employee, and his benefits likewise are limited to the amount calculated on his \$3,000.00 salary. Under this annuity plan the benefits received by the wage earner are in no way dependent upon need; they are an annuity paid for by himself and his employer.

The worker who retires at the age of 65 is to receive an annuity ranging from \$10.00 to \$85.00 a month, depending on the amount that he contributed to the fund and the length of time during which he paid into the fund. Actuaries figured out that the worker who begins to contribute at age 25 and continues to do so on an average income of \$200.00 per month could retire at 65 with a monthly income of \$71.25, or 36 per cent of the average annual income upon which he has been taxed, not in excess of \$3,000.00 per year.

Those individuals who cannot qualify under these provisions upon reaching the age of 65 are paid a lump sum equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total wages paid after December 31, 1936, and before reaching the age of 65. If an individual dies before 65 his estate is to receive an amount equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per

cent of his total wages received after December 31, 1936. If he dies after reaching age 65 his estate receives this amount less any benefits paid to him during his lifetime.

The payment of this benefit is to be withheld for each month in which a qualified individual who has attained age 65, but continues to work, and receives wages for regular employment.

These old age benefits whether on the annuity plan for qualified individuals under the Act or for those who cannot qualify and who receive $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total amount of wages they have received between the dates stated, are not subject to assignment or other legal processes.

It is clear from these provisions that this Act provides two different types of old age benefit. The first is intended to take care of the aged who have reached the age of 65 or 70 before there has been sufficient accumulation from the taxes levied to be eligible for annuities, or who for other reasons are not eligible. The second part of the plan, called in the Act, "Old Age Benefits," is intended to set up an annuity plan for those workers who come under the qualifications laid down in the Act. This part of the Act provides for two classes. First, those who are young enough so that when they reach the age of 65 the reserve fund piled up during the intervening years is sufficient on an actuarial basis to pay them a regular annuity for the rest of their lives. The second part is for those who could not qualify under the Act but who will be paid an annuity depending upon their earnings between December 31, 1936, and the date at which they arrive at sixty-five.⁴⁸

OLD AGE ANNUITIES FOR EMPLOYEES OF COMMON CARRIERS

The first attempt by the United States Congress to provide for retirement annuities for the employees of railroads was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. Another act passed August 29, 1935, set up a retirement act covering the employees of all common carriers engaged in interstate commerce.

This Act provides for compulsory contributory retirement annuities for all workers employed by the interstate carriers within the United States. It is a compulsory act requiring, with the exception of certain skilled workers, retirement at age 65. These skilled workers may continue until they are 70. Furthermore, it provides that the employees may retire after thirty years of service, but the amount of annuity is reduced if they retire before 65.

The annuity is based on the average compensation per month during the time of employment with the proviso that the average shall not exceed

⁴⁸ Public—No. 271—74th Congress (H. R. 7260) Title I, Title II, and Title VIII.

\$300.00 per month. It is calculated as follows: 2 per cent of the first \$50.00, 1½ per cent of the next \$100.00 and 1 per cent of the amount in excess of \$150.00 up to \$300.00. This sum multiplied by the number of years of service not exceeding thirty, gives the amount of the annuity payable to the employee for the rest of his life. The maximum, therefore, would be \$1.00, plus \$1.50, plus \$1.50, or \$4.00 multiplied by thirty, which equals \$120.00 per month.

What is the source of this fund? It is created by compulsory contributions of 3½ per cent of the employee's wages up to \$300.00 per month and a tax of 3½ per cent on the payrolls of the employers.

The administration of the fund is fixed in the Railroad Retirement Board, an independent agency, in the executive branch of the United States Government. The Board consists of three members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Act became effective March 1, 1936, and covers approximately 1,250,000 employees.

The movement for old age pensions in this country, once it got started, has been one of the most rapid to expand. In this respect it parallels the history of the Mothers' Pension movement in the early years of this century. Up to October 15, 1935, there had been legislative enactments on old age pensions in thirty-seven states, two territories, and the District of Columbia.⁴⁹ The extreme expression of the importance attached to the public mind to old age pensions was the popularity of the Townsend plan which proposed to pay \$200.00 per month to each person over 65.

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD

The United States has lagged behind other countries of the world in providing assistance to the aged. For more than fifty years states in Europe have provided assistance for the aged and invalidity insurance, but their experience had little influence upon plans and practices in the United States until the recent economic crisis forced it upon the attention of our people.

When these plans began with Germany in the eighties, there was no experience on which to proceed. Today, because of the experience of these different countries, there is a vast fund of information on many phases of the problem.

On April 1, 1935, there were 38 foreign countries which had developed old age assistance plans. Twenty-five of these had contributory insurance systems covering all workers irrespective of need.⁵⁰ Most of the systems included

⁴⁹ *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1935, p. 1178.

⁵⁰ Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chili, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, North Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Uruguay.

insurance against invalidity as well as old age. Fifteen included also survivor benefits in the shape of annuities for widows and dependents after the death of the insured worker. Only one country had a straight voluntary system. Twelve of these foreign countries had non-contributory systems, the state itself providing an annuity to the aged person, on the basis of need and good character.⁵¹ Certain of the countries had both contributory and non-contributory plans in order to cover all aged persons.

EVALUATION OF THE VARIOUS SCHEMES FOR OLD AGE SECURITY

In these evaluations we shall leave out of account any plan like the Townsend Plan, which has no sound economic base and from a practical standpoint would be impossible to operate.

1. The German plan devised by Bismarck and based on joint contributions by the employee and the employer with a slight subsidy by the Government did very well in the early years when German industry was rapidly growing and there was little unemployment. When, however, after the War a great amount of unemployment occurred, in order to keep the fund solvent many modifications had to be made of a nature disappointing to the workers. Among these changes were the cutting down of the number of weeks during which benefit would be paid, lessening the amount paid, and cutting down the amount of Government subsidy. Moreover, the rates assessed upon the employer and the employee were doubled until at one time under the German Republic the wage-workers were paying one-tenth of their income into the fund. Moreover, since the sources of the fund were, for the most part, contributions by the workers and by the employers, and since the employers passed on their tax to the consumer in the price of the goods, the wage-workers ultimately carried the major part of the burden for the support of the older workers.

2. Britain did not follow the example of Germany, but from the start paid non-contributory pensions to its aged. More recently, however, Britain has supplemented the old age pension with a system of contributory annuities.

3. In spite of these difficulties in the German and British schemes, the old age pensions and annuities have worked very well. Large numbers of people have been taken off the relief rolls and have been given a sense of security by the old age pension and old age annuity.

4. The titles relating to the care of the aged in the Social Security Act passed in 1935 by the Congress of the United States are economically the

⁵¹ Australia, Canada, Denmark, Great Britain, Greenland, Isle of Guernsey, Irish Free State, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Norway, North Ireland, and the Union of South Africa.

soundest provisions of the Act. This part of the Act is not subject to the charge of unconstitutionality because it is in line with the practice of the Federal Government in subsidizing states for roads and education, a practice of long standing. These pensions can be used not only for the protection of those who cannot take advantage of the provisions of the Act for old age annuities, but also for the protection of those who have not qualified for those annuities.

5. For the first time in the history of the world in one country so large a number of people will come under the old age annuity provisions. Germany has only sixty million people and England about forty million, the two most populous countries having tried such schemes. Such large numbers in a country made up of forty-eight states and two territories may create problems in financing the scheme and in administering it without abuses. There will also be the difficulty of investing the large sums accumulated in the Federal treasury by the contributions of employers and employees especially since these accumulations must be invested in government securities. The amount of such funds invested may be so large as to take out of circulation a vast amount of money needed in the business of the country, or it may be used and manipulated by politicians for purposes other than those for which the funds were collected.

6. The sources of the funds for the payment of old age pensions and old age annuities are taxes upon the wage of the employee and upon the payroll of the employer, while nothing except a certain sum to aid the states in the administration is contributed by the government. This part of the Act is subject to the criticism that the wage earner bears the brunt of the burden, since the employer may pass on his tax to the consumer of his product. That criticism, however, may be obviated in part by the probability that by 1980 the government will have to make some appropriation out of the Treasury to keep the fund solvent, since many of the workers who are now young and who are now paying into this fund will become annuitants and the demands upon the fund will become very great.⁵²

7. The Act may also be criticized because of the fact that it does not cover any resident of the state who has resided therein less than five years during the nine years preceding his application for old age assistance. Neither does it protect one who has not continuously for one year preceding his application resided in that state. Furthermore, it does not cover an alien who may have lived in the country and contributed his services over a long period of time. It does not protect the aged agricultural worker, the aged domestic or the aged casual laborer.

⁵² Epstein, "Our Social Security Act", *Harpers Magazine*, December 1935, p. 55.

In spite of these objections, however, the Act makes a beginning in providing security for a great many of the aged who are now unprotected.

8. Will the cost of old age pensions under the Social Security Act be too great? As we have seen the act has both a pension feature and an annuity feature. The cost to the national treasury of the pension feature will depend upon the number of people who are eligible for pension. Estimates of this number vary widely. Epstein, on the basis of the experience in Wisconsin, California and Montana, believes that the number will not exceed 250,000 for the entire country. Other estimates have been considerably higher. If the number is only 250,000 and the amount of pension does not exceed \$30.00 a month, fifteen of which must be paid by the Federal Treasury, the expense would not exceed \$370,000,000.00 a year. A like amount would be contributed by the states and their constituent political units. This, or even a larger amount, would not be an intolerable burden. Since the amount of the pension is not excessive and since these pensioners would not be dependent upon the bounty of the public authorities or of their relatives who often have all they can do to support their own families, the welfare of both the young and the old would be promoted by the pension system. Without the pension a considerable number of families would have to bear the burden of caring for their old people and depriving their children of necessities. In this way better care could be given to the growing generation and the causes of pauperism in the next generation could be somewhat removed.

9. Will the old age pensions and the annuities relieve the public of the necessity of supporting aged dependents in the public almshouses? They probably will somewhat relieve the burden. They will not do away with the necessity of such institutions. There will still have to be some kind of provision for those who cannot qualify under the pension provision of the Act or under the annuity section. It will also be necessary to provide some means whereby those aged infirm not able to attend to themselves and not having children to look after them, will have institutional care. Hence, there will still be need of the private homes for the aged and for the public almshouses. However, for a certain percentage of the aged dependent poor the Social Security Act will provide a minimum standard of living and decent care for their declining years.

CONCLUSIONS

On the whole, I think we may conclude:

1. Carefully guarded old age pensions and annuities will prevent the degradation of many of the aged poor.
2. Any effective plan for the care of the aged must comprise both the

pension and the annuity features, the former for the protection of those who have no reserve from previous contributions; the latter in order not to place too great a financial burden upon the treasury.

3. In order to prevent the burden of old age annuities being borne chiefly by the wage-earning class, a considerable proportion of the reserve funds should be made up of a contribution out of the public treasury. Otherwise the workers themselves will bear most of the burden of these annuities for old age and those most able to bear taxation will largely escape their responsibility, since the employer can shift the cost of his share of the reserve fund to the consumer class largely made up of the wage-earners. The latter are unable to pass their contribution on to someone else.

4. Any old age pension plan to be complete must be supplemented by three kinds of institutions for those who because of infirmity cannot wait on themselves:

a. Poorhouses, or as they are called in some states, homes for the aged and infirm, should be provided for those who cannot qualify for a pension or an annuity and who cannot find a place in a private home for the aged.

b. Private homes for the aged will be needed for those who have no relatives with whom they can live; who cannot live by themselves because of their infirmity, and who can qualify for entrance to these places.

c. As an alternative to the home for the aged a boarding-out system should be devised for those who could better be cared for in a family than in an institution, but who have no relatives with whom they can live. Both the home for the aged and the boarding-out system should be supervised by public authority to insure proper care of the aged.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. What Becomes of the Aged in Industry. Todd, "Old Age and the Industrial Scrap-Heap," *Publications, American Statistical Association*, June, 1915.
2. Review *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions*, Harrisburg, 1919.
3. Review App. B, "Old-Age Pensions," *Report of the Special Commission on Social Insurance* of Massachusetts, House No. 1850, Boston, 1917.
4. Old Age Insurance in Europe. Frankel and Dawson, *Workingmen's Insurance in Europe*, New York, 1911, Chap. XII.
5. Development of Old Age Pensions from 1915 to the Present. *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, from 1915 on.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What proportion of the dependency is due to old age (1) in Great Britain; (2) in the United States?

2. What are the present methods of providing for the aged dependent?
3. Discuss the efficacy of the following methods of caring for the aged: (a) savings for old age; (b) the almshouse; (c) homes for the aged; (d) outdoor relief; (e) care by relatives; (f) boarding out; (g) insurance; (h) industrial pensions; (i) public service pensions; (j) old age pensions.
4. Outline the chief points in the U. S. National Security Act relating to the security of the aged.
5. What are the chief arguments for and against contributory old age pensions?
6. What are the chief arguments for and against non-contributory old age pensions?
7. Outline a rational and practical policy for the care of the various classes of old age dependents.
8. What would you do with the following: (a) an old man who has been in prison most of his life and has no relatives; (b) a respectable old lady without children; (c) an aged couple without any relatives but unable to care for themselves; (d) an old man who has children who are unwilling to have him live with them and unwilling to contribute to his support; (e) an old lady who has about half enough income to support herself, is able to work a little, but not enough to supply all her needs, and who has no children; (f) an old gentleman who has children, but these children have families which require all the money they can earn. In each case outline several possibilities, stating the least desirable possibility first, and the most desirable last.

CHAPTER XIX

THE INSANE

WITH the exception of the poor and the sick, the insane have received attention from society for a longer period than any other class of dependents. Perhaps partly for that reason their care has arrived at a more satisfactory point than that of any other class. From time out of mind the madman has excited the fear, if not always the pity of men. The phenomenon of poverty waits upon the development of riches to excite public attention. Its victims are usually normal human beings and arouse pity only by reason of their economic circumstances. The insane, however, are different. Their condition is the result, not of fortune, but of something in themselves. They inspire fear in the beholder, because they are strange in their behavior. Hence, from very early days society has taken a positive attitude towards them—an attitude varying with accepted beliefs about them.

THE INSANITIES AND DEPENDENCY

In Great Britain. In 1933, more than 8 per cent of the total public dependency in England and Wales was the dependency of the insane. They constituted 370 per 100,000 of the population. The total cost for their support paid for out of public money amounted in 1931-32 to £7,080,365.¹

In the United States. On December 31, 1934, there were on the books of institutions for the insane in the United States 451,672 persons.²

These figures do not count the number of criminal insane in special institutions for that class in several of the States, or the insane in almshouses.³ On an estimated population of 126,425,000 the insane constituted about 357.2 per 100,000 of the population.⁴

Apparent Increase in Insanity. From the statistics of mental patients

¹ *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*, Cmd. 4801, London, 1935, Table 60, p. 83 and Table 75, p. 90.

² *Patients in All Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1934*, Release, Bureau of the Census, Washington, December 2, 1935.

³ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, p. 90. In some states a great many of those outside of the enumerated institutions are in county poorhouses. "In these 87 county homes there is a grand total of 1,095 inmates of which 23.8 per cent are insane" Gillin, "County Homes of Iowa," *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, Iowa City, p. 433.

⁴ *Social Work Year Book, 1935*, New York, 1935, p. 274.

in State hospitals over a considerable period of years it might appear that insanity is increasing in this country. The following table from 1880 to 1935 shows the number per 100,000 of the general population who were mental patients at the beginning of each year:

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Persons</i>
1880	63.7
1890	107.6
1904	158.0
1910	173.0
1922	203.7
1923	207.3
1926	216.3
1927	217.9
1928	221.4
1929	225.6
1930	229.0
1931	236.4
1932	245.0
1933	257.1
1934	263.6
1935	357.2 ^a

These figures would seem to show an increase in insanity in this country. However, a number of circumstances suggest that the increase has not been as great as these figures indicate. During these three decades there has been (1) a great increase in the number of institutions for the care of the insane; (2) a prolongation of human life, so that more people survive to the age when insanity manifests itself most strikingly; (3) a drop in the birth-rate thus throwing a greater proportion of the population into the adult age-groups; (4) the growing tendency to look upon mental disorder much as upon any other illness; and (5) the increasing emphasis upon hospitalization of the mentally disturbed.

THE SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE INCIDENCE OF INSANITY

Insanity varies as to age and sex; it is not the same for the country and the city; its incidence in races and nationalities differs; it varies with marital conditions, the use of alcohol, and vicious living.

^a *Mental Patients in State Hospitals: 1926-1927*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1930, Table 20B, p. 38; *Mental Patients in State Hospitals: 1931-1932*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1934, Table 2, p. 4; *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1933*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1935, p. 16. See also footnote 2 ante. The high rate for 1935 may be due to its being based upon the estimated population for 1934, while that for 1931 and 1932 was based upon the population for 1930.

Foreign Born Among the Insane. At the height of immigration into this country it was believed that the foreign-born contributed more than their proper share to the inmates of institutions for the mentally diseased. The last report of the Census on this matter in 1923 showed that the total number of white inmates in institutions for the insane who were foreign-born constituted 28.6 per cent, while the proportion of the foreign-born in the total population of the United States in that year was only 14.5 per cent. At once those who were not careful in handling statistics jumped to the conclusion that the foreign-born contributed almost twice their due proportion to the total number of insane in this country. If, however, one remembers that most immigrants to the United States are adults, in the age groups when insanity most strikingly manifests itself, it can be seen that this comparison is unfair. If age is taken into consideration, *the proportion of the foreign-born white to the native-born white is as six to five.*

Race and Nationality. Insanity varies with race and nationality. In the United States 265,829 patients for whom information was obtained in 1923, the rates per 100,000 of the same race were as follows: Whites, 259.8; Negro, 192; Indian, 104.5; Chinese, 340.6; Japanese, 148.3. Unfortunately, however, these rates cannot be taken as conclusive. For, when one studies the negroes in Massachusetts, for example, their rate is 644.4 as compared with 408.8 of the resident white patients. The rate for negroes in New England and in the Pacific division is more than four times as high as in the West South Central division, pointing probably to the inadequate hospital facilities in the South. From other data, such as in New York State, where there is no discrimination in admissions of races, the rate of first admission for whites was 90.9, and for negroes 163.2. It appears, therefore, that the insanity rate among negroes is higher than among whites.⁶ In 1933 the rates for first admissions per 100,000 of same race or nationality for whites 56.2, native whites 51.2, foreign-born 92.6, negroes 61.8, other races 39.5.⁷

Nationalities seem to vary somewhat in their incidence of insanity. Thus, in 1923, of the foreign-born white patients in hospitals for mental diseases, there were per 100,000 of population of the same nativity, 977.6 for the Austrians, 977 for the Irish, and 690.7 for the Germans. However, if the first admissions to the hospitals are taken into account, Ireland stood first with 185.3 per 100,000 of the same nativity, the Austrians next with 183.2.⁸

Age. Insanity is preeminently a disease of adult life. In 1923 only

⁶ *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1925, pp. 864, 865

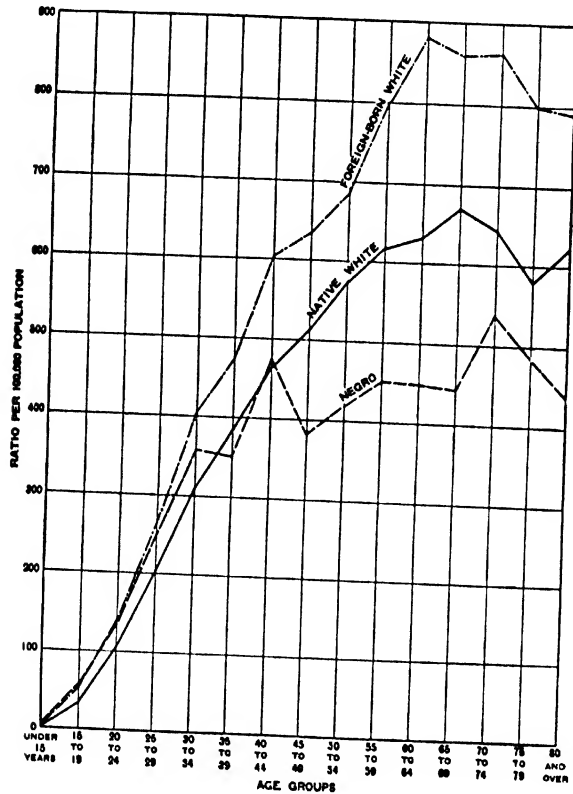
⁷ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases: 1933*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1935, p. 26.

⁸ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, pp. 19-33. Subsequent reports have not dealt with race and nationality.

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0.2 of one per cent of the resident patients were under fifteen years of age, or 1.9 for each 100,000 of the population of that age. The median age of first admissions in 1922 was approximately 40 years, although the median age of resident patients was approximately 46 years.

The accompanying diagram from the report of the Census shows the in-



NUMBER OF NATIVE WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND NEGRO PATIENTS IN HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE, JANUARY 1, 1923, IN EACH AGE GROUP, PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION OF THE SAME RACE, NATIVITY, AND AGE

cidence of mental disease of the foreign-born white, of native white, and of the negro in 1923.⁹

Insanity in Country and City. The question "why do farmers' wives become insane in much greater proportion than the wives of city dwellers?" can now be answered, "They do not." The studies of the Census show that the rate of first admissions is higher for urban than for rural districts. The rate for urban districts in 1933 was 68.3 and from rural districts 34.3 per 100,000 of the general population. The rate for males from urban districts was 79.5, and from rural districts 41.3, while the rate for females from urban districts was 57.3, and from rural districts 27.3. The rate of first admissions varies seemingly with the size of cities. Thus, in 1922, the rate from cities of 100,000 or over was 92.5, while from cities of 25,000 to 100,000 the rate was only 54.8.¹⁰

Sex. In every age period more males are admitted to mental hospitals than females. The Census report for 1934 showed that, while in the general population in 1930 there were 102.5 males to 100 females, in the institutions for the insane, the ratio in the institutions for the mentally disordered was 118 to 100, while if admissions were counted, it was as 147 to 100. The explanation of this difference is probably to be found in the fact that the incidence of alcoholic psychosis and general paralysis, the latter due partly to syphilis, is higher among males than females, and to the varying incidence for males and females of certain types of mental diseases of great numerical importance.¹¹

Marital Condition. Apparently from the standpoint of mental health, it pays men but does not pay women to be married. The following table prepared from figures taken from the reports of the Bureau of the Census showing the number of patients in hospitals for mental diseases per 100,000 of the population of the country of the same marital condition raises some very interesting questions, many of which we cannot answer.

Class	1910		1923	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	228.3	157.8	292.7	189.3
Married	144.0	203.4	170.9	255.9
Widowed	367.3	398.9	428.2	423.0
Divorced	665.9	739.1	1112.5	1120.3
All marital conditions...	208.5	199.6	260.8	244.5

⁹ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases*, 1923, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, p. 28. *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease*, 1913, Washington, 1935, pp. 46, 48.

¹⁰ *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1925, p. 866.

¹¹ *Patients in All Hospitals for Mental Diseases*, 1934, Release by the Bureau of the Census, December 2, 1935.

Note that between 1910 and 1923 certain changes occurred in the rates of both males and females in these various marital categories. Note also that in 1923 only in the categories of the married and the divorced did the males make a better showing than the females. In the categories of the single and of the widowed the women had a lower rate—only a slight advantage in the “widowed” category, but a distinctly lower rate in the “single” category. Note also the high rate for both men and women in the “widowed” and the “divorced” categories. Does that suggest that the emotional shock due to widowhood and divorce makes it difficult to keep the mental balance, or does it indicate that those who were widowed or were divorced were constitutionally and by early experiences less able to preserve their emotional balance than others with a sounder constitution and with more favorable early conditions? Would that we knew. The following facts, however, may have some significance for the problem. Of the first admissions in 1932 to the state hospitals for mental diseases, the following disorders characterized the males in a greater percentage of the total than the females—general paralysis, cerebral syphilis and alcoholism with psychopathic personalities. Among the females the following types of mental disease contributed a greater percentage of the total female admissions than in the case of males—senile psychoses, drugs and other exogenous toxins, pellagra, other somatic diseases, manic-depressive psychosis, involuntional melancholia, dementia praecox, psychoneuroses and neuroses.¹² No Census report since 1923 provides information as to the incidence of each type of psychosis by marital condition. In 1923 it is clear that married women were much more likely to become mentally disordered than married men. Perhaps the fact that the analysis in Census reports of 1923 show that married women have a higher incidence than married men of paresis, cerebral syphilis, alcoholic psychosis, psychosis due to drugs and other toxins, psychosis with other bodily diseases, manic-depressive, involuntional melancholia, paranoia and psychoneurosis and neurosis may throw some light upon the reason for the excessive incidence of the married females over the married males.¹³ The low rate for single women may be illuminated by the fact that the dementia praecox cases and the manic-depressive cases, which alone account for nearly three-fifths of the entire number of inmates in institutions on January 1, 1923, played a very much more important part among the single males than among the single females.

¹² *Mental Patients in State Hospitals: 1931-32*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1934, p. 6, table 4.

¹³ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, p. 60, table 35.

Vice and Alcoholism. Apparently vice and alcoholism were associated with insanity in varying degrees from 1910 to 1934. The following table shows the percentage of first admissions to institutions for the mentally diseased in the United States, with alcoholism, general paralysis and cerebral syphilis. The last two are caused by the vice disease.

	1910	1922	1932	1934
Alcoholism	10.1%	3.7%	4.0%	4.9%
General paralysis	6.4	7.9	8.4	7.5
Cerebral syphilis	—	1.2	1.8	1.6

From this table it appears that in admissions to hospitals for mental diseases patients with alcoholism decreased decidedly from 1910 to 1922, then gradually increased until 1932 and still further increased to 1934. One wonders whether prohibition had anything to do with this variation. The admission-rate for general paralysis has gradually risen from 1910 to 1934, with the highest point reached in 1932. Likewise, admission of patients for cerebral syphilis has been on the increase since 1922. These are percentages of the total admissions for the given years. It is interesting to note that admissions to veterans' hospitals on account of general paralysis and cerebral syphilis patients were very much higher than admissions for that type of patients to any other kinds of hospitals.¹⁴

Other Psychoses. The following table gives the psychoses of those who were admitted during the year 1934.¹⁵

Note in this table that dementia praecox stands out preeminent in these first admissions (18.7%) with manic-depressive psychosis second (12.4%). The picture has changed somewhat since 1923. At that time dementia praecox furnished 43 per cent of the residents, 21.7 per cent of the first admissions, and 27.3 per cent of the readmissions. This is the most important form of insanity. Manic-depressive insanity accounted for 15 per cent of the residents, 15.9 per cent of the first admissions in 1922, 28.2 per cent of the readmissions. These two mental diseases alone accounted for nearly three-fifths of the entire number of inmates in institutions January 1, 1923. They accounted for 21.1 per cent of the admissions in 1934.

¹⁴ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1923*, The Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, p. 62, table 37, p. 61, table 36, p. 47, table 29, *Mental Patients in State Hospitals: 1931-32*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1934, p. 6, table 4; *Patients in All Hospitals for Mental Diseases: 1934*, Release of the Bureau of the Census, December 2, 1935, p. 3, table 3.

¹⁵ *Patients in All Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1934*, Bureau of the Census, Release, December 2, 1935, p. 3, table 3; *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1923*, pp. 43, 44, 47, tables 28, 29, 30.

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FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE BY CLASS OF INSTITUTION AND PSYCHOSIS: 1934

PSYCHOSIS	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION				
	<i>Total</i>	<i>State hospitals</i>	<i>County and city hospitals</i>	<i>U. S. veterans' hospitals</i>	<i>Private hospitals</i>
Grand total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total with psychosis	87.7	89.6	72.2	74.7	71.6
Traumatic	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.6
Senile	8.4	8.8	11.1	0.6	5.8
With cerebral arteriosclerosis	9.5	11.7	4.5	1.7	3.3
General paralysis	7.5	8.3	7.5	16.7	1.9
With cerebral syphilis	1.6	1.7	1.1	3.6	0.9
With other brain or nervous diseases	1.6	1.5	1.9	3.1	1.3
Alcoholic	4.9	4.8	4.6	4.4	5.7
Due to drugs or other exogenous toxins	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.5
With pellagra	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.2
With other somatic diseases	2.3	2.3	2.3	1.5	1.9
Manic depressive	12.4	12.4	8.8	4.8	15.8
Involution melancholia	2.3	1.9	2.6	0.2	4.5
Dementia praecox (schizophrenia)	18.7	20.4	15.7	21.3	12.6
Paranoia or paranoid conditions	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.2	2.5
Epileptic psychoses	2.1	2.3	2.0	2.0	0.8
Psychoneuroses and neuroses	2.9	2.3	1.5	3.9	6.2
With psychopathic personality	1.2	1.2	1.2	2.6	1.4
With mental deficiency	2.8	3.3	2.6	1.8	1.0
Undiagnosed and unknown	3.6	3.7	2.5	3.8	3.7
Total without psychosis	15.3	10.4	27.8	25.3	28.4
Epilepsy	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.9	0.4
Alcoholism	6.6	4.4	1.6	2.7	20.9
Drug addiction	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.3	3.0
Psychopathic personality	0.6	0.6	0.5	2.2	0.7
Mental deficiency	1.5	1.6	2.4	1.3	0.2
Others without and unknown	5.1	2.7	22.2	18.0	3.1

Chances of Recovery. Of mental patients discharged from state hospitals in 1932, 28.3 per cent were reported as recovered, 44.8 per cent as improved. However, as compared with admissions, those discharged recovered were only fifteen per one hundred admissions.¹⁰ Those admitted at advanced ages to institutions show the least possibility of recovery and discharge. If the patient does not recover soon after admission, there is a

¹⁰ *Mental Patients in State Hospitals: 1931-32*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1934, p. 10, table 8.

decreasing chance of any recovery. During 1922, of those who had recovered, 44.3 per cent had been in the hospitals less than four months, 17.9 per cent from four to six months, 13.2 per cent two years, 12.8 per cent one year, 4.1 per cent two years, 2.4 per cent three years, 1.4 per cent four years, and 4 per cent five years or more. In short, 75.4 per cent of the recoveries occurred during the first year in the hospital.¹⁷ This means that attention must be given to the after-care of the discharged and to preventive work.

Naturally an exceptionally high mortality rate is found among the insane. This condition is partially due to the fact that most of the mental patients are in the older age groups and are therefore subject to a much higher mortality than the general population. However, it is partly due to the fact that the general physical condition of the mental patients in all age groups is decidedly worse than that of the normal population. Mental diseases are frequently associated with other pathological conditions.¹⁸

Mental Disorder and Social Conditions. Once these various factors which have just been discussed would have been interpreted as really causative factors. Some of them are perhaps such. It is better, however, to think of them as conditions rather than causes. Let an individual with a certain biological make-up and with certain experiences in his development meet with these conditions, and mental disorder results. However, it is obvious that many individuals living under the same conditions do not become insane. On the other hand, it is clear that an individual with an unstable nervous make-up who has been subjected to trying experiences is more likely to break down at the age of the greatest incidence of insanity. On the other hand an individual may be subject to strains which would upset the other person and yet has not become insane because of other factors which prevented mental disorder. Psychiatry throws some light upon the causes of certain of these mental disorders. This class of behavior problems has been called insanity or mental disease. The fact that many people have become mentally disordered, because the ideas, customs, traditions, and attitudes of other personalities have played upon them in such ways as to disturb their emotional balance, shows that conditions in the home, the school, and upon the playground have a very great influence in determining our ease of mind and our attitude towards ourselves and others. As we have seen, the largest group of those in institutions were the dementia

¹⁷ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, p. 69.

¹⁸ *Mental Patients in State Hospitals: 1931-32*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1934, p. 14.

praecox cases. In *dementia praecox*, *paranoia*, and some of the other forms of insanity, it is held by many that the personality becomes disorganized partly because of the attitudes of associates. Each of us react to a social situation in accordance with the set of the organism itself due to inherited traits or to disease, or to the abnormal functioning of certain of the glands, or to the pattern of behavior induced by the way we have been trained in early life. The standards imposed by society upon each individual which conflict with one's impulses and desires, the attitude taken by other people toward the one suffering from natural craving, has much to do with the breakdown of personality, and the production of mental disorder.

Many cases are found where improper treatment by the mother or the father when the patient was a child has set up attitudes and produced habits which led to conflict between the standards of society and the emotions of the patient, until finally in the struggle a crisis was reached and the personality became disordered. The Freudians center these disturbances around sex and love. These terms, however, must be understood in a much wider way than the common acceptance, or they do not cover all the facts. Space does not permit us to enter into even a brief discussion of the Freudian theory. Whatever errors may be in the Freudian interpretation, there is no question that the psychoanalytic method of the Freudians has thrown a great light upon the foundation of the difficulties which often end in insanity.

Other psychoanalysts—Adler, Jung and a number of Americans—invoke other social experiences to explain emotional disturbances. Children and youth often meet with repression in their search for knowledge about the fundamental facts of life. Fears are aroused because of the taboo upon their search for knowledge. Feelings of inferiority are induced because of the struggle between their natural cravings and the repression forced upon them by the standards of society. They do not understand themselves and consequently the fear of social disesteem leads them to repress the cravings which are socially tabooed, and to compensate by expressing themselves in other ways obnoxious to social standards. Great disturbances result and in many cases the personality becomes disassociated and we have a case of mental disorder.

This conception tremendously broadens the scope of social conditions affecting the incidence of insanity. This view is very significant for the social treatment of disordered minds and for prevention.¹⁹

¹⁹ Kempf, *Psychopathology*, St. Louis, 1921, Introduction and Chap. XV; Bleuler, *Textbook of Psychiatry* (trans. by Brill), New York, 1924, Chapters I, II; Articles "Psychiatry" and "Psychoanalysis" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 12. "Mental Disorders", Vol. 10.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF THE INSANE

Early Attitude Toward the Insane. Attention has been directed in Chapters XI and XIII to the fact that quite early in the Christian era provision was made for institutions called "hospitals" for the care of the poor and the sick. Lecky called attention to the indifference manifested towards the insane by both pagan and Christian antiquity.²⁰ It is a familiar fact that among the Jews from the days of the Writing Prophets of the eighth century B. C. the person having the form of insanity known as "possession by a familiar spirit" was outlawed. In the days of Jesus the insane were looked upon as possessed by a demon. This conception continued until quite recently.

No asylum for lunatics existed in antiquity in the Western World, although it appears that in Egypt and in Greece temples of Saturn and Asclepia cared for them. For the most part down to very recent times the insane wandered about, lived in the rock-hewn tombs and in old ruins, neglected by society. In contrast with its care of the poor and the sick Christianity for the first fourteen centuries of its history largely shared the indifference of paganism towards the insane. "Until the fifteenth century," says Lecky, "no insane asylum existed in Christian Europe."²¹ However there occurred sporadic instances of care by certain communities.

[Thus.] We find mention in history of such a place (asylum or place of restraint for the insane) established by monks at Jerusalem in the latter part of the fifth century. There is evidence that even earlier than this in Egypt and Greece the insane were treated as individuals suffering from disease. Egyptian priests employed not only music and the beautiful in nature and art as remedial agents in insanity but recreation and occupation as well. A Greek physician protested against mechanical restraint in the care of the insane, and advocated kindly treatment, the use of music, and of some sorts of manual labor. But these ancient beneficent teachings were lost sight of during succeeding centuries. The prevailing idea of the pathology of insanity in Europe during the Middle Ages was that of demoniacal possession . . . Torture and the cruellest forms of punishment were employed. The insane were regarded with abhorrence, and were frequently cast into chains and dungeons. Milder forms of mental disease were treated by other spiritual means, such as pilgrimages to the shrines of certain saints who were reputed to have particular skill and success in the exorcism of evil spirits. The shrine of St. Dymphna at Gheel, in Belgium, was one of these, and seems to have originated in the seventh century: a shrine so famed that lunatics from all over Europe were brought thither for miraculous healing.²²

²⁰ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 87, 88.

²¹ Lecky, *op cit*, p. 88.

²² *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Art "Insanity, III Hospital Treatment."

The Knights of Malta admitted insane into their hospitals. Spain originated hospitals for the insane in 1409.²³ Martin Doisy is authority for the statement that in all Europe before 1780 the non-dangerous insane wandered freely about. The dangerous were confined in the same prisons as malefactors, not only in common prisons but in the chateaux where they were held without a trial.²⁴

Periods in Treatment of the Insane. The history of the treatment of the insane may be divided roughly into four periods—the first, one of neglect and persecution; the second, that of restraint for the protection of society; the third, that of restraint softened by humanitarian treatment; the fourth, one of treatment based upon scientific study of the insane as diseased persons, and of prevention.

In the first and by far the longest period the insane were looked upon as strange beings whose condition was due to occult influences either magical or diabolical. This period was characterized by the ostracism of the insane, based upon the belief that they were possessed by demons.

The second was a period marked by harsh measures of restraint with chains if necessary for the protection of society, with very little regard for the welfare of the insane. Under the ideas dominant in this period the poor creatures were thrust into noisome jails and poorhouses and subjected to fetters, strait jackets, padded cells and other mechanical restraints.

The third was coincident with the growth of humanitarian conceptions. Pity entered and softened the treatment, but there was no rational understanding of the nature of the condition of the insane. Led by such humanitarians as the Quakers in England and Dorothea Dix in the United States, enlightened people began to demand that the insane be removed from the jails and poorhouses and confined in institutions where they might be made as comfortable as possible.

In the fourth period, the whole conception of the nature of insanity was changed, with consequent radical revolution in the method of treatment. Insanity now came to be looked upon as "a disease, and not a doom." Since it is a disease, it can in some cases be cured, and in any case, can be prevented if the conditions which produce it can be discovered and removed. Experiment made manifest the evils of restraint in treatment and showed that drugs must be replaced by more fundamental methods, such as occupations, hydrotherapy, massage, and the relief from the strain which induced the breakdown.

The development of psychiatry in the last few years has suggested that

²³ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 89.

²⁴ *Dictionnaire d'Economie Charitable*, Paris, 1855, Vol. I, p. 471.

mental disorder in many cases is a disease only in the very broad sense of the term. With certain people anxiety, mental conflict, repression of natural cravings by the mores of the group, may throw out of balance the endocrine glands, or greatly disturb the emotions, and cause breakdown of the personality. These cases are no less insanity in the broad sense of the term than those which are produced by specific diseases, such as syphilis, or by alcoholism. Social treatment, as well as medical and surgical, is indicated in such cases. Psychiatry in some cases can uncover the root of the trouble to the consciousness of the person himself, and in other cases the conditions, social and otherwise, which have produced the disorder, may be corrected.²⁵

In England. In England the hospitals, which were founded in the Middle Ages under the impulse of the Church, had as one of their objects the care of "men and women out of their senses and memories," as stated in a statute of 1414.²⁶ Probably many of these poor unfortunates were punished as criminals and witches, some of them with capital punishment.

In 1537 the Bethlehem Royal Hospital, founded in 1247 as a priory for the brethren and sisters of the Star of Bethlehem, in Bishopsgate Street, London, was handed over to the corporation of London as Bethlehem Hospital for the use of lunatics. This, the first Bedlam, or Bethlehem, was moved in 1675 to Moorfields.²⁷ Similar institutions, few in number, seem to have been established in other places, but with these few exceptions, no provisions were made for this class of the sick until about 1750 when a number of institutions were established in various parts of England on account of the increased attention which had been called to lunatics. The purpose, however, was not to care properly for these unfortunates, but to protect society. These institutions were chiefly in private hands and were as bad as they could be. They were practically prisons of the worst description. The inmates were in cells, chained to the walls and floors, flogged, starved and mistreated in such grievous ways that many of them died from abuse. Such conditions remained uncorrected until about 1830. In fact, mechanical restraint in English asylums was not abolished until 1836 when, as the result of an investigation of a committee of the House of Commons, the abuses at the Bethlehem Hospital were brought to light. Tuke, a Quaker, had just before that called attention to similar abuses in the asylum at York, and with others instituted the York Retreat for the insane, in which methods of non-restraint were introduced.

²⁵ Bleuler, *Textbook of Psychiatry*, Translated by Brill, New York, 1924, pp. 50, 51.

²⁶ Ashley, *Economic History*, New York and London, 1910, p. 320.

²⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Art. "Insanity, III Hospital Treatment"; Leonard, *Early History of English Poor Relief*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 35; B. Kirkman Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy*, London, 1905, pp. 27, 125.

In France. In France similar treatment of the insane prevailed until Pinel in 1792 was appointed in charge of Bicêtre, the great Paris hospital for male lunatics. He at once struck off the chains and other means of restraint.²⁸

In the United States. Colonial America inherited from England the ideas dominating the second of these periods of the treatment of the insane. During the early history of this country the insane were looked upon as beings from whom society must be protected. Since there were no institutions specially devised for their care, they were thrown into jails, if violent, or kept in poorhouses, if harmless but friendless. Reports of conditions in the places where the insane were kept sound strangely familiar to one who has read of the treatment of this class in English institutions before a new spirit was introduced. "Prior to the nineteenth century care of the insane in America was largely a local matter and was entirely custodial. There are no records in England, Europe, or America to the contrary. The purpose of confinement was for safekeeping and was accomplished in ill-ventilated and inconvenient cells or pens in the basements of hospitals and other places. This was the only care that the medical profession and the public deemed necessary for this most wretched class of human beings."²⁹

In 1676 a law of Massachusetts delegated care of insane to the selectmen. In 1798 that state passed a law providing for commitment to the house of correction of all lunatics "furiously mad." In 1811 McLean Hospital was established and it was opened in 1818.

In Rhode Island in 1725 a law was passed permitting inland towns to build houses of correction for vagrants and also for "mad persons." In 1742 care of all insane and imbeciles was given to the town council with power to appoint guardians for their estates. In 1828 Dexter Hospital was opened and in 1847 the "Butler Asylum for the Insane."

Earliest action in this country for special care for the insane in specially constructed hospitals was taken by the Friends in 1709, which resulted in the founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1751, a part of which was set apart for the insane. The first patients were admitted in 1752.

The first *state* hospital exclusively for insane was established in Virginia and is now known as the Eastern State Hospital at Williamsburg. This was incorporated in 1768 under the title of "Public Hospital for Persons of Insane and Disordered Minds." The first patients were admitted in 1773. The first law for creating a state hospital in New York was passed in 1842. This was

²⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Vol. XIII, pp. 110, 111.

²⁹ Kline, "Function of the Social Worker in Relation to a State Program," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, p. 627.

the result of the efforts of Dorothea Dix. Through her efforts hospitals were established in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia. Thirty-two institutions in this country owe their existence in whole or in part to her efforts. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and during a considerable part of the latter half, most of the insane were cared for in poorhouses.³⁰

The first asylum for the *indigent insane* established in this country was at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1832. New York established its first institution for indigent insane in 1843.³¹

With the establishment of the York Retreat by the Quakers in England, brutal restraints gradually began to give way to humanitarian treatment, following investigations by the Lunacy Commission of England and by various state boards in the United States. The movement began in the East with state hospitals for the care of all the insane and their consequent removal from county poorhouses. In the West, on the other hand, especially in Wisconsin, the same movement began with an attempt at reformation of the county institutions.

Another improvement in the care of the insane grew out of modern science. Before the development of modern medicine, patients were flogged and bled in the belief that such measures had remedial effects. The discovery that insanity is a disease naturally brought mitigation of the harsh treatment they had hitherto suffered. At present probably no class of diseased or defective people is more fully cared for and more humanely and scientifically treated than the insane.³²

CHIEF FEATURES OF THE MODERN TREATMENT OF THE INSANE

Types of Buildings. Strangely enough for some time after the states started to build institutions for the insane, chief attention was given to the architectural grandeur of the institution rather than to its fitness to treat successfully its inmates. Hence, the state institutions throughout the country were large imposing structures which cost enormous sums of money, but were poorly adapted to the proper treatment of the insane. The explanation of the form these early buildings took is the dominance of architectural tradition. The early European asylums for the insane were monasteries. What more natural, then, when the time came to build asylums than to copy the

³⁰ *The Americana*, Art. "Insane, Institutional Care of the, in the U. S."

³¹ Kline, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

³² That in both private and public institutions for the insane brutal methods of handling patients in some states are still used, is shown in every careful study made. See Beers, *A Mind That Found Itself*, New York, 1923; Hillyer, *Reluctantly Told*, New York, 1926.

style of architecture associated historically with insanity. These models in Europe and Canada gave the United States their early type of asylum, and led to what has been called the "cathedral era" of asylum construction.³³ These huge congregate buildings, constructed of expensive materials and fitted with almost palatial elaborateness, were very costly. Their expense ranged from \$1,000 to \$3,000 or even more per patient. It has been said that an examination of 55 of them, built before the more expensive of them had been constructed in the United States, showed a cost per bed of \$1,074, while the cost of the most expensive hotels at that time did not average more than \$1,500 per bed.³⁴

It soon began to be felt by the more thoughtful administrators that these formidable buildings were ill-adapted to their purposes. The proposal to build institutions of detached units at first met with opposition, but has steadily grown in favor because they were better adapted to sound treatment of each individual. Hence, today the cottage plan is in favor. Even the older institutions often have developed alongside the larger buildings, cottages, pavilions, and colonies. The system is not only cheaper to build, but classification of the inmates is possible, the violent can be separated from those whom their violence will disturb, and different types of insanity can be treated according to their special needs. The cottage system is not a modern ideal. Dr. Riggs says: "The segregate system, toward which we have been working, has, in like manner, long been an ideal, though for many years a neglected one. Dr. Woodward, of Worcester, in his annual report of 1832, says that to their present accommodations should be added a building as a retreat for incurables, lodges for the violent and noisy, a hospital for curable cases, and a pleasant home for convalescents."³⁵

Pleasant Grounds. The ancients discovered the utility of pleasant surroundings in the treatment of the insane. The temples, the most beautiful buildings of ancient civilization, were in some cases resorts for the insane. Music was urged by some of the ancient physicians.³⁶

After much experience the tendency at the present time is to place institutions for the insane in quiet and pleasant retreats a short distance outside of a city. The grounds are beautified as much as possible, with quiet walks and pleasant vistas. The surroundings both within and without the buildings are restful.

Occupational Therapy. As early as 1845, Dr. Earle of the Blooming-

³³ Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 257; Petersen, "From Vanves to Iwakura," *The Survey*, October 5, 1912, p. 29.

³⁴ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

³⁵ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

³⁶ I Sam. 16: 14-23.

dale Asylum, New York, wrote concerning the remedial effects of useful employment, "Of all the means included under the head of moral treatment manual labor, useful employment with the hands, justly claims preeminence over all the others."³⁷

This emphasis was lost during the next 20 or 25 years. The reports of the asylums during the third quarter of the nineteenth century show that, under the conditions of the large congregate institution, diversified labor was not easily provided for the inmates. Instead, the emphasis was upon amusements and games in which the patients took very little interest.

Fortunately, at the beginning of the third quarter of the century the reports began to show evidence of a revival of interest in useful occupations in the treatment of the insane. Possibly knowledge of the beneficial effects of occupations under the careful direction of the medical officer, superintendents and supervising boards extended the practice until within a short time some of the institutions were giving "occupational therapy" to nearly half of their patients.³⁸

Useful employment for the insane has so justified itself in the period since Dr. Riggs reported on the matter before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1893 that practically all the state institutions have either large farms attached to them or colonies at some little distance away. One of the most recent colonies for outdoor work for the insane to be developed in the United States is the so-called Wayne Farms in connection with the Eastern Hospital at Richmond, Indiana. Experience shows that for a certain class of the insane, occupation at farm labor in the open air has a distinctly remedial effect. Moreover, it is a means whereby the crowded state institutions can be relieved of some of the pressure.

In Wisconsin farm work has been developed in connection with both the state institutions for the curable cases and also in connection with the 35 county asylums for the chronic insane. Says Mr. Lane concerning the Wisconsin plan: "Such is Indiana's solution of the growing problem of her insane. There are those in the state who look with envy on the more complete resort to farm life practised in Wisconsin. . . . This plan was worked out 33 years ago and for the past 18 years Wisconsin has kept abreast of the demands of her insane population for institutional care."³⁹

Well-Trained Attendants and Physicians. After all, grounds, buildings, methods of medical treatment, therapeutics, both medicinal and other-

³⁷ Quoted by Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 248.

³⁸ Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 249

³⁹ Lane, "In the Healing Lap of Mother Earth," *The Survey*, January, 1916, pp. 373-380; see also McLane, "Baltimore, 1890-1915," *The Survey*, April 24, 1915.

wise, are but a part of a program for the treatment of the insane. Without the proper tact and understanding of the insane patient's state of mind, superintendents, physicians and attendants will do more harm than good. Only those who know what storms disturb the emotional state of the mentally disordered, and who by sympathetic understanding and skillful technique know how to deal with the disordered world of the inmate, can really treat the insane with prospect of ultimate recovery. The brutalities inflicted upon the inmates of institutions for the insane by well-meaning, ignorant, and unskilled attendants produce a chamber of horrors in many institutions. A personality at once understanding and kindly must be that of everyone who deals with the insane.⁴⁰

METHODS OF COMMITMENT

When the chief interest in handling the insane was the protection of society, it was natural that they should be deprived of liberty and shut up in some institution. Arbitrary judges might use their power to send to an institution some who were not insane but were obnoxious to the judges or their friends. It was charged that thus sane people were institutionalized. While the number of sane persons so imprisoned was probably much exaggerated, so great was the horror at such mistakes that society established legal safeguards against it. Hence originated the legal commitment of the insane after trial by jury, a blundering method to obviate a rare abuse.⁴¹

In many states this unsuitable method still survives. In 1893 Dr. Riggs could say, "In the larger number of states, commitment is by the decision of a judge or justice of the peace. Medical testimony is usually required, although in three states it is not demanded. In a limited number of states only is there commitment based on a physician's certificate."⁴² Today judicial procedure is necessary to commitment in all cases except voluntary or emergency commitment, but usually on the findings of a medical commission.

Usually a written application is made to a court or judge (or to the county commissioners of insanity, if such exist) alleging on oath that the person mentioned in the application is insane. The judge then causes two regular practising physicians—in some states they are special medical examiners—to examine the person and report their conclusions. This is called a

⁴⁰ For a terrible picture of the brutality which is possible in such institutions, see Beers, *A Mind That Found Itself*, New York, 1923.

⁴¹ The Earl of Shaftesbury declared that of the 185,000 certificates of insanity passing through the office of the English Commission on Lunacy in 50 years there was no evidence that one sane person was among them. Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 227.

⁴² Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

commission in lunacy. The judge in some states may then call witnesses and may impanel a jury. After hearing the evidence, the judge or jury decides as to the sanity of the person. If it is decided on the evidence that the person is insane the judge issues an order for commitment. While this is the usual procedure, there are numerous exceptions.

In general, there are three methods of judicial commitment in the United States:

1. Trial by jury and commitment by judge.
2. Commitment by judge upon the findings of a commission in lunacy.
3. Commitment by a commission given judicial authority by the statutes.

In addition, *emergency commitment* without judicial procedure for a certain number of days is provided in some states. Obviously the purpose of emergency commitment is to admit of the prompt sequestration of the patient if dangerous to himself or to others or if in a critical condition such as acute delirious mania, but at the same time preserving his liberty. During this period of temporary segregation the regular judicial procedure is followed to ascertain whether he is legally insane and should be committed.

In addition to this provision of emergency commitment in some of our states there is also provision for voluntary commitment by the person himself.

Voluntary Commitment. Voluntary commitment of patients was begun in Scotland by an act passed in 1862. Because the restrictions prevented people from taking advantage of its provisions as much as was thought desirable, this section of the law was changed in 1866. Patients made application by letter to the Lunacy Commission, stating the asylum they wished to enter. On its sanction, the superintendent admitted the patient. The patient was permitted to leave on three days' notice. This plan worked well.⁴³

In Massachusetts voluntary commitment, based upon the Scotch law, has been authorized by law since 1881. The insane could not be detained more than three days after they had given notice in writing of intention to leave. The Massachusetts law has worked well⁴⁴; about 38 per cent of persons committed on such applications have recovered. While in 1893 only three states provided for voluntary commitment, the movement has grown rapidly. Usually the voluntary inmate pays for his care. The growth of out-patient clinics has lessened the need of voluntary commitment.⁴⁵

⁴³ Letchworth, *The Insane in Foreign Countries*, New York and London, 1889, pp. 120, 121.

⁴⁴ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

⁴⁵ "Voluntary Patients in Insane Hospitals", *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections*, March, 1920, p. 2.

CARE OF THE INSANE: ACUTE, CHRONIC AND CRIMINAL CASES

It is the settled policy at the present time that the various classes of the insane should be cared for separately. There should be one type of institution for the curable cases, another for the chronic or incurable, and still another for the criminal.⁴⁶ Formerly the acute and chronic cases were cared for in the same institution, sometimes in separate wards and sometimes in separate buildings. Now under the state-system of caring for the insane, certain institutions are set aside for the curable and others for the chronic cases. Since different methods of treatment are necessary, management and discipline are very much simpler, when the two classes are kept in different institutions. In some states the criminal insane have been separated from both the other classes.

The establishment of state institutions for the care of the insane grew out of the recognition of the evils of county care.⁴⁷ With the development of state boards, state and county care were compared in their results to the discredit of the latter. Then arose an agitation for state care of the insane. New York was the first state to assume this obligation, but a number of the states, especially in the East, soon followed her example. At first the attempt was made to care for them all in state institutions. Up to the present, that system has failed except as it has been modified by such devices as colonies and the boarding-out system. On the other hand, Wisconsin, while acknowledging the state's obligation to care for the insane, worked out the problem in a different way. Believing it impossible for the state to provide enough of the large and expensive institutions to care for all her insane, her board allowed the chronic cases to remain in the county asylum, while the state assumed a part of the expense of their care.

The debate between the advocates of these two systems has been long and sometimes quite bitter. Opinion has swung from one side to the other.

When Wisconsin established her state board in 1871, the condition of the insane in her almshouses was as bad as in any state in the East. At first the board followed the Eastern examples and attempted to care for the chronic insane by enlarging the capacity of its state asylum. In the next six years it

⁴⁶ Harms, "Institutional Care of the Criminal Insane in the United States," *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1931, p. 135.

⁴⁷ In 1870 "there were in each state two methods of caring for the insane; first, a state system, managed by state officers and responsible to the state; second, a county system, managed by county authorities and responsible to no one" "Through the abuses to which county care almost invariably gave rise, and through the efforts of the state boards to correct such abuses, the idea of state care for all the insane became strengthened."—Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, pp. 233, 234; see also Brockway, *Fifty Years of Prison Service*, New York, 1912, pp. 52, 53.

nearly trebled its hospital capacity. Nevertheless, because there was no room in the state institutions many still remained in the poorhouses. Moreover, the conditions in the county poorhouses had improved. Hence, the state board came to believe that under careful supervision the able-bodied chronic insane could be cared for properly in county institutions. Therefore, a law was passed providing that, when a county's insane could not be cared for in the state institutions, if a county built a county asylum, the state would pay that county \$1.50 a week towards the cost of caring for each person. This plan practically provided a bonus to the county which cared for its indigent insane under the supervision of the board. Under this 37 counties have built county asylums for the apparently incurable insane and may receive patients from other counties on payment of a small weekly sum by the county from which the patients come. For these cases as well as for its own patients the county receives a sum from the state.⁴⁸ Each of these county asylums is under the management of a local board of trustees, selected by the county board of supervisors, which trustees appoint the superintendent and other officers. These asylums are supervised by the state board and are regulated by its rules.

This system has worked unexpectedly well in Wisconsin. It relieves the state institutions of the chronic cases; it provides these cases outdoor work on the county farm; it distributes the chronic insane widely over the state, allowing them to be kept where their relatives and friends may easily visit them; and it is cheap. Authorities advise me that in Wisconsin even the medical care given to these people is as good as they could expect in a state institution. Furthermore, this system allows the state to take care of all of its insane.⁴⁹

Institutions in the United States for the Care of the Insane. The Census Bureau in 1933 presented data from 170 state hospitals, one federal hospital—St. Elizabeth, District of Columbia—from 16 Veterans' Administration hospitals, 6 psychopathic hospitals, 67 county and city hospitals, 227 private hospitals, and psychopathic wards in 37 general hospitals, a total of 526 institutions caring for this army of the mentally disordered.

The state hospitals for the care of the insane own property to the value of \$480,138,215.00. The expenditures in 1933 amounted to \$100,068,271.00. It required a personnel of 50,799 to care for these people, or an average of one person to each 6.5 patients, at an average per capita cost of \$249.73. In addition, in the state psychopathic hospitals there was a per-

⁴⁸ Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 244.

⁴⁹ Butler, in *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction*, February, 1929, p. 66; Lane, "In the Healing Lap of Mother Earth," *The Survey*, January 1, 1916, pp. 379, 380.

sonnel of 637, with expenditures of \$1,178,039.00.⁵⁰ The Census does not supply similar figures for the Veterans' Administration hospitals, for the county and municipal institutions, or for the private institutions.

Parole. Early in the modern treatment of insanity it was discovered in Scotland that certain patients could be released on parole. From every point of view, the system of parole is of advantage. The patient sufficiently recovered to be safe outside the institution is infinitely better outside. The policy is also economical and so long as the patients are closely supervised, all the interests of the public are safeguarded.

This privilege is, of course, extended only to those insane who are judged harmless either by the superintendent or the board controlling the institution. Usually the parole is for only 30 days, although in some states it is for 3 or 6 months. In some states, if the patient is not returned to the hospital within the time limit, he must be considered discharged. In the others, the order of commitment stands until he is legally discharged.

Because of the overcrowded conditions of the state hospitals, in this country, increasing use of parole is made. Of 451,672 patients in hospitals for mental disease in the United States at the end of the year 1934, 48,153 were on parole or otherwise absent, or a ratio of about one out of ten.⁵¹

Boarding Out. Boarding the insane in families seems to have arisen at Gheel, Belgium. This colony grew up around the shrine of St. Dymphna in the Middle Ages. The legend has it that Dymphna was an Irish girl who fled from Ireland to escape the illicit approaches of her father and found her way to a church at Gheel. Here in the course of time she met martyrdom. Soon around her grave there grew up the legend that those who were mentally disturbed could there find relief. Soon a shrine arose which became famous all over western Europe. The people in the community took these pilgrims into their homes from the start. Thus, the practise has hundreds of years of custom back of it. The Belgian government has built a fine hospital, and adds to the religious therapeutics those of modern medical science. Since 1852 the community has been under the control of the government. When a patient first arrives, he is placed in the hospital for observation, unless his family insists that he go into a boarding home. After the case has been studied and it is found that the patient is suitable for placement in a home, he is placed in that home where he can pursue his ordinary vocation and where he will be most comfortable. Out of 2,995 families who lived in Gheel in 1910, 1,334 were families which were approved by the medical offi-

⁵⁰ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1933*, Washington, 1935, pp. 120-128.

⁵¹ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1934*, Release of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, December 2, 1935, page 1.

cers as boarding homes for the patients. In these almost 2,000 mentally disordered persons are cared for year after year. Certain residents of the community are trained as nurses for these persons and even the boarding-house keepers receive instruction as to how to treat their boarders. Not more than two patients may be taken into any one home and each one must be furnished a private bedroom.

The colony is divided into four sections at the head of each of which is a responsible physician assisted by two head nurses and a corps of other nurses. Physicians visit the patients in their respective sections of the colony each day. The most outstanding characteristic of this community is the interest, devotion and often self-sacrifice given by the people of the community to these patients.

The results of this colony have been most remarkable. The mortality rate of such persons has been cut down, and it is estimated that 25% of those who come to the colony recover. The institution at Gheel is a combination of hospital, colony and boarding-out system. Because of the peculiar training which the people in the community have had for hundreds of years, the success of this informal method of treatment, combined with the best that psychiatry can provide, has produced results which have attracted the attention of the world.⁵²

To the United States the boarding-out system came by way of Scotland. Massachusetts adopted the Scottish system of boarding out the insane in 1885. In that state increasing use of this method has been followed up to the present time. New York later followed with the establishment of a small community of family care in which in 1934 about forty patients were being cared for. A few other states have tried the experiment and quite a number are considering the adoption of family care for certain of their inmates. Under the careful management of this plan in Massachusetts the results have been very satisfactory.⁵³

Out-Patient Departments. England deserves the credit for the device of the out-patient department in hospitals for the insane. Dr. Riggs calls it

⁵² *Gheel: Staatskolonie voor de vrije Gezinsverpleging van gemoeds-en Geesteskranken*, Drukkerij, J.-E. Buschmann, Antwerpen (no date); Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 241; Thom, "Colonic of Gheel", *Bulletin, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, December, 1923, p. 26; Kellogg, "Gheel", *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1926, p. 63.

⁵³ Kline, *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 12; Ball, "Family Care of Mental Cases", *The Survey*, April 17, 1920, pp. 117, 188; "Home Care for Mental Patients?" *The Survey*, April 1933, p. 164; "Family Care of the Mentally Ill", *Mental Hygiene*, April 1935, pp. 336-338; *Social Work Year Book: 1935*, "Mental Diseases", pp. 273-277; "Boarding Homes as a Tool in Social Case-Work with Mental Patients", *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1934, p. 189.

"an advance akin to voluntary commitment."⁵⁴ The purpose of the out-patient department, or clinic, is the free treatment of the acute insane during the incipency of the disease in order to prevent its further development. Such a department was first opened in this country in 1885 in the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. In 1913 an act was passed by the New York legislature permitting each state hospital for the insane to establish an out-patient department. The importance of this measure is indicated by the fact that the records of 5,000 patients admitted for the first time to New York State Hospitals for the Insane in 1911 showed that nearly a third of all cases had mental disorder for at least a year before admission. The out-patient department was established in the hope that many of these would come to the clinic before the disease had made such progress that hope of cure was more remote.⁵⁵ In Massachusetts "out-patient clinics were established in September, 1914, under the direction of the State Board of Insanity, in the large cities of the hospital district. The clinics are held in the evening in order that the patients out on trial who are at work need not lose any time in attendance. Notices are sent to all patients away from the hospital on trial visits who can easily report at the clinic in the city nearest their home. Notices are inserted in the newspapers calling attention to the clinics. The various charitable organizations and physicians in the district are also notified in order that persons may be referred for examination and advice.

"These out-patient clinics serve as a distinct aid to the after-care work of the social service department. If, for any reason, former patients do not report, the social service department investigates the reason immediately after the clinic. An opportunity is given relatives of patients in the hospitals to consult physicians. Quite a large number of persons visit the clinics voluntarily to consult regarding their own condition. The work of the out-patient clinics has been very satisfactory."⁵⁶

Recently out-patient clinics for those suffering from mental disturbances have greatly increased in number, somewhat widening their purposes. That they may serve not only in the after-care of those discharged from hospitals, but also, more important, that they may serve as preventive agencies, has been urged by many psychiatrists. Dr. Salmon, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, in showing the way in which they may serve this purpose, says:

⁵⁴ Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 232.

⁵⁵ Salmon, "A State Treating Mental Diseases at Home," *The Survey*, January 17, 1914, p. 468.

⁵⁶ Kline, *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, Vol. III, p. 16; Carpenter, "Mental-Hygiene Clinics in New Jersey," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1933, p. 376.

"To these clinics come cases rarely seen by physicians in institutions for the insane—a child brought by a mother whose quick intuition has told her that he is 'different' from the others; a man who has found his accustomed work grown suddenly difficult and is conscious of loss of memory; a depressed old lady who realizes that some small misfortunes cannot be wholly responsible for the new anxiety which is dominating her life; a youth who fears that he is hopelessly entangled in some sexual difficulty but thinks that there is just a possibility that a good 'mind doctor' might help him see a way out of it; the anxious wife of a man who 'was always a good husband although he drank a bit' but has lately become morose, irritable and suspicious and has lost four jobs in quick succession because 'people are all against him'; the brother of a patient in a state hospital who anxiously inquires if it is 'absolutely sure' that he will become insane because his brother did and who has worried so much about it that he can think of nothing else."⁸⁷

In 1932 the Commonwealth Fund of New York reported the existence of 674 mental clinics in the United States in 1931. Of these only 50 were for adults.

Dr. Thom, of Massachusetts, suggests that mental clinics should be classified into four groups:

1) Clinics for children of the pre-school age. These should be associated with some well recognized medical group, such as the community health association, a baby health center, or one of the well-baby clinics. They should be closely affiliated with settlement houses, nursery schools and kindergartens in various sections of the city so that they may be close at hand for parents with children who present difficult problems.

2) A clinic for the child of school age. In Massachusetts this has resulted from the law passed in 1919, which requires that backward children receive a thorough mental and physical examination, and that special classes be organized when ten or more children are found who are retarded three years or more in their mental development. Dr. Thom suggests that these clinics be limited not only to the mentally defective child but to the emotionally unstable child as well.

3) A clinic for patients with incipient nervous disorders. This, he believes, should be associated with and become a part of a general hospital. His suggestion for a connection with the general hospital is based upon the belief that many patients who come to a mental clinic really need medical care. On the other hand, many of the general medical cases, or supposed to be such, need a psychiatrist. The psychiatrist will be broadened if he has available other branches of medicine for consultation.

⁸⁷ Salmon, "A State Treating Mental Diseases at Home," *The Survey*, January 17, 1914; p. 468

4) The clinics attached to hospitals for the mentally disordered, in order to give those who have come to the hospital care in the community if they can be treated successfully there. It is this kind of clinic which has been established in some of our states in connection with the state hospitals for the insane. In connection with all these types social service work is important but especially in connection with the first and the last.⁸⁸

A number of states have followed the early examples of Massachusetts in establishing mental-hygiene clinics widely enough distributed to be accessible to every one in the state. If the experience with mental clinics in New Jersey is any indication of the relative cost of hospitals and mental-hygiene clinics, then it is clear that even from the standpoint of finance alone these clinics should be multiplied in every state. In 1930-31 the New Jersey clinics cost about \$14.50 per patient while the cost per patient at the Grey-stone Park State Hospital was \$455.47.⁸⁹

Psychiatric Social Service. Another important adjunct to the hospital for the insane is hospital social service. By this term is meant investigation of the social conditions in the family, in the patient's work, and in the community, under which the patient has lived and from which possibly he has suffered.

Hospital social service in connection with the institutions for the insane was first developed in New York. The State Charities Aid Association employed an after-care agent in 1910 to work among those discharged from two of the hospitals. This worker found in the homes she visited in this work many other persons who were on the verge of nervous breakdown, and therefore came to the conclusion that not only after-care but preventive work was needed. After two years' experience, a social worker was appointed, in August, 1912, to do this preventive work. The success of this work has been such that this service has been extended to other hospitals in the state.

Massachusetts in 1913 installed social service in the Danvers and in the Boston state hospitals. With the opening of the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston a social service worker was employed, in the latter part of 1912, to look after the needs of all patients admitted. In 1913 the Danvers State Hospital took on a social worker to gather data to assist in determining whether a patient could be released from the hospital and thus the number in the hospital lessened, also to supplement medical information on the pa-

⁸⁸ Thom, "Mental Clinics: Four Kinds," *The Survey*, April 15, 1924, pp. 93, 94; Campbell, *The Mental Health of the Community and the Work of the Psychiatric Dispensary*, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Inc., New York, 1920.

⁸⁹ Carpenter, "Mental-Hygiene Clinics in New Jersey," *Mental Hygiene*, July 1933, p. 378; Potter, "Local Responsibility for a Mental-Hygiene Program," *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1935, p. 196.

tient, to secure cooperation of the community to which the patient returned and to give after-care to the returned patient. In the same year the Boston State Hospital installed such a worker.⁶⁰

In Massachusetts the Commission on Mental Diseases adopted social service, and it is being gradually introduced into the various hospitals connected with the Commission.⁶¹ Says Dr. Kline, of Massachusetts:

The recognition of the fact that social conditions play a large part in the causation of disease holds the hospital responsible for the welfare of the patient after discharge from the hospital. Hospital problems are therefore social as well as medical, and accordingly there is need of trained social service workers, as well as physicians. . . .

If it be granted that the hospital exists for curative and reconstructive purposes, it then follows that the social aspects of disease and its treatment must be carefully considered. . . .

Before the establishment of social service in the hospital it was practically impossible to extend hospital treatment into the community. Advice and treatment in reality began and ended inside the hospital. After-results were seldom learned by the hospital physicians. Many patients eventually returned for treatment, often suffering from the same trouble for which they first came for help. Directions and advice were constantly given and seldom fulfilled for various reasons, good or otherwise. Such a method of treatment is not only expensive but is in reality useless in some respects, if the underlying causes of sickness remain unknown, especially those relating to social conditions. With a social service established in the hospital, many of these needs are met satisfactorily.⁶²

In Massachusetts the following functions are performed by it: 1) Investigation of special cases for specified purposes usually relative to after-care of patients who are under consideration for discharge or trial visit at home. 2) The securing of histories, medical and social, outside the hospital. 3) Home visitation or after-care of out-patients. 4) Systematic boarding out of patients in private families. 5) Connecting needy persons with the proper agencies. 6) The weekly attendance upon the out-patient clinics.⁶³

A number of institutions for the mentally disordered have recognized the importance of training competent psychiatric social workers, but civil service

⁶⁰ Kline, "Social Service in the State Hospital," *Bulletin Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1919, pp. 5-17; pp. 7, 8; Southard and Jarrett, *The Kingdom of Evil*, New York, 1922, p. 520.

⁶¹ Kline, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, p. 631.

⁶² Kline, "Social Service in the State Hospital," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 5, 6.

⁶³ Kline, *loc. cit.*, p. 9; see also Curtis, "Report of Directors of Social Work," in *Annual Report of the Commission of Mental Diseases*, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Pub. Doc. No. 117, Boston, 1920, pp. 46-57.

commissions in most of the states have not appreciated the importance of certifying properly trained persons and providing adequate salaries for the work.⁶⁴

The value of such service depends much on the quality of the case work done, which in turn depends upon the natural ability and training of the social service worker. Since social service in connection with the insane has come into vogue, there is great need that those who perform it be of the very highest fitness. The half-trained do more harm than good, for it is a delicate task which the social service worker has to perform. The psychiatric social worker must be skilled in making investigations, else sensibilities of the families will be injured. She must have tact in suggesting changes in the family régime to which the patient is returning. From the standpoint of investigation she must know how to get the salient points which will help the physician to picture the social situation, and thus know how to treat the case.

This new movement is based upon the recognition that medicine has its social relationships. Social conditions cause physical and mental breakdown; therefore social conditions must be understood, if a cure is to be attempted or prevention undertaken.⁶⁵

Temporary Detention of the Insane. In too many places at the present time the jail is the only place provided for the temporary care of the demented while waiting for examination and commitment. What a pity that a sick person, who is no more a criminal than any other sick person, should be lodged in a common jail! Yet in Indiana, progressive state in public welfare, in the decade 1912 to 1922, 9,495 insane people were temporarily placed in county jails. In Indianapolis between January 1st and the end of July in 1923, 85 men and women were held in the Marion County jail for periods varying from 24 hours to two months.⁶⁶ This merely illustrates a condition prevalent in many states.

In Melbourne, Australia, and elsewhere on that continent, they have lunacy wards in the public hospitals, in which people who are waiting for determination of their cases can be kept. Wherever there is a general hospital, some such provision ought to be made so that these people may not be treated as criminal, while they are waiting in detention for their cases to be handled. Some states in this country have laws requiring the provision of such detention wards in the general hospitals or else of detention homes.

⁶⁴ Carpenter, "Mental-Hygiene Clinics in New Jersey," *Mental Hygiene*, July 1933, p. 377.

⁶⁵ For details on how social experience produces mental disorder, see Fernald, "Mental Hygiene," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, October, 1921, p. 63.

⁶⁶ Benjamin, "Indiana's Insanity," *The Survey*, September 15, 1923, p. 624.

Thus, in Minnesota, the Board of Control is directed by law to establish such detention homes in all cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. In California, the Board of Supervisors in each county is required to maintain in a receiving hospital, or elsewhere in the county, a suitable room or rooms for the detention and treatment (for from 1 to 20 days) of those alleged to be insane. In Ohio, at the request of the probate judge, the County Commissioners are authorized to establish such a detention hospital under the superintendence of a registered physician. Pennsylvania since 1911 has authorized by state law the establishment of psychopathic wards in general hospitals.⁶⁷

Administration and Supervision. Better treatment of the insane followed the establishment of State Boards of Charity. Intelligent supervision of the institutions for their care is absolutely necessary, as experience has abundantly shown. When their care was in the hands of local units of government, the insane were neglected and abused. If not abused, they were treated not as sick people, but as a menace to society.

New York was the first state to recognize its obligation to care for all of its indigent insane.⁶⁸ Since then a growing number of states have been recognizing that duty and have either taken the care of the insane entirely out of the hands of the counties and municipalities or else carefully supervised them. The results have abundantly justified state supervision.

Even more important in some respects is it that the institution be in the hands of a competent administrator. He must be not only a good business manager, but also a competent authority in psychiatry. Few men have this combination of qualities, but when such a man is in charge of an institution the desired results appear at once. They are happy accidents.

When such a man is found, he must not be hampered by politics. He should be chosen with reference to his qualifications as superintendent, not to his party loyalty or political strength. Too often, however, a superintendent is hired because he happens to be a friend of the party in power at the time, often displacing a competent, but politically obnoxious, man. Only as the people appreciate the importance of having at the head of such institutions the best men obtainable, and insist that only such men be in charge, will the abuses which now disgrace some of our state hospitals cease.

The administration of local and private asylums should be supervised by a state board of some kind. The state has a duty to see that the insane in any institution within its borders have proper care. Unless that is done,

⁶⁷ *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 72, 73.

⁶⁸ Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 235.

abuses are sure to arise. To assure proper care the state must see that those who administer the local and private asylums are more than local political henchmen or disabled men who need a job.

The state must also assume at least supervisory control of those boarded out and those on parole. These patients must be visited. Those who have charge of them must be induced to conform to certain standards of care. This means that state boards must see to it that the inspectors who look after these people require proper care and not merely a perfunctory conformity to standards.

As a prophecy of the future, based upon what experts in the care of the insane now deem to be necessary, Dr. Frederick Peterson's words in writing about a colony for the insane at Vanves, France, and another of like character at Iwakura, Japan, are pregnant. He says: "Some day every city of over 200,000 inhabitants will have its psychopathic hospital within the city limits, and a colony for the overflow in the country nearby, modeled on the Alt-Scherbitz colony for the insane near Leipzig, or upon the Craig colony for epileptics near Rochester, N. Y. And every smaller city with a general hospital will have a psychopathic ward or department for the reception and treatment of emergency cases of insanity, instead of utilizing station houses and jails for the purpose."⁶⁹

PREVENTION OF INSANITY

No social program can go far without it becoming apparent that problems of treatment lead directly to the question of prevention. The leaders in the treatment of insanity have clearly seen this. Said Dr. Riggs, in 1893, "The prevention of insanity should receive at least as much attention as its cure, as it is the more hopeful field of the two in which to reap a harvest of healthy minds."⁷⁰

Some of the measures already discussed, like psychopathic departments of general hospitals, out-patient departments and psychiatric social service, have a direct preventive aspect.

In addition to such measures, *psychiatric institutes* in connection with institutions for the care of the insane, with general hospitals, should be established for the study of the disease. In many of our states, the law provides for the study of the diseases that cause insanity. In a few states, attached to some of the institutions, there is a distinct institution or a department

⁶⁹ *The Survey*, Vol. 20, p. 29.

⁷⁰ Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 233.

devoted to the scientific study of insanity from the standpoint of medicine. The findings should be given wide publicity.

In a number of these psychiatric institutes modern medicine is attacking the problem of the cure and prevention of certain types of insanity. It is reported that experiments at the Willard New York State Hospital upon cases of dementia praecox, manic depressive and epileptic psychoses have produced good results by treatment with sodium amytal and sodium rhodanate.⁷¹ Later the Drs. Mayo at Rochester, Minnesota, expressed the belief that within five years they would be able to restore feeble-minded and insane patients to the full use of their faculties by the use of a drug with which they are experimenting.⁷²

The *public must be educated* as to the nature of insanity. The conditions which contribute to the destruction of normal mental life must be removed. Ignorance must give place to knowledge and understanding. The importance of timely recognition of the disease must be inculcated in people, so that both for themselves and for those about them they may seek rather than shun early treatment. The incipient cases must be discovered. In this work the psychopathic social worker and the family social worker is needed. Teachers and employers should know more about the matter, so that they can recognize the early signs of mental breakdown. Doctors and nurses especially should be taught concerning premonitory symptoms. Clergymen and others consulted by people in trouble may serve, if informed, to discover the incipient case and before it is too late get him in touch with the right person or institution.

Mental hygiene societies can be of considerable assistance in securing the attention of the public. Newspapers should be used to give more information to the public on insanity and the means of its prevention and treatment.

In the light of present knowledge, in every state some board or department should be charged with the responsibility of providing *mental clinics* in various sections of the state. The child guidance clinic, established as an experiment by the Commonwealth Fund, has shown how important it is that children should be examined early in order to discover tendencies which may, if neglected, result in mental disorder and serious conduct problems. Some such plan as the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases carries on for widespread clinics in that state should be worked out for every state in the Union. Where the population of the state and its character is different

⁷¹ "New Drug Treatment Gives Hope for Relieving Insanity", *Science News Letter*, November 28, 1931.

⁷² *Time*, October 28, 1935.

from that of Massachusetts perhaps a traveling clinic like the traveling health clinics now in operation in some states should be established, in order that persons who are troubled about their mental state, and those who have consulted physicians for treatment might be diagnosed by experts and advice given which would prevent a later breakdown.

Social service has a very direct bearing upon the problem of prevention. It was devised to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. The family must be taught how to receive the returning patient. A change of attitude of some members of the family towards the patient is often necessary. The community must be taught how to treat the returned patient so that he can pick up the broken thread of his life and not have it broken again. Suitable occupation must be found, or the conditions which caused the breakdown may cause the malady to recur.

Finally, the conditions which produce mental disease should be attacked without delay. The last few years have seen much publicity on syphilis and alcohol as causes of insanity, but other causes are not so well known. Fatigue, mental conflicts, depressing and debilitating conditions of life in home and factory, the stresses of puberty and the climacteric, the factor of general debility—whatever the cause—and heredity have received less attention.

The experiments going on in Russia with respect to mental hygiene are of the very greatest interest. Their health work makes no distinction between the physical and mental. From the beginning the Soviet Government has energetically developed the mental hygiene movement. The child health program, the recreation program, the system of dispensaries scattered over the country, the child guidance clinics—all are concerned with this matter of the mental health of the people. Psychiatry has been introduced into the courts and the prisons. Scientific institutions of various kinds, and laboratories in prisons as well as special clinics have been developed for the study of the personality of criminals. In Soviet Russia the main emphasis is placed upon neuropsychiatric clinics, sanatoria and preventoria. The purpose of these institutions is not only to find the diseased and treat them, but more emphatically to do away with the necessity of placing such patients in hospitals. The mental hygiene movement is connected up also with night sanatoria, dietetic restaurants, special stations for occupational therapy for out-patients and even with the factories themselves. In Moscow alone for the out-patient neuropsychiatric work there are no less than 200 specialists connected with the various institutions. Frankwood Williams has testified that as a result of this emphasis upon mental health in Soviet Russia the provision of beds for mental patients has been very much greater than the authori-

ties in that country needed. Furthermore, he believes that the preventive work that has been done accounts for the fact that the expectation of mental disorder was not realized.⁷³

The education of the people as to the causes, so far as known, and as to the proved methods of treatment and prevention must proceed. Already enough has been learned as to the results of giving information to the people to justify going further. We have reduced the death rate of babies by education of the mothers. We have taught a whole people that excessive use of alcohol is destructive of human life and happiness. It is just as possible to bring to people the principles of mental hygiene. It should be done, for there is nothing more terrible and tragic than a mind deranged. A body man shares with the animal. Man's most characteristic endowment is his mind, with its reason, its deeper and more expansive emotions, its social possibilities on which human society rests for its achievements and its amenities. To prevent bodily disease is important, to preserve the mind, to prevent its breakdown, to promote mental health, is imperative for the happiness of the individual and the welfare of society.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Volunteer Patients in an Institution for the Insane. Adams, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1907, p. 434
2. Village Care of the Insane. Lathrop, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1902, p. 185
3. Family Care of the Insane in Massachusetts. Fish, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1907, p. 438
4. Relation of Mental Defect to Industrial Efficiency. Powers, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1920, p. 342
5. The History of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene. Beers, *A Mind that Found Itself*, New York, 1923

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. From the statistics one would infer that insanity is on the increase. What explanations can be made?
2. Are negroes more or less liable to insanity than whites? Give reasons.
3. Are the foreign-born as liable to become insane as the native-born? Explain.
4. Explain the difference in the insanity rate between males and females; between single and married; the high insanity rate of the divorced
5. Compare the rate of insanity between the country and the city. Explain the difference.

⁷³ Rosenstein, "Public-Health Service and Mental Hygiene in the USSR", *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1931, p. 730; Williams, *Russia, Youth and the Present Day World: Further Studies in Mental Hygiene*, New York, 1934, Chapter 8

6. Trace the changing attitudes toward the insane from the early ages down to the present. What theories lay back of each of these attitudes?
7. Characterize the four periods in the development of the treatment of the insane.
8. Trace the development of institutional structure; of methods of treatment.
9. What are the different methods of commitment of the insane in the United States? Which of these is preferable?
10. Compare the Wisconsin plan of caring for the chronic insane with that in some of the other states, say Massachusetts.
11. What is meant by the following terms:
 - 1) Boarding out
 - 2) Out-patient department
 - 3) Clinics
 - 4) Psychiatric social service
 - 5) Temporary detention
 - 6) Parole
 - 7) After-care
12. Characterize the importance of psychiatric social service.
13. Outline a program for the prevention of insanity.

CHAPTER XX

THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS

NATURE of the Disease. For at least 25 centuries epilepsy has been recognized as such. Hippocrates, born 460 B. C., described it and said of its prognosis, "The prognosis in epilepsy is unfavorable when the disease is congenital, where it continues to manhood or where it occurs in adult. We may attempt to cure the young, but not the old."¹ The name the disease now bears, "epilepsy," is Greek in its derivation and means "a seizure."² Mention of a case is to be found in the Gospels.³

Dr. William T. Shanahan of the Craig Colony for Epileptics at Sonyea, New York, defines epilepsy as "a chronic progressive disorder characterized by recurrent abrupt attacks or loss or impairment of consciousness, with or without convulsions, and usually accompanied by mental and oft-times physical deterioration."⁴

There are three important forms of the disease usually recognized in medical literature—*grand-mal*, *petit-mal*, and psychical epilepsy.

The first is the most easily recognized form, because the patient falls in a seizure, usually froths at the mouth, has convulsions, and is usually unconscious for some time. The second differs from the first rather in degree than in nature. Usually the patient does not fall because the seizure is less severe. The attack is momentary, and is manifested by a slight flush or paling of the countenance accompanied by a gasp, a sigh or a momentary loss of consciousness. The patient usually does not fall. Sometimes there may be a slight giddiness or a faintness. Usually this form progresses into the first. The third named is less frequent in its occurrence than the other forms. The convulsions are mental rather than physical and it is sometimes mistaken for insanity. The seizure increases in force usually for hours and sometimes for days, then gradually subsides. It is not followed by coma, but usually by a period of automatism, or a state resembling absent-mindedness. This is the type which often manifests itself in homicidal tendencies.⁵

¹ Quoted by Barr, *Mental Defectives*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 211.

² Euripides describes an epileptic seizure in *Iphigenia in Tauris*, The Plays of Euripides, Everyman's Library, pp. 342-343.

³ Matthew 17:14.

⁴ From address at Illinois State Conference of Charities, October 21, 1912.

⁵ Barr, *Mental Defectives*, Philadelphia, 1913, pp. 214-216.

The Census Bureau follows the classification system of the American Psychiatric Association. This classification of epileptics is "symptomatic" and "idiopathic" and "unclassified." Of 2446 first admissions of epileptics to state institutions in 1933, .5 per 100,000 of the population of the country in 1930 were symptomatic, 1.1 idiopathic and .4 unclassified. The admissions ratio for all three classes was 2 per 100,000 of the population.⁶

Cause of Epilepsy. The cause of epilepsy is unknown to the medical profession. They are agreed that it is a nervous disease, that certain conditions aggravate it, that it is rather closely related to certain other diseases of the nervous system and that it may be transmitted by heredity.

Barr and Spratling attribute 56 per cent of the cases coming under their notice to heredity.⁷ Dr. Thom, however, in a study of 138 married epileptics, at Monson, Massachusetts, with 553 offspring, found only 10 epileptic children.⁸ Older writers usually ascribed too great importance to inheritance in epilepsy.

In some cases epilepsy seems to be a variant of other nervous conditions in a family stock. Thus, the epileptic may have one relative who is feeble-minded, another who is insane, and still another who is only "a little queer." It is a disease which usually manifests itself in childhood. Barr says that it seldom develops after the age of 20.⁹ If it appears after that age, the history of the case will generally show that there were convulsions in infancy or childhood. For example, a case described by the Bureau of Analysis and Investigation of the State Board of Charities of New York shows that a sister is of normal intelligence but nervous, the father had epileptic fits when a boy and for the last 5 years has had attacks of *petit-mal*. He had been in prison, never supported his family, and is alcoholic. Three sisters of the father were abnormal—one having had chorea when a child, another being very high-tempered, and the other very "queer." A brother of the father is feeble-minded. In the 9 cases investigated a strain of nervous instability ran through most of the families. Epilepsy itself appeared in the family history of 4 of the cases. "Fainting spells" appear in 3 of the cases. Clear cases of feeble-mindedness appear in 8 of the 9 cases. Alcoholism appears in 7 of

⁶ *Mental Defectives and Epileptics in Institutions*, 1933, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1935, p. 10; by symptomatic The American Psychiatric Association means "cases in which the attacks result from definite underlying diseases; by idiopathic, attacks resulting from unknown causes."

⁷ Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁸ Thom, "A Second Note on the Frequency of Epilepsy in the Offspring of Epileptics," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, July, 1918, pp. 58-60. See also Brown, "A Study of the Mental and Physical Traits of the Relatives of Epileptics," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, December, 1930, p. 620.

⁹ Barr, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 214.

the 9; insanity in 6 families, a total of 9 times. Many other manifestations of mental awryness appear in these families, indicating a defective stock.¹⁰

Among the exciting causes of epilepsy are blows upon the head, worry, excitement, injuries to the mother during gestation, difficult dentition, acute sickness and malnutrition. Intemperance and irregular living may be causes, but it is a question whether epilepsy manifests itself because of drink and vice, or whether these are a consequence of an epileptic taint. Dr. Thom believes that between 10 and 15 per cent of the cases he has observed in institutions "might find their genesis in alcoholic parents."¹¹ Experience with epileptics indicates that careful attention must be given also to diet, to quantity of food, and how soon after eating the patient should go to sleep. Every physician who has worked in an institution for epileptics stresses the importance of providing a simple, largely vegetable, diet and an amount of exercise sufficient to keep the bodily functions in good order.

Childhood is the age-period when this disease appears most frequently. Says Letchworth, ". . . epilepsy is essentially a disease of the young."¹² Nothnagel finds it most common between the ages of 7 and 17. Barr finds that 66 per cent of his cases developed epilepsy between birth and the fifth year. Hasse, Gowers, and Gray find 75 per cent developing before the twentieth year.¹⁴ A high death rate for epileptics would naturally cut down the number in later years.

Social Relations of the Disease. The importance of the disease is indicated by its high mortality rate, and its relation to other social problems, such as dependency, crime, unemployment, vagrancy and vice.

Letchworth says,

The epileptic holds an anomalous position in society. As a child he is an object of solicitude to his parents or guardians. The street to him is full of danger, and if sent to school he is liable to seizures on the way or in the classroom. At school his attacks shock his classmates and create confusion. He cannot attend church and public entertainments, nor participate in social gatherings with those of his own age and station. Because of his infirmity the epileptic grows up in idleness and ignorance, bereft of companionship outside of the family, and friendless, he silently broods over his isolated and helpless condition.

If the epileptic succeeds in learning a trade, business men are reluctant to employ him and artisans will not work with him, especially if sharp-edged tools are used. I shall never forget the shock experienced when I was a lad, in seeing

¹⁰ *Eugenics and Social Welfare Bulletin*, No. VII, Albany, 1916, p. 55.

¹¹ "Alcohol as a Factor in the Production of Epilepsy and Allied Convulsive Disorders," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, July, 1918, pp. 61-67.

¹² Letchworth, *The Care and Treatment of Epileptics*, New York, 1900, p. 8.

¹³ Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

a journeyman workman, a tall, manly, but sad-faced young man, fall at his bench with keen-edged tools within his reach, his dazed fellow-workmen moving in awe about him as he struggled in convulsions, with open eyes, set teeth, and foaming mouth. He was an ambitious young man, of good character, and a skilful workman; but he was obliged to leave his position on account of his infirmity and seek a new situation, where undoubtedly he had to go through the same experience. In such cases there is but one result—the breaking down of all hope and energy.

The epileptic workman having a trade, but unable to find employment, gradually sinks into a condition of public dependence. Frequently he is sent to the poorhouse, where he is brought into close association with a mixed and unsympathetic population and where there is no special provision for his care or proper medical treatment.¹⁴

Hope of cure is very small. Some European experience indicates a probable cure in about 4 per cent, while the German Colony at Bielefeld claims 6.5 per cent of recoveries. The Craig Colony in New York early claimed that from 7 to 10 per cent might be cured, but later figures from that institution indicate curability in about 2 per cent.¹⁵ The U. S. Census report reported that in 1933, 1.8 per cent of the males and 1.2 per cent of the females discharged that year from institutions in the United States were recovered.¹⁶ Recently, however, medicine is hopefully studying epilepsy as to causation and as to treatment. Formerly it was believed that gradual but steady deterioration of the mental faculties occurred in practically all epileptics. Dr. Munson of Craig Colony in New York in 1910 said: "Ultimate dementia is the future of most epileptics."¹⁷ Shanahan represents the modern opinion on this matter. He says, "Contrary to current impressions epilepsy does not generally terminate in mental deterioration."¹⁸

Unless of independent means the epileptic is *almost sure to become dependent*. He cannot hold a job, for as soon as he is known to "have fits," others do not like to work with him. More important, if working for someone he is liable to have a seizure and let a team run away and smash up machinery, or injure a machine he may be tending in a factory, or, even more important, may be severely injured and thus subject the employer to either a suit for damages or compensation. Customers of a store, disturbed by seeing a clerk in a seizure, will avoid that store. Most recent experience seems to show

¹⁴ Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

¹⁵ *Eugenics and Social Welfare Bulletin*, New York State Board of Charities, Albany, 1916, Vol. VII, p. 30.

¹⁶ *Mental Defectives and Epileptics in Institutions: 1933*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1935, p. 48.

¹⁷ *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, p. 295.

¹⁸ *Social Work Yearbook*, 1935, p. 128.

not only that the epileptic is incapacitated for work during his seizure and for a short time following attacks, but that the very nature of his personality interferes with success in an industry or business. Whether it be his constitutional nervous makeup or the character of his personality developed in response to the treatment he has received, or both, by and large the epileptics in contrast with the feeble-minded and insane, do not enjoy mixing with people and do not get along well with other people. Whether mental deterioration occurs or not it is certain that character deterioration appears in any moderately enduring state of the disease. It is believed by some authorities that even under ideal conditions the epileptics cannot be made self-supporting for any extended period. The most thorough studies of the working efficiency of epileptics in colonies even show that not more than 30 per cent of the inmates are actually employed in occupations that would be normally competitive or productive in the outside world. The epileptic does not adjust readily to his superiors in industry or business nor does he get along well with his fellowmen. He is suspicious of others and resents any correction. Studies both abroad and in this country of the work-curves of the epileptic in comparison with a control group show that they are handicapped in competition with others not only by reason of the seizures but also by reason of their inability at other periods to fit successfully into the industrial situation. In no institution for epileptics has experience shown that they can be made self-supporting.¹⁹ Hence, the making of a living is almost an impossibility.

That unless the state provides an institution especially for them, these poor creatures *drift into the poorhouse* and there end their days is indicated by the statistics. 1.4 per cent of those in the poorhouses of the United States in 1923 were epileptics, about 2.9 per cent of all defectives in those institutions being epileptics.²⁰

Healy found in his study of 1,000 cases of *juvenile delinquents*, in connection with the Juvenile Court of Chicago, that from 7 to 7½ per cent of them were clearly epileptics.²¹ All authorities we have been able to consult agree that epilepsy plays a very considerable part in *criminality*. This is especially true of psychic epilepsy and the automatism following a seizure in *grand-mal*.

¹⁹ Clark, "A Critique of the Legal, Economic and Social Status of the Epileptic," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August, 1926, p. 218, especially pp. 223-227.

²⁰ *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1925, p. 42; Ellwood, *Condition of the Almshouses of Missouri*, University of Missouri, 1904, p. 11; Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 43.

²¹ *The Individual Delinquent*, Boston, 1915, p. 416; "Epilepsy and Crime—the Cost," *Illinois Medical Journal*, 1912.

All agree that it is difficult for the layman to recognize it in many criminal cases, and that the law in most states gives no weight to the peculiar characteristics of the epileptic criminal.

A large number of the ordinary *vagrants* are epileptics. In a large number of the cases described by Healy the history is that the epileptic wanders away and can give no account of himself afterwards. He finds himself in places far from home and wonders how he got there.²²

Epilepsy has very close relations with *vice*. Related closely to other mental defects, and characterized by sudden uncontrolled impulses, and often accompanied by early and excessive sexual development, epilepsy very often results in very irregular sexual life. Says Healy, "When there is overdevelopment of the sexual life, as unfortunately there so frequently is, the combination of all these typical characteristics tends to make the epileptic a great offender."²³

Since epilepsy has such important bearings upon other social problems as well as upon the welfare of the epileptic, it is important to care for him in the way which, according to experience, yields the best results for the patient and also for the protection of society.

EXTENT OF EPILEPSY

In most countries the number of the insane is fairly well known, and the number of the feeble-minded has been rather carefully estimated. But no such careful study has been made as to the number of epileptics, especially in the United States. So important is the disease, however, that it is highly necessary that we arrive at an estimate of their number.

In Europe it has been found that the number varies from 1 per thousand of the population in Belgium to 2.57 in Switzerland. These numbers are probably too low, since epileptics and their friends seek to hide the existence of the disease. In this country with every advance in knowledge concerning the extent of epilepsy the estimate becomes larger. It is believed that a conservative estimate is 3 per 1000 of the population.²⁴ These estimates are

²² For description of a case see Healy, *op. cit.*, p. 640.

²³ Healy, *op. cit.*, pp. 418, 419.

²⁴ Shanahan, "Epilepsy," *Social Work Year Book*: 1935, p. 127; for earlier estimates see Letchworth, *Care and Treatment of Epileptics*, New York, 1900, pp. 14, 15; Munson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, p. 297; Letchworth, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Sprattling, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1902, p. 271. Dr. Powell of the Institution for the Feeble-minded in Iowa made a study in 1897, getting reports from 800 physicians in the state and 70 poorhouses. His estimate, which he considers very conservative, was that there was at that time one epileptic to every 600 inhabitants in that state. Dr. Peterson of New York estimates that there the rate is 1 to every 500 of the population. Dr. Morris made the same estimate for Maryland. Dr. Drewry arrived at about the same estimate for Virginia.

based upon investigations made by individuals in different states, but it is probable that many epileptics were overlooked. This is indicated by the figures for the men discharged from the army during the World War.²⁵

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS

When the epileptic first appears in history he is looked upon, like the insane, as possessed by a demon. Hippocrates, the Greek physician (b. 460 B. C.), insisted in looking upon him as the product of natural causes, but such an attitude was rare. Only in very recent times has the attitude of Hippocrates been vindicated by science.

As a result of the ancient belief, the epileptic was persecuted when not neglected. He was driven out from home and friends, or thrown into foul prisons and dungeons or permitted to wander about in wild and desolate places abhorred by all. He was treated with severity, or given medicines concocted of horrible ingredients, dictated by superstitious beliefs. Later, like the insane, he was thrown into jails, poorhouses and prisons, in order to protect society from his dangerous outbursts.²⁶

The modern treatment of the epileptic dates back only to the middle of the last century. In 1848 John Bost, pastor of a Protestant church at LaForce, France, near Bordeaux, built a home for friendless girls. Among them he found a sufficient number of epileptics to lead him to establish a separate house for them. Later he established a home for epileptic women. Each of these homes was built on the principle that they needed family care. He believed that outdoor life as well as medicine would benefit these girls and women. He also found that work in the open had a very good effect. Hence, while Bost established these institutions for epileptics as part of a colony for all classes of dependents, his experiment demonstrated that home life among his kind, isolation from others, and work in the fields, gave better results for the epileptic than any other kind of treatment.

The most famous colony for epileptics in Europe is that founded by von Bodelschwingh, a Lutheran clergyman, at Bielefeld in Westphalia. This was established about 1867 under the auspices of the provincial Committee of the Inner Mission of the Rhineland and Westphalia. It is, therefore, a religious colony and is under the care of the Westphalian Brotherhood and the Westphalian Deaconesses. It has over thirteen thousand acres of land on which are scattered plain, unpretentious buildings which serve as homes for small groups of epileptics, with special buildings serving as church, school, gymnasium, hospital, and shops for various kinds of industry suited to the

²⁵ Hutchins, "The Work of the Division of Neuro-Psychiatry in the Army," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, pp. 513-518

²⁶ Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 2.

*peculiar malady of these people. Crops of various kinds are raised, gardens abound, orchards are cultivated. In short, a widely varied industry is worked out so that each one may have some kind of work suited to his peculiar needs. Founded by a religious body, it is but natural that the church occupies a central place in the work, but religion is not the chief reliance in the treatment.*²⁷

In England the care of epileptics has been largely in private hands. There are a few hospitals for the treatment of this class of sufferers, but very few are institutions for their permanent care. The earliest of these English institutions was founded in 1888. There are four such hospitals in London and a few scattered throughout England, some of them influenced by the colony at Bielefeld.

Germany before the War had fifty institutions with special provisions for epileptics, Switzerland three and Holland two. Belgium also had made some provision for this class of dependents. Australia has one such institution and Canada one. These facts show how little attention has been given by the civilized nations of the world to this class of unfortunates. Germany had the most adequate provision.²⁸

In the United States the movement for special institutions for epileptics in part grew out of a recognition of the sad conditions which most of these sufferers endured in their homes, in almshouses and in jails; and from the opposition of the superintendents of institutions for the insane and feeble-minded, where occasionally they were kept. In such institutions their attacks were a disturbing factor, and in their lucid periods they felt degraded by association with dements and aments.

In Massachusetts as early as 1882 the Hospital Cottage for Children was opened at Baldwinsville as a private charity. Later a part of the governing board was appointed by the state and a part of its expenses contributed from the public funds. It received children who were feeble-minded as well as children who were epileptics.

In New York in 1887 the Brunswick Home was incorporated as a private charity for epileptics. In 1902, however, 177 of its 248 patients were paid for by public funds.²⁹

Ohio deserves credit for the establishment of the *first public institution for*

²⁷ Letchworth, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1894, pp. 191, 192; Clark, "Public and Private Provision for the Epileptic," *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1926, p. 787.

²⁸ Clark, "Public and Private Provision for the Epileptics," *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1926, p. 799.

²⁹ Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity*, New York, 1904, p. 472; Letchworth, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1894, p. 194.

epileptics in the United States. Its institution at Gallipolis was authorized by the legislature in 1890. The credit for its inception belongs to the State Board of Charities and especially to General Brinkerhoff, its president. The site selected was too small to permit the development of an ideal colony, but it has since been enlarged. Thus was begun in this country the state care of the epileptics in colonies designed to meet their peculiar conditions.

In 1896, after four years of agitation and investigation, Craig Colony, once the most famous colony for epileptics in this country, was opened at Sonyea, New York.³⁰ The site selected was an old Shaker settlement with numerous buildings scattered over an estate of 1,350 acres, later increased to 1,895 acres. A stream which crosses the estate served to separate the colony for men from the colony for women. It was almost ideal with regard to natural features—site, size, soil, water, drainage, and accessibility. It was at such a distance from centers of population that the inmates were away from the strain and temptations of life in cities. It provided an abundance of land. The inmates had a pure and abundant water supply. The ground was rolling and thus afforded effective drainage. It was a combination of farmland and forest. The soil was fertile. A part of it provided clay for the brickyard and the rest of it was adapted to diversified farming. Seventy-five acres of the land were in a garden, and there were three or four hundred acres adapted to gardening. The colony produced from the gardens through the labor of inmates almost all the vegetables required by the village during its early history and sold more than 8,000 cans to other institutions. The agricultural colony provided the epileptics with outdoor labor and at the same time enabled them to produce their food at a nominal cost.

Since the establishment of the Craig Colony, a number of other states have followed its example. Indiana's colony is typical of these more recent developments. It is located on nearly 1,300 acres of land two miles north of New-castle, with little groups of buildings scattered around over it to accommodate different classes of epileptics. Farming and simple industry are provided for the men, work suitable to their capacities for the women, and schools for the children. When this institution was opened, the life out-of-doors was a great relief from the maddening languishment in jails, in almshouses, or, in some cases, misdirected treatment in reformatories and hospitals for the insane. First choice in the matter of admission was given to epileptic inmates of poor asylums, jails, orphans' homes, and other county institutions.

³⁰ Massachusetts followed in 1898, when it converted the State Primary School at Monson into a state hospital for epileptics. See Southard, "The Founding of the Monson State Hospital," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, Vol. II, No. 2, July, 1918, pp. 5-9.

What this new institution meant to some of the mishandled epileptics of Indiana is indicated by the story of John Mody. Mr. Lane has described him as follows:

Mody's violent seizures made him a burden to his family and friends. No one knew what to do with him and so one day he was bundled off to the county infirmary at a time when infirmaries were still places to be shunned. There he was as much a problem as he had been on the outside.

Like taxes, he seemed to be a good thing to pass along and so the superintendent took him into town one day and, though he had committed no crime, put him into the county jail. His offense was that he had a disease for which no provision had been made.

For eight years the Board of State Charities could do nothing for him. One day he was found by a writer for the *Indianapolis News*, E. J. Lewis. At Mr. Lewis' request, Mody was brought from behind the bars into the jail office, where an extra deputy was called as a precaution. Dazed by the liberty accorded him, he looked absently about the room and his eye rested on the telephone. "What's that?" he asked. It was the first he had ever seen.

This was in 1904. I saw Mody a month or two ago at the village for epileptics, of which he was one of the first inmates. To-day he looks like a typical farm laborer, bronzed by the open, hard as nails. Superintendent Van Nuys says he is a good worker. His seizures stopped six years ago. In addition to becoming a relatively happy man, he has been earning money for the state, instead of costing it the full price of his support.³¹

PROVISION FOR CARE OF EPILEPTICS IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1900 there were but 5 states having special provision for epileptics, in institutions exclusively for them. In 1913 there were 9 states with colonies for epileptics, separate and apart from institutions for the care of the insane or feeble-minded. In 1935 the number of such states was only ten.³² In certain other states special provision for their care is made in connection with institutions for the feeble-minded or the insane. In the ten states in 1935 having special institutions for epileptics there were over 12,000 patients. It has been estimated that twice as many more are to be found in institutions for the mentally diseased and the mentally defective.³³ Some are also to be found in public almshouses. How inadequate is their care

³¹ Lane, "In the Healing Lap of Mother Earth," *The Survey*, January 1, 1916, p. 374.

³² *Social Work Year Book: 1935*, p. 127.

³³ Shanahan, "Epilepsy," *Social Year Book: 1935*, p. 127.

is indicated by the fact that probably there are over 300,000 epileptics in the United States.³⁴

Save in States which have special colonies for this class of defectives, the provision is not adequate for their proper care. Even states which have separate departments for their care in connection with institutions for the feeble-minded have resorted to a makeshift which is unfair to the epileptic.³⁵

COLONY CARE FOR EPILEPTICS

The care of epileptics in connection with other classes of defectives has long been tried and found to be a failure. They are a disturbing factor in institutions for other classes and they feel themselves aggrieved in their lucid periods, if they are kept with the insane or feeble-minded. Also, their peculiar malady makes it possible for many of them to work a great deal of the time, but only at certain occupations. The question of discipline is complicated also, when they are cared for in institutions for other classes. Moreover, experience in colony care of the epileptics has shown the superiority of that method.

Purposes and Advantages of the Colony System. Let us summarize the main features of the colony system:

1. The colony provides home life of a simple and elemental character, yet designed to supply the peculiar needs of the epileptic.
2. It preserves the individuality which in other institutions tends to be submerged or destroyed. In the colony there is no pressing and molding of the individual through routine life into a common type.
3. It provides vocations of all kinds and degrees for those who require them, ranging from the simplest kind of work to the most complex—"from weeding the cabbage patch to the making of brick and the construction of houses."
4. It provides an education adapted to the needs and capabilities of the individual. This education begins at the alphabet with some and ends in the learning of a profession for others.
5. It provides amusements and recreations not bound by rules or formality.

³⁴ Pollock and Furbush, *Mental Hygiene*, January 19, p. 78; Hamilton and Hober, *Summaries of State Laws Relating to the Feeble-Minded and Epileptic*, National Committee on Mental Hygiene, Publication No. 12, 1917, Clark, "A Critique of the Legal, Economic and Social Status of the Epileptic," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Aug. 1926, pp. 218-233.

³⁵ For detailed reasons see Letchworth, *op. cit.* pp. 16, 20-25. Sprattling, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1903, pp. 259 ff.

6. It provides for the organization of homes through the classification of inmates by placing congenial spirits together.

7. It provides for the special treatment of the diseased. This treatment can be more highly specialized and be of a more varied kind, inasmuch as specialists in this disease only are employed.

8. Provision can be made in a colony for the special care of different classes of epileptics by the adaptation of treatment, education, food régime, exercise, and employment to their various needs.³⁴

9. It provides a method whereby an epileptic can live happily with his fellows, not experiencing the feeling of humiliation incident to his being in an institution for the insane or an institution for the feeble-minded. On the other hand, those institutions are relieved of his disturbing presence.

10. Finally, the colony provides the most suitable method, considering the happiness of the inmate, for his permanent retention and thus prevents the procreation of his kind.

Education. The colonists attend schools and learn trades. There are a large number of children in the institution. These are graded into classes with teachers for each class. The boys attend the Sloyd School that fits them in 2 or 3 years to take up advanced carpentry. Some build houses and make furniture; others are apprenticed to the painter, the upholsterer, the printer, the blacksmith, the mason, the engineer, the laundryman, and other artisans.

There is a great deal of freedom in the colony—the hours of labor are short, and the inmates are led by their interest to work. They have plenty of time for amusement and recreation, such as baseball, football, indoor games of all kinds, reading, preparing for and giving plays, and for conversation and free intercourse like ordinary people in a village. Although there are no barred windows or locked doors, save for the few whose safety demands it, less than 1 per cent leave the colony without permission.

Home Life. The buildings of the institution are intended to secure home life for the inmates. The love of home, one of our strongest impulses, is one of the last to perish in the deterioration of the human mind incident to such diseases as epilepsy. These people long for home and the colony provides the nearest possible substitute.

Classes of Buildings. In addition to the hospital, there are three classes of buildings. Class 1 should house from 12 to 16 patients, and these

³⁴ Spratling, "An Ideal Colony for Epileptics," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1903, p. 250 ff; Dr. Spratling says "Epileptics cannot be cared for successfully or even with partial success in any other way than under the colony plan," *op. cit.*, p. 260.

patients should be the best. They should assume entire care of the household in all its details under the general supervision of a nurse or other employee. The Craig Colony has a number of such cottages. Dr. Spratling thinks that after insane, idiotic, or low-grade imbecile epileptics are debarred, approximately 20 per cent of all the colonists would live in this class of house.

Class 2 are houses which would accommodate from 25 to 35 persons and should be in charge of two employees—a cook and a nurse. These dwellings are more numerous in that they must house from 60 to 70 per cent of the entire population of the colony.

Class 3 should consist of the infirmary, combining home and hospital for the use of bed-ridden paralytics or other helpless cases. This type will have to house from 10 to 20 per cent of the colony and there must be at least one such structure for each sex. In addition to these homes for the epileptics a number of community buildings for the running of the colony are to be found. In the construction of the buildings care has been taken to build the stairways with frequent landings so as to prevent long falls, and to eliminate all sharp corners and angles to obviate injury in a seizure. There is also a laboratory for original study and research. Such a colony provides the finest of opportunities for research into the causes and proper treatment of the disease.

Some have objected that the building of a colony very greatly increases the expense over an institution of the congregate type. But the cottages of this colony cost less than \$390 a bed as compared with a cost of from \$1,000 to \$1,500 a bed in the large congregate institution. Says Dr. Spratling: "There is no question but the colony plan provides better maintenance at less cost than any other plan so far devised."

RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED BY COLONIES

The colony produces a number of results which are impossible in any other kind of an institution for epileptics.

1. It effects cures in a larger proportion of cases than any other kind of institution.
2. In the majority of cases to a very considerable degree, it reduces the frequency and severity of attacks.
3. It provides special education adapted to make the epileptic in many cases self-dependent and able to make a living. Such an education cannot be got outside the colony.
4. It promotes the happiness of the individual in a larger number of cases than is possible in any other kind of institution. The epileptic lives in a

congenial atmosphere, filled with kindly feeling, and among people of his own kind, therefore he feels at home.

5. It provides the most skilled forms of treatment known to the medical profession.

6. It gives opportunity for scientific research nowhere else to be found.

7. It prevents the reproduction of epileptics by their segregation.

With probably more than 300,000 epileptics in the United States at the present time, and with most of them free to marry and produce children, with others of them a distinct menace through their anti-social criminal impulses during and following seizures, with large numbers of them living a slow death in institutions for the insane and county almshouses, and with a number of notable examples of the proper care of the epileptic, it is important that the states of the Union which have not yet grappled with this problem in an adequate manner should now make provision for them at the earliest possible moment.

Case Working Agencies and Epileptics. The difficulties of case workers with epileptics are well known to every worker. Epileptics are so unconscious of the nature of their affliction, so likely to be egocentric and so insistent in following their own ideas that good case work with them is almost impossible. These difficulties are well illustrated in a case cited by Miss Breckenridge known as "The Family of Isadore Katz."⁴⁷ In most cases the best thing for the social worker to do is to try to get the afflicted person into an institution. If the epileptic is a parent or the bread-earning member of a family, she will have plenty of scope for her case work in seeing that the other members of the family are cared for.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Bielefeld Colony for Epileptics. *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1890, p. 264.
2. The Social Treatment of Epileptics. Letchworth, *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 188.
3. Industrial Education for Epileptics. Sprathling, *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 69.
4. An American Colony for the Epileptic. Lane, "In the Healing Lap of Mother Earth," *The Survey*, Vol. 35, pp. 373-380.
5. Letchworth's Influence in the Care of Epileptics in the United States. Larned, J. N., *Life and Work of William Prior Letchworth*; Letchworth, *Care and Treatment of Epileptics*, New York, 1900.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the main social problems produced by epilepsy? How does epilepsy affect dependency?

⁴⁷ Breckenridge, *Family Welfare Work*, Chicago, 1924, pp. 329, 340.

2. Outline briefly what has been thought as to the nature of epilepsy.
3. Trace briefly the different steps in the treatment of the epileptic from ancient to modern times.
4. About how many epileptics are there per thousand of population in the United States? in Europe?
5. Name the different ways in which epileptics are cared for in the United States. Are the present provisions in most states adequate?
6. Describe the following colonies for epileptics. (a) Bielefeld; (b) the Craig Colony; (c) the Indiana Colony.
7. In what respect is colony care superior to care in any other way?
8. Suggest methods for the prevention of epilepsy.
9. What functions can a social worker perform in connection with an epileptic in her community?
10. Describe the provisions for epileptics in your state. Criticize these provisions.

CHAPTER XXI

THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT

WHAT IS MENTAL DEFICIENCY?

THE terms "feeble-mindedness" and "mental deficiency" are comparatively new.¹ The condition, however, is probably as old as the race and has been recognized to some extent ever since language began. Long ago actual mental defect was differentiated from other abnormal mental conditions. The fact that the Greek furnishes us the root of our word "idiot" shows that thus early such a distinction had been made. With the development of the study of disease and mental conditions, various other differentiations have been made in abnormal mentality.

The term "feeble-minded" originally was a generic term to include all the varieties of mental defect. In general, three grades of mental deficiency are now recognized: The first or lowest grade is the "idiot," ranging in intelligence from nothing up to the intelligence of a two-year-old child (if a child, an I.Q. of less than 25). The second grade are "imbeciles," who range in mental age from 3 to 7 years (if a child, an I.Q. of 25-44). The third or highest grade, the "morons," have intelligence ranging from 8 to about 12 years (I.Q., 50-74).

It should not be understood, of course, that the mentally deficient, no matter what his age, who may belong to one of these groups, has all of the characteristics and manifests the same kind of conduct as a child of the ages mentioned. Children of these ages have a limited social experience. The mentally defective adults, on the other hand, during their lives, may have learned certain habits and made certain adjustments which the child of more limited social experience has not reached. Therefore, it should be understood that it is only in intellectual matters that the idiot, the imbecile, and the moron correspond to the child. And further it should be understood that with respect to intellect, only native or inherent ability is referred to.

¹ In this chapter the practice of The Committee on Problems of Mental Deficiency of the White House Conference of 1930 is followed. The term "mental deficiency" includes "feeble-mindedness," "mental defect," "intellectual subnormality," and "retardation." The term "feeble-mindedness" is used to designate the mentally deficient of the lower mental levels—idiots and imbeciles.

The idiots do not have sufficient mentality to enable them properly to care for their own physical wants. The imbeciles, while able to attend to their own wants, to care for their person and dress to some extent, and to comprehend fairly well what is said to them, show by the most elementary intelligence and social tests a subnormal mentality. The morons include high-grade defectives who, but for careful tests, would not be rated as mentally deficient. In each of these cases there are sub-classifications determined not only by the degree of intelligence but by social tests of conduct. Those of the third class are usually capable of some education since they possess a degree of mentality only slightly lower than that of an adolescent child, yet they are not able to progress beyond that point mentally. Their chief difficulty seems to be in the lack of that coordination of faculties which makes the normal individual amenable to the ordinary social restraints. They do not possess a proper discrimination in the quality of actions.

Mental deficiency is due to inherited mental defect or to arrest of the normal development of the brain, or to deterioration of the mental faculties due to disease or accident. Arrest of development may be due to pre-natal causes, to accidents at birth, or to subsequent accidents or diseases. It is estimated that about one-half of the cases of feeble-mindedness are the result of defective heredity. We may define feeble-mindedness, therefore, as *mental defect inherited, or produced by conditions preceding, at, or soon after birth, which prevent the normal development of the mind, or resulting in later life from deterioration of the mind, with the result that the person is not able to manage his personal and business affairs with ordinary prudence, and to conform his actions to the conventional standards of social morality.*

Mental defect differs from mental disease in that the latter develops usually after adolescence, while the former, except when due to deterioration in later life, appears in childhood. While inheritance figures in both, or each may be the result of causes other than heredity, the difference lies in the fact that in mental disease of all sorts there is a disorganization of function, whereas in mental defect usually the brain does not develop properly, or deteriorates, as in some cases of epilepsy, of senile degeneration, or as the result of some serious disease.

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

Present attention to the problem of mental deficiency is due in part to the introduction of more exact methods of measuring intelligence, such as the Binet-Simon tests and others based upon this standard series of intelligence tests devised by the great French psychologists whose names it bears, and in part to the discovery that mental defect is much more frequently correlated

with social delinquency and dependency than we had suspected. For centuries the "simpleton," the "idiot," and the "fool" have been recognized. These new tests, however, provided an easily applied method much more exact than the ordinary social tests. These tests and the appreciation of the social significance of their results greatly stimulated the study of the mentally defective and made possible a finer classification of these unfortunates.

Up to the outbreak of the World War these tests had been applied only to certain groups rather than to extensive cross-sections of the general population. The census of the feeble-minded, up to that time, was not based upon careful measurements, but upon simple observation.

Moreover, more recent study has shown that the mentally deficient is not only affected in his intellect, but frequently, also,—and perhaps in many cases, more importantly,—in his emotional nature. Furthermore, for sociological purposes, the real test of mental deficiency or feeble-mindedness is how the person conducts himself. Doubtless, intelligence is one of the things that accounts for conduct, but modern psychiatry is teaching us that it is not the only factor. Certain other personality traits determine the outcome.²

In Great Britain. In 1929 Dr. Lewis, under the auspices of the joint Mental Deficiency Committee of the Board of Education and Board of Control in England, estimated that in England and Wales mental defectives (i.e., what we call feeble-minded) constituted about 8 per 1,000 of the general population.³

In the United States. The psychological examinations of men recruited for the United States Army during the World War gave us the first indication as to the presence of mental defect in this country in a large sample of our general population. The results of these examinations also raised clearly for the first time questions as to the accepted definitions of feeble-mindedness. The official report on these examinations showed that 47.3 per cent of the white drafted men had mental ages less than thirteen years. On this showing they would have been rated as feeble-minded according to the then generally accepted classification. Out of the discussion on this startling finding grew the conviction that because many of the officers and those selected for essential industries were not included in the examination, the sample was somewhat selective. Consequently even the official report suggested that an allowance of somewhere between two and three years should be made because of this selection. If an allowance of two years in mental age is made for these selected factors, the Army results showed that of the white drafted men 17.6 per cent had a mental age of

² Davies, *Social Control of the Feeble-Minded*, New York, 1930. Chap. I.

³ *Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee of England, 1929*, Part I, pp. 13, 14.

under eleven years. Even this figure would leave 19,000,000 feeble-minded persons in the American population. This figure, however, indicated that something was wrong with the definition since many of those scoring low on this test had not been known in their communities as incompetent either industrially or socially. Hence we were forced to the conclusion that a low I.Q. does not necessarily mean feeble-mindedness. The average intelligence of a large sample must necessarily be the norm. It is the general conclusion, therefore, that if the United States were to make a survey of the general population probably it would be found that the rate per 1,000 did not differ materially from that found in England (8 per 1,000).

In both countries, therefore, above those who are feeble-minded is a group which on any mental test would rank considerably lower than a twelve-year-old child, but who cannot be called feeble-minded. They may be mentally deficient in many respects. Some of them may be unable to make proper adjustments to economic and social life, but others may have become readily adjusted to the requirements of their particular situations. Other personal characteristics than the intelligence determine their adaptation to the social environment. Classed by his I.Q. as a high grade moron, he may or may not actually be feeble-minded, but if his other personal characteristics are such that in addition to his limited intelligence he becomes a community nuisance, he might be classed as a mental defective. Authorities in both this country and in England, therefore, are inclined to say that the upper limit of feeble-mindedness is eight or nine years mental age for adults. Above this level, however, is a large number of difficult, troublesome, mental defectives who have a mental age of as high as eleven or twelve years.⁴ From the standpoint of our subject we must deal with the intellectually subnormal who are not well adjusted as well as with the definitely feeble-minded.⁵

It is a great pity that we have no exact nation-wide statistics as to mental deficiency in general or of its various forms. Since probably about one-half of the cases are hereditary, it would seem as important to know the number of the mentally deficient as to know the number of mules in the country. Surely this matter of mental defect lies at the very root of the nation's

⁴ Fernald, "Standardized Fields of Inquiry for Clinical Studies of Borderline Defectives", *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. I, pp 211-234; Wallin, *Studies of Mental Defects and Handicaps*, p 40; *Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee of England*, 1929, Part IV, p. 45.

⁵ Davies, *op. cit.*, Chapter I; Haviland, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 522; Hutchins, *Ibid*, p 513; Yerkes, *Psychological Examining in the U. S. Army, Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XV, New York, 1921, p. 790, Table 333.

stock. Moreover, without a careful census of the different varieties of those with limited intelligence it is difficult to work out a program for their care.⁶

RELATION OF MENTAL DEFICIENCY TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Mental deficiency is linked with almost every social problem. Many criminals are mentally defective. An undue proportion of habitually immoral women have a mentality not above that of a 12-year-old child. Mental defectives clog the schools, interfering with effective teaching and creating moral difficulties on the playground. Industry discovers some of them among the victims of accident and others among the inefficient who cannot hold a job. Many of the confirmed drunkards are of this type, while tramps which crowd the cheap lodging houses and fill the jails in winter furnish a surprising number of mental defectives.⁷

In Chapter VI were set forth the facts as to the association of mental defect with dependency. Our present task is to consider the methods by which mental defectives may be controlled in the interest of these unfortunates and for the welfare of society. We are concerned with the measures by which society can abate this menace to the intelligence, the sound stock, and the social and economic efficiency of the race. What are the methods by which control has been attempted, wherein have those methods failed, and wherein have they succeeded? What further efforts by the intelligent, mentally sound, and socially responsible members of society are necessary to correct this weak spot? The preservation of the economic and social efficiency of our population demands that the propagation of the feeble-minded be controlled and that their care be made a part of the program of the state for the benefit of all. A case will best show the problems presented by mental defect.

B Family: This family is particularly well known in the city in which they live, principally because they have been known to be dependent upon public charity for the past 30 odd years. Overseers of the poor, church organizations, relief agencies, women's clubs, neighbors, and strangers, have nurtured and cared for them, enabled them to thrive and reproduce themselves, from generation to generation.

The father is 61 years of age. He is a mental defective, and has always been

⁶ Haviland, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, pp. 522-527.

⁷ Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men*, New York, 1914, Chap. VI; Fernald, Hayes and Dawley, *Women Delinquents in New York State*, New York, 1920, Chaps. XIII, XIV; Anderson, *The Hobo*, Chicago, 1923, pp. 70-77; "The Men We Lodge", *American Labor Legislation Review*, November, 1915, p. 603; "Five Hundred Lodgers of the City", *Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare*, Chicago, 1926, pp. 10-18; Davenport, *The Feebly Inhibited, Nomadism, or the Wandering Impulse, with Special Reference to Heredity*, Washington, 1915, pp. 20-26.

considered by his neighbors as "half baked," "half-witted," "not all there." He has never worked regularly, has always done simply odd jobs, "knocking around from pillar to post." He is lazy, and unemployable. One winter he is said to have torn some of the walls and the ceilings out of the house which had been furnished him to live in, for firewood, rather than to go out and earn enough money to buy wood. He has been in court a great many times for not supporting his family, but the authorities declare it does no good to bring him into court, and they are at a loss to know what to do.

The mother is 54 years old, her parentage is not known, as she was adopted in early infancy. She has always been considered "not bright," she is very shiftless, careless, untruthful, and a poor housekeeper. When money has been given her to purchase food, she never uses judgment and foresight. The family will put every cent given them in a big feast. As a girl there were many complaints of her in the neighborhood, because of immorality. Later on she was known as a prostitute of the most common type. When quite young she and her husband were brought into court for indecent exposure.

This couple have had 11 children, all of whom are feeble-minded; seven are wards of the state. R., the oldest child, is a man of 34; he works irregularly, is a mental defective. In the past he has been a very heavy drinker.

J., the next child, was both feeble-minded and epileptic. At the age of 12 he was committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded at Chippewa Falls.

The third child, A., 31 years of age, is feeble-minded, was committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded at Chippewa Falls at the age of 13. It is not considered safe to release her into the community because of her grossly abnormal sex tendencies.

The fourth child, W., is 30 years of age, is feeble-minded, but is considered the best one of the lot. He works steadily. He tried to enlist for service in the army, but was refused because of feeble-mindedness. He has been in court for drunkenness, and was a heavy drinker before prohibition went into effect.

The fifth child, C., is 27 years old and is feeble-minded. He was committed to the State Institution for Feeble-minded 15 years ago. He is of very low type.

The sixth child, B., a feeble-minded girl, was also committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded in 1906.

The seventh child, G., 23 years old, is a feeble-minded boy, and has been cared for by the state at Chippewa Falls for 15 years.

The eighth child, G., is 20 years old, a very attractive, good looking, high grade mentally defective girl. She is very lazy, and will not work. Is sexually very delinquent. Is well known to the police in her own city, and is said to carry on her trade in a neighboring city, to which she goes every night, and hangs around the hotel picking up traveling men. When seen by the investigator, she had just returned from a month's trip through the West with a traveling man. The danger this girl presents from the standpoint of having defective children and spreading broadcast venereal disease, is tremendous, and cannot be over-estimated.

The ninth child died at the age of 17 years of meningitis. She had been regarded as a mental defective, and was sexually immoral. Before her death she had been taken out of her parents' home and placed in a very good home by the juvenile court.

The tenth child, T., is 14 years old. He was committed to the Home for Dependent Children at Sparta in February, 1917. At the age of 14 he has the mental age of a 10-year-old child.

The eleventh child, F., is a girl 11 years of age. She was committed with her brother to the State Home for Dependent Children at Sparta. She has now been placed out in a foster home, is considered very dull and backward. Previous to being committed to Sparta, she had been placed in a home by the court, but was returned because the family regarded it as impossible to do anything with her.⁸

We have now had enough experience with the treatment of this class to see clearly what fruits the methods have produced, where they have failed, and where others have succeeded. Moreover, the science of heredity has supplemented experience. The humanitarian impulses have now for the first time the guidance of both.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT

However backward and far from ideal our provisions for the mentally deficient may appear, they represent an advance and indicate progress.

In Early Society. In primitive societies the defective was often left to die, especially if the defect was physical. The mentally defective child was destroyed by the Spartans along with the weak children. Elsewhere such children were exposed to die or to be devoured by the wild beasts.

Those defectives who escaped this fate and manifested nervousness and eccentricities in later life came to be looked upon as possessed, and were abhorred by society. Among some peoples, for example, the Jews of the time of Jesus, they were driven into the wilderness to exist as best they could. If the defective was merely simple, and showed no violence and no eccentricities not easily understood, he was known as a "fool." The equivalent of this old English word is to be found in nearly all the Aryan languages. Among the ancient Romans fools were often attached to the houses of the wealthy for the amusement of the family. "The custom, which originated among the Romans, of harboring the fool in wealthy homes for his mountebank services was not the inhuman practice it has been since represented. It is more humane to laugh at the fool than to ignore him; it is more humane than to maltreat him."⁹

⁸ *Wisconsin Mental Deficiency Survey*, Madison, 1920, pp. 34-36.

⁹ Mott, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1894, p. 168.

In Christian Europe the idiots and imbeciles for a long time shared with the insane and epileptics the neglect and horror of the people. However, in the time of Constantine (fourth century A.D.) it is reported that the Bishop of Myra cared for idiots and imbeciles. Uphrasia, in the family of Theodosius, is also alleged to have devoted years to the care of these classes.¹⁰

Only a little later than the work of the Bishop of Myra and Uphrasia, the Moslems seem to have given some attention to the feeble-minded. The Koran, with an insight rather remarkable for that day, urges that the faithful care for these incompetents. It says: "Give not unto the feeble-minded the means which God hath given thee to keep for them; but maintain them for the same, clothe them, and speak kindly unto them."¹¹

In mediæval times the fools wandered about the country, looked upon by the people with superstitious awe as '*les enfants du bon Dieu*' or "innocents." Often they were attached to the establishments of the nobles.

Unfortunately, the Protestant Reformers seem to have gone back to the earlier way of looking upon these people, for we find that Luther and Calvin considered the feeble-minded to be "filled with Satan."¹²

MODERN TREATMENT OF THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT

The modern treatment of the feeble-minded begins in the middle of the Seventeenth Century in France with the hospital Bicêtre, under the auspices of St. Vincent de Paul. Concerned as he was with the care of children, he began his institutional care of them by receiving children feeble both in body and mind. So far as the feeble-minded were concerned, his chief incentive seems to have been to prevent them from suffering from neglect.

The first attempt to teach an idiot was made by Itard with a wild boy found in the Department of Aveyron, France, just after the French Revolution.¹³ Nearly 50 years later, in 1837, the Frenchman Seguin became interested in the experiment of Itard with this wild boy, and on this basis founded in Paris the first school with the avowed object of educating the defective.¹⁴

¹⁰ Barr, *Mental Defectives*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 25.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29 and 30.

¹⁴ "Dr. Seguin, 'the apostle of the idiot,' opened his first school for the idiots of the Hospice des Incurables in 1837, and this was positively the first scientific attempt made to develop the idiotic mind. Heretofore imbeciles had roamed at large, the prey to destitution, misery, and any form of abuse which the unscrupulous and the cruel might put upon them. Or, where the necessity of their protection was recognized, they were admitted into institutions for other classes of unfortunates. The majority of imbeciles for whom any provision was made were housed in almshouses or lunatic asylums." Mott, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1894, p. 169.

In the United States the first institution was a "school for idiots." Massachusetts established the first state institution in 1848. In 1851 New York State authorized an experimental school. Then followed Pennsylvania, Ohio, Connecticut, Kentucky, and Illinois. Up to 1874 only these six states and France had made provision for the care of this class. In all these instances the work began on the theory that what the defective needed was education and that this education must consist in a development of the senses. The public was indifferent, when not skeptical. These early enthusiasts did not see the definite limitations to the education of the feeble-minded, but it is due to their early emphasis that methods have been devised for the education of such defectives in sense perception and in manual arts.

Later it was seen that beyond a certain point education is impossible for some, and that custodial institutions must be provided for those educated to their natural limits who cannot be given careful supervision at home, and for the uneducable idiots and low grade imbeciles.

Recent experiments in the institutions for the feeble-minded have made it quite clear that large numbers of them, those below adolescence, and some of those trained in the institutions, may safely be released on parole to their relatives or to people who will take an interest in them. Of course they should always be under supervision from the institution.

Only recently has the colony for the custodial care of certain classes of the feeble-minded been devised.

PROVISIONS FOR THE CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT IN THE UNITED STATES

As the result of the development already traced, we should expect, perhaps, a greater number of institutions than actually exist. Until the last few years, however, the increase has been very slow. In 1890 there were only 24 institutions in 16 states for the separate care of the feeble-minded. Most mental defectives were in almshouses, asylums for the insane, in prisons, in reformatories, or at large. In 1904 the number of states making provision for their separate care had increased to 25 with 42 institutions; in 1920 to 31 with 63 institutions. In 1933 there were 78 state institutions, 3 city institutions, and 81 private institutions caring for mental defectives and epileptics. In 1934 only 5 states had failed to make special provision for them.¹⁵

In 1890 only 5,254 were in special institutions, 2,469 were in hospitals for the insane, and 7,811 were in poorhouses. In 1904 the number in special

¹⁵ *Mental Defectives and Epileptics in Institutions: 1933*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1935, p. 1; *Social Work Year Book: 1935*, p. 270.

institutions numbered 14,347, while 16,551 were in poorhouses. In 1910 the number in special institutions had risen to 20,731, while in almshouses there remained 13,238. In 1918 there were 39,381 feeble-minded persons in institutions in the United States, 36,277 in public and 3,104 in private institutions.¹⁶ At the end of 1933 there were 106,764 patients in institutions for mental defectives and epileptics, 93.7 per cent of whom were in state institutions. Out of 87,194 in state institutions 76,292 were mental defectives.¹⁷ Thus the trend has been to segregate these unfortunates in special institutions. While it is estimated that not more than one in ten of the feeble-minded need institutionalization, the present facilities take care of only a small fraction of that ten.¹⁸

Institutional care of the feeble-minded, as was shown above, has become almost entirely a function of the state for a number of reasons:

1. There is a tendency to regard all dependents as wards of the state.
2. Since their proper care is a public responsibility, public institutions are superseding the poorhouses as places for their care.
3. The conviction has been growing that the feeble-minded should be cared for, not only for their own sakes, but also for the protection of the public, and hence it should be a public function, since the enforcement of the law for their segregation cannot be left to private institutions.

A PROGRAM FOR THE TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

What, now, are the elements in the program which experience has shown necessary for dealing with the feeble-minded? Three general aims must mark any such program: (1) The hereditarily defective stock must not be permitted to propagate; even those feeble-minded who do not carry a defective germ-plasm are often quite incapable of properly rearing children; (2) society must be protected from danger by anti-social feeble-minded individuals; and, (3) the feeble-minded themselves must be so treated as to be as happy and as little burden upon the taxpayers as possible. To accomplish these purposes, the following measures are helpful.

1. **Methods of Commitment.** A difficulty often met with in securing proper care of the feeble-minded is their commitment. In many states it is impossible under the law to commit anyone to an institution for the feeble-

¹⁶ Pollock and Furbush, "Annual Census of the Insane, Feeble-minded, Epileptics, and Inebriates in Institutions in U. S., January 1, 1918," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. III, p. 81.

¹⁷ *Mental Defectives and Epileptics in Institutions: 1933*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1935, pp. 3, 16.

¹⁸ Greene, "Progress in Understanding and Control of the Feeble-Minded," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1930, p. 132.

mindless unless he is very patently an idiot or a low-grade imbecile. As a consequence, numbers of feeble-minded have been sent to asylums for the insane, to jails and prisons, because feeble-mindedness is not understood by either the public at large or by judges and juries. Therefore, efforts have been made to modernize the commitment laws. The following points are important:

(1) The term "feeble-minded person" should be "construed to mean any person afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from an early age so pronounced that he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs or of being taught to do so, and who requires supervision, control, and care for his own welfare, or for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community" and who is not an insane person under the law.

(2) Commitment should be only on petition by any relative, guardian, or conservator, or any reputable citizen of the county, verified by affidavit and based upon information and belief.

(3) A hearing should be held to determine the truth of the information alleged in the petition. The testimony of witnesses and the report of a commission appointed by the judge to examine the supposed feeble-minded person forms the evidence on which decision is based.¹⁹

(4) The commission should be composed either of two reputable physicians of the county or of a physician and a psychologist.

(5) If the hearing on the petition shows that the person is feeble-minded, the judge should commit.

(6) Any change in the status of the person so committed, such as discharge, transfer from one institution to another, should be made through the court of original jurisdiction, after hearing in which the friends or relatives, and the superintendent of the institution in which he has been detained shall be given an opportunity to be heard, or by an administrative board clothed with such authority.²⁰ Such procedure allows weight to the results of the examination of experts in the subject and represents a distinct advance over the historic trial with witnesses, counsel and jury as in a criminal trial.

2. **Segregation.** The seriously defective who cannot be carefully supervised should be segregated. With so few institutions for the custodial care of the feeble-minded, such a policy is difficult. Practically every such institution in the United States has a long waiting list of persons adjudged defective by the courts. The number of such institutions would have to be

¹⁹ In Wisconsin a jury is not used unless demanded by the party or his relatives

²⁰ In Wisconsin transfer from one institution to another is in the hands of the Board of Control.

greatly increased before those from whom society should be protected, and who need safeguarding from the vicious elements of society can be properly cared for. The costliness, however, of custodial institutions is so great that other methods must be devised.²¹ It was estimated that in 1923 there was institutional provision for less than 8 per cent of the feeble-minded in this country.²²

3. **Sterilization.** It has been suggested that, since one of the objects of the care of the feeble-minded is to prevent their reproduction, they should be sterilized. Sterilization in the modern sense began in Indiana under Dr. Sharp in 1899 without warrant of law. The first state to pass a law authorizing sterilization of certain classes was Indiana in 1907. Such laws are now in force in twenty-seven States in the United States and also in the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia in Canada, in Denmark, Germany, the Canton of Vaud in Switzerland, the State of Vera Cruz in Mexico, and in the free city of Danzig.²³ Up to January 1, 1935, 20,063 eugenic sterilizations had been performed in state institutions under laws in the United States,—11,419 females, 8,644 males. Half of these had been performed in the State of California alone.²⁴

At the present stage of surgical science it is possible to perform this operation upon men with very little difficulty and without any decided inconvenience to the patient. In the case of women an abdominal incision is necessary but in actual practice the operation is no more dangerous than one for appendicitis.²⁵

An argument offered in favor of sterilization is that a certain proportion of the feeble-minded need not be kept in institutions but can marry and have a normal home life if they are sterilized, and thus reduce the cost of their care and render them much more emotionally stable.

Outside of California the results of sterilization have not been carefully studied. In that state investigation shows that the operation entails very little danger to the life or health of the patient. In many cases the health, both physical and mental, especially of the woman, is very much improved. The physical improvement may be due to other operations which are performed at the same time as sterilization, and the mental in insane patients may be due to the absence of fear of pregnancy following the operation. The

²¹ Fernald, "A State Program for the Care of the Mentally Defective," *Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 60, pp. 403, 404.

²² Davies, *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient*, New York, 1930, p. 130.

²³ Gosney, *Eugenic Sterilization*, Reprint from the *Scientific American*, July, 1934.

²⁴ Information provided by the Human Betterment Foundation, Pasadena, California.

²⁵ Gosney and Popenoe, *Sterilization for Human Betterment*, New York, 1929, Chapter 9.

opponents of sterilization argue that it invites an increase in the amount of promiscuous sexual intercourse and the spread of venereal disease, and that thus it would endanger the monogamous family.²⁶ California's experience also has some bearing upon this argument. Of the feeble-minded girls sterilized at the California State Home for the Feeble-Minded and afterwards paroled, 75 per cent had been sex delinquents before commitment. After sterilization and parole only 8 per cent became sex delinquents. That result, however, may have been due not so much to the effects of the operation as to the careful supervision under which they lived on parole. There is very little evidence that the sterilization of the feeble-minded has any important effect upon sexual passion. The chief social effect is that it prevents reproduction. It has been argued that even without sterilization these people who after sterilization are paroled, would do just as well under careful supervision without the operation. However, on the showing of California experience the 8 per cent of those sterilized who became sexually delinquent probably would have produced feeble-minded children and therefore at least that much gain was insured by the operation.

On the other hand it is argued that to sterilize the feeble-minded in order to parole them and thus make room for others would set at large numbers of men and women who are now leading fairly happy lives in well conducted institutions, where they have the companionship of their fellows and where they are working at some gainful occupation. It would also force them to shift for themselves in a world to which they are poorly adapted. But the proponents of sterilization argue that some of those who must have custodial care because their intelligence is too limited to enable them to get along on the outside could marry and live within the institution without danger of handing on their defect. By marriage some of their emotional difficulties would be solved, and thus, whether inside or outside the institution, they would tend to be more stable.²⁷

Others oppose sterilization on religious grounds. Still others are not enthusiastic about it on the ground that from the scientific point of view it will not solve the problem of eliminating mental defectives. Pope Pius XI condemns sterilization because it interferes with the natural right of man to enter matrimony, affects also in a real way the welfare of the offspring, deprives people of a natural faculty by medical action in spite of their unwillingness, and grants to the civil authority power over a natural faculty

²⁶ Landman, *Human Sterilization*, New York, 1932, Chapter 14; see also Davies, *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient*, New York, 1930, Chapter 7.

²⁷ Gosney, *Eugenic Sterilization*, Reprint from the *Scientific American*, July, 1934; Gosney and Popenoe, *Sterilization for Human Betterment*, New York, 1929, Chapter 11.

which it never had and never can legitimately possess. He also argues that voluntary sterilization is wrong because private individuals have no other power over the members of their bodies than that which pertains to their natural ends. Therefore they are not free to destroy or mutilate their members or in any way render themselves unfit for their natural functions except when no other provision can be made for the good of the whole body.²⁸

The most pertinent criticism of the scientist is not against sterilization but is a refutation of the hope that sterilization in a brief time will solve the problem of the hereditary feeble-minded. Jennings has shown that the population of the country consists of three groups—(1) a small group of about 330,000 feeble-minded, carrying two defective genes to the pair; (2) a group of about 10,000,000, normal carriers with one defective gene to the pair; and (3) a group of about 90,000,000 normals having none of the defective genes of this type. R. A. Fisher has shown that about 11 per cent of the feeble-minded of any generation come from the mating of feeble-minded of the previous generation, while 89 per cent come from matings among the carrier group. Hence the sterilization of all the feeble-minded of the present generation would get rid of about 11 per cent of the feeble-minded of the next generation. Thus the number will be reduced in the next generation from 330,000 to 293,700. To sterilize all the feeble-minded in each generation thereafter will reduce less rapidly in each succeeding one the potential number of feeble-minded in the population. It has been estimated that to decrease the proportion of the feeble-minded in the population to 1 per 10,000 would require about sixty-eight generations, or from 2000 to 3000 years, by stopping in each generation the propagation of all feeble-minded individuals.²⁹

On the whole, therefore, we may say that sterilization is not a cure-all for feeble-mindedness. Nor will it empty the institutions for the segregation of the feeble-minded. It will, however, reduce the number somewhat and will prevent the propagation of the feeble-minded by those who patently have defective genes. Every case prevented is a gain. Sterilization and segregation are twin methods neither of which alone will solve the problem of the elimination of mental defectives.³⁰

²⁸ "Encyclical Letter on Christian Marriage by Pope Pius XI", *Four Great Encyclicals*, Paulist Press, New York, 1931, pp. 90-96.

²⁹ Fisher, "The Elimination of Mental Defect", *The Journal of Heredity*, Vol. 18, 1927, pp. 529-531; Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, New York, 1930, Chapter 10.

³⁰ Watkins, "Selective Sterilization", *Bull., Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, October, 1932, p. 59; Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization in the United States*, Chicago, 1922.

4. **Parole under Supervision.** For some time institutions for the segregation of defectives have practiced parole under supervision. Massachusetts has led in this constructive experiment. The practice was begun in Massachusetts because of the great pressure upon its institution for the feeble-minded. Dr. Fernald and the commission having charge decided to try paroling those whose conduct indicated that they would probably do well under careful supervision. A large staff of supervisors traveling about the state was employed, a careful investigation of the factory and the home in which these boys and girls were to be placed was made, and very careful follow-up was instituted. Dr. Fernald reported in 1919 that the institution then had 300 boys on parole earning on an average of \$16 a week. These boys have been trained in the institution as far as possible. Experience so far has indicated that under careful state supervision and by educating the people with whom they work as to their care, the use of parole may be extended very much more widely than has been believed possible. In state institutions the practice of paroling carefully selected cases has been growing in practice. On January 1, 1928, 11.5 per cent of the patients in state hospitals were on parole, while on January 1, 1934, 13.4 per cent were thus disposed of.³¹

Enough experience has now been had to show the success of the plan of paroling carefully selected inmates of these institutions. A study of one hundred boys paroled from the Waverly Institution in Massachusetts showed that only two of ninety-seven who had been living in the community for from ten months to five years with an average of about two and one-half years were social failures. These boys had on the average eight-year-old minds.³²

A similar study made of those discharged from the Letchworth Village in New York State prior to January 1, 1927, numbering 1,164 (male 766, female 398) is also of interest in this connection. 548 were not included in the study, 122 having been transferred while patients directly to other institutions, 14 having died subsequent to discharge, and 412, the remainder, not having been located or not being well enough known to warrant a judgment as to success or failure. 616 were located and their conduct determined. Of this number 73 per cent had been successful in their social and economic adjustment, while 27 per cent had been failures. Of the boys, both morons and imbeciles, the proportion of success to failure was about 3 to 1. Of the 183 females in the group studied 75 per cent were listed as successful

³¹ *Mental Defectives and Epileptics in Institutions: 1933*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1933, p. 13.

³² Matthews, "One Hundred Institutionally Trained Male Defectives in the Community under Supervision," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. VI, pp. 332-342.

and 25 per cent failures.³³ Of the boys studied by Miss Matthews in Massachusetts the wages ranged from \$10.00 to \$28.00 a week. Dr. Greene, Superintendent of the Waverly, Massachusetts, Institution, estimated that the 165 patients on parole from that institution had saved the State in maintenance costs about \$59,417. In addition he estimated that they had earned \$64,500.³⁴ On the whole, experience has shown that many of the properly trained feeble-minded may be paroled without danger. It is necessary, however, that only those be selected for parole who have been carefully trained in the institution and that on parole they be carefully supervised in the communities where they are located.

5. **Colonies for Feeble-Minded in Custody.** A stumbling block to the care of the feeble-minded is the enormous expense of supporting large numbers. New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts have blazed the way to the economical custodial care of imbeciles, high-grade idiots, and low-grade morons, who would be dangerous or in danger at large, by establishing a colony connected with the parent institution, but at some little distance, as in the Waverly Colony in Massachusetts, the colonies at Rome, New York, and the Menantico Colony in New Jersey. Wild land has been improved by a colony of selected men sent thither from the parent institution. It has been found that the higher defectives under direction can very economically clear and drain land and prepare it for useful cultivation. At Menantico in New Jersey they even made the cement blocks and built the buildings in which they were housed. In this institution they were housed at the cost of \$300, compared with the cost of \$1,500 per inmate in the parent institution.

At Rome, New York, Dr. Bernstein has developed a series of farm colonies for boys. In 1920 there were 11 of these in operation. A part of them were for ordinary farming operations and a number were reforestation colonies. In some cases the reforestation work was done for the State Conservation Commission; in others for the institution itself. In addition, some of these boys were allowed to work for farmers nearby.³⁵

Dr. Bernstein says concerning these moron boys colonized on farms: "In addition to earning their livings on these farms and improving the land and buildings, the boys would have spare time to put in helping farmers who are much in need of such labor and thus further contribute to their support."³⁶

³³ Storrs, "A Report on an Investigation Made of Cases Discharged from Letchworth Village," *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics*, Vol. 34, pp. 220-242.

³⁴ Davies, *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient*, New York, 1930, pp. 203-215.

³⁵ "Colony and Extra-institutional Care for the Feeble-minded," *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1920, pp. 1-6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

In 1933 there were forty-nine colonies of all kinds in connection with the institution at Rome, New York,—twenty-nine boys' colonies and twenty girls' colonies. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, these colonies earned \$37,656.55 and cost in operating expenses \$23,815.45.³⁷

Says Dr. Bernstein: "But the financial saving is not the primary consideration in our farm-colony work. Much more important, in our opinion, is the fact that the colony boys are living happy, wholesome, normal lives and are receiving a kind of training much better calculated to fit them for useful and successful careers than the training they would get at the institution."³⁸

When these boys have been properly trained in the colonies some of them are paroled to farmers and others to homes. Concerning the boys who have been paroled to farmers, Mr. Davies makes this report concerning one boy he visited:

Starting out from the Rome institution one morning to visit colonies at Hamilton and Oriskany Falls, some twenty miles distant, the writer, with the special parole agent for the boys, visited the boys who happened to be working for farmers along the roads traversed. Entirely unselected instances as they were, the interviews with the boys and farmers were indicative of the situation generally. At the first place we found the boy, a youth of about eighteen with a mental age of 9, turning to and helping the "Mrs." with the washing. The farmer was away. The woman said he was a willing helper. He ordinarily worked on the farm, but assisted with the heavy work about the house, too. We asked permission to speak with the boy alone. We talked to him confidentially and he apparently was entirely frank with us. "Would you like to go on a better farm?" we asked, a question which usually draws out from a boy any sign of discontentment or dissatisfaction with his present place. The boy spoke in a very clear and straightforward manner. He couldn't think of leaving here now. It was a small farm and some day he might like to go on a bigger one. "But, you see, the man isn't very well and he couldn't get along without me right now. I do most of the work running the farm. He just tells me what to do. No, I've got to run this place. I wouldn't want to leave." Asked what he did for a good time, the boy said. "Oh, I like it here. We get to bed early and up early in the morning and there is plenty of work. They treat me fine and I don't get lonesome." The boy's good sense and his feeling of loyalty and responsibility to the farm and the farmer were to the writer at the time quite unexpected findings.³⁹

The colonies for feeble-minded girls were established by Dr. Bernstein later than those for boys. In 1914 he established a working girls' colony in

³⁷ *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Visitors, Rome State School, Rome, New York*, p. 14.

³⁸ Bernstein, "Colony and Parole Care," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, p. 455.

³⁹ Davies, quoted in Bernstein, "Colony and Parole Care," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, pp. 455, 456.

connection with the institution. The girls' colony is the most interesting because it has shown that feeble-minded girls may be employed in a more useful way than is possible in an institution. A large house was secured in the town in charge of a skilled matron. A social visitor inspects their working places and their street deportment. These girls are hired out as domestics in the homes of the city at 50 cents per day, but most of them live in this home, which also serves as their social center. The girls are carefully selected, none being markedly defective. The plan is so to train these girls that they can be released on parole and earn their own living in domestic service. In this plan they are at once trained and tested as to their capacity to live safely outside an institution.

Sixty-seven girls were thus colonized at first, 25 being returned to the institution during the year, 9 for social offenses, 9 because they had not received in the institution sufficient training, and 7 others because of sickness or because they were worth more in the institution. They earned \$3,278.81, making themselves more than entirely self-supporting. In fact, it required only about one-third of their earnings to meet the expenses of the colony.

A marked improvement in the condition of the girls was noticed. Dr. Bernstein says, "I do not hesitate to declare that the results of our year's experience amply justify us in deciding to go on with the work. . . ."

Other colonies were established about the institution at Rome because of the success of the first. In addition to domestic service, a colony has been started at Oriskany Falls to allow girls to work in the knitting mills. Requests have been received from nine other places for colonies. The mill colonies are promising for girls who require close supervision, for the supervisor who accompanies them from the colony to the mill acts as forewoman in the mill and thus can act as instructor for the new girls. In the domestic service colonies, including hand laundering and serving, girls who have been trained for a time there are mingled with new girls in training.

The more trustworthy girls at domestic work are allowed to sleep at the home where they are employed, but the colony remains their social center and to it they must report regularly.

Dr. Bernstein says that from one-fourth to one-third of the girls committed to his institution can be safely placed in such colonies. For such this method of care costs only \$85 a year, while it costs \$280 a year to care for a girl in the institution. Concerning the influence of this colony life upon the girls, Dr. Bernstein says:

This money represents something of what colony life really means to the girls. It stands for privileges and comforts, such as free spending money, better clothes, savings in the bank. But even if the girls received no pay for their work other

than their board and the privilege of living in a normal home for a year or two, they would be well repaid. Many of them, it should be remembered, failed because of bad home environment and training and knew nothing of normal family life.⁴⁰

After this extended experience Dr. Bernstein summarizes his conclusions as follows:

We are more firmly than ever of the opinion that from one-third to one-half of all the mentally defective persons who need state care can be provided for under a reasonable system of colony and parole care and supervision. As we see the situation in most large institutions, the daily routine work of the institution is not sufficient to provide adequate employment for the patients. Many of them will always be found sitting around inactive and listless and so gradually deteriorating, while many others will be greatly disturbed and troublesome, their unused energy going to waste or seeking an outlet in destructiveness. We are convinced, as a result of seventeen years of experience, that this energy can be turned into useful channels. Boys and girls who are capable of becoming self-supporting even to the extent of paying for their own supervision should not be deprived of the right to exercise their capacities, nor should the community be deprived of their services. In our opinion, no large institution for mentally defective persons that does not institute a policy of parole and discharge for favorable cases is doing its full duty by its patients, the state, and the public; and no such policy can be made as widely applicable and as successful as it should be without a system of colony supervision during the rehabilitation period for individuals who have no suitable home and no relatives who can be depended upon to befriend and supervise them.⁴¹

At the Rome Institution several new principles have been applied to colony operations: (1) The colonization of women as well as of men; (2) the establishment of industrial colonies in town for both men and women in addition to farm colonies for men and domestic colonies for women; (3) use of the colony as a definite training center for community life and as a midway station between the institution and parole; and (4) the development of junior colonies as training centers for the younger inmates. The latter is the most recent development and is intended to provide a more homelike atmosphere than can be found in the institution for some of the younger inmates. Classes are carried on in these junior colonies just as they are in the main institution.⁴²

⁴⁰ Bernstein, "Colony and Parole Care for Dependents and Defectives," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, pp. 461, 462.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 470. See also Davies, *Social Control of the Feeble-minded*, New York, 1923, Chaps. VIII, IX.

⁴² Davies, *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient*, New York, 1930, p. 221.

These various experiments exemplify a new kind of colony. Colonies for hopeless custodial cases we have long had. Here are colonies with new functions—a midway station between the institution and parole; training in home life in small groups; vocational training; release from the irritations of institutional life; and development of a sense of responsibility and usefulness. They provide a more flexible method in the care of the more trustworthy defectives, which will at once fit them for useful lives in the world, be much less costly to the state while they are in training, and make room in the institution for those who cannot be colonized or paroled.

So far in the experiment careful selection has been made of those who are placed in the colony, for the policy should not be employed with all feeble-minded. It can, however, be used to make them happy and contented while they are usefully employed producing a large part of the cost of their care. Like practically every other experiment in the use of those defective industrially, much depends upon the managerial ability of the official in charge.

These colonies serve as a means of adaptation to ordinary family and community life much better than any institution. Many of the inmates who are restless and somewhat unmanageable in the institution become entirely transformed by the steady work, the normal family conditions, and the more individual attention which can be given them in the colonies.

Experience shows that with these feeble-minded boys and girls often many readjustments have to be made by changing them from one colony to another, sending them back to the institution for further training, replacing them in a colony until just the right environment is found in which they will develop into well-behaved and promising individuals.

6. **The Training of the Feeble-minded in the Public Schools.** The first attempts to deal with the feeble-minded assumed that all they needed was training. With infinite patience Itard in France and Seguin, first in France and later in the United States, attempted to give the feeble-minded an education. They soon learned that the feeble-minded cannot be educated as are normal-minded children. Their dulled senses must be trained by simple means. Their sluggish organization must be stimulated by physical and psychological methods, and the education which is attempted must be suited to their capacities.

In our best educational systems the children who are two or three years backward in their grades are placed in special classes.⁴³ The special classes

⁴³ In 1932 special classes for mentally handicapped children were organized in 483 cities in 39 states in the United States. In them receiving instruction were 75,000 children. "Special Training Facilities for Mentally Handicapped Children in the Public Day Schools of the United States, 1922-23," *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1924, p. 893; *Social Work Year Book*: 1935, p. 270; *Biennial Survey of Education*, 1932-33, U. S. Depart-

for the backward children is a movement in the right direction. They should be more widely extended, for there are at least 3,000,000 mentally retarded children for whom such provisions should be made. It is now felt that if social adjustment is not made after a certain stage has been reached, these children cannot be properly cared for in the public schools and have to be sent to institutions specializing in the training of such pupils. Individual attention based upon study of each case must be given them.

The promising beginning which has been made in the school systems of some of our states should be adopted by many more schools and should not be confined merely to special classes for retarded pupils. Experience in Massachusetts and other states which have studied carefully the results of this method of handling the retarded pupil show definitely that it is necessary to do very much more for these handicapped children than can be done in the schoolroom. They have personality problems which must be dealt with; there are home conditions which must be modified if their attitudes towards life are not to be distorted. The visiting teacher movement is a development in the direction of properly handling these pupils. So few of our school systems, however, have visiting teachers that even in Massachusetts, the pioneer in this work, the school nurses have to be called in to do what they can in the matter. When less than 50,000 are provided for out of 3,000,000 retarded in the public schools of the United States, of whom 1,000,000 will probably prove to be feeble-minded, it is clear that we have only begun to touch this important problem.

It is clear, also, that the state institutions cannot handle all those who need special attention. The public school should be the place where such children are discovered. In Massachusetts it has been found that only 4 or 5 per cent of the retarded children need to be sent to an institution. By proper provision in the community in which they live many of them can be adjusted without having to undergo institutional experience. Furthermore, the institutions are now so crowded that they have long waiting lists.⁴⁴

ment of Interior, Office of Education, Bull. 1033, No. 2, Chapter VI, p. 25; For the laws in the various states governing these special classes, see Haynes, "State Laws Relating to Special Classes in Schools for Mentally Handicapped Children in the Public Schools," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1925, p. 529

⁴⁴ *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, p. 270; Dayton, "The Walter E. Fernald Plan for the Examination of Retarded School Children," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, October, 1932, pp. 29-59; Doll, "The Relation of the Public Schools to the Public Institutions," *Proceedings, American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded*, 1933; Lord, "A Survey of Special Class Pupils in Massachusetts," *Ibid*; Bronner, "Follow-Up Studies of Mental Defectives," *Ibid*; Beaman, "The Value of Social Factors in the Training of a Defective Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1931; Anderson, "Why Special Classes?" *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1931; Heck, "Schools and Classes for Subnormal Children," *Special Schools and Classes in Cities of Ten Thousand*

In the special institution the more pronounced defectives are among people of their own kind and are not subjected to the abuse of the pupils in the public schools where they are often the butt of jokes and sometimes the objects of brutal attacks and abuse.

In the special institution their training should extend to the utmost development of their capacities for practical usefulness. Then if their condition warrants it, they can be paroled; if not, they can be retained in as useful a place as possible in the institution or its colony. When this is done throughout our United States what a happy contrast it will be with the present. Thousands of these children are now leading a miserable existence and are a menace to society while they are at large. On January 1, 1923, 12,183 of them were languishing in almshouses.⁴⁵ While it is probable that most of these cases were adults, the fact is indicative of our neglect of this class of dependents.

The Defective Delinquent. In almost every state institution for the feeble-minded there is a certain number who in spite of the very best effort cannot be adjusted. Often they are those of the higher intelligence levels. At least three of our states have established special institutions for defective delinquents to which these cases can be transferred—the feeble-minded who seriously interfere with the work of those organized as training institutions. Massachusetts was the first state in this country to make such provision. New York and New Jersey have followed with the consequent greatly improved morale in the institutions for the feeble-minded.⁴⁶

The Social Worker and the Feeble-Minded. While some knowledge of psychiatry is more important for the social worker with the insane or otherwise mentally disordered than with the feeble-minded, it is important that the social worker know something about the nature of mental defect and its interrelation with other forms of mental derangement. Unless such a worker understands something of the psychology of the defective he will be making constant mistakes. He will not know when to make efforts at adjustment of social relationships in ordinary community life and when the case is one for institutional care. In the problem of the mentally defective the understanding case worker may be able to adjust the relationships of the person to his environment without commitment to an institution. Moreover, it requires a social worker with insight and knowledge of his social resources,

Population and More in the United States, Bulletin, U. S. Office of Education, 1930, No. 7, pp. 6-12; Davies, *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient*, New York, 1930, Chapter 15.

⁴⁵ *Paupers in Almshouses: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1925, p. 68.

⁴⁶ Overholser, "Some Aspects of the Defective Delinquent Pupil," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, October, 1932, p. 17.

in selected cases to provide supervision which will determine social adjustment in the direction of fairly normal conduct. Unless, however, direction can be such that reproduction does not take place, the social worker who keeps a defective out of an institution has a heavy weight of responsibility to bear. In certain cases, without doubt, the mentally defective can be impressed with the necessity of not having children. No one yet knows the limit of persuasive power in this direction by a well-trained social worker. If adjustment can be made whereby the mental defectives can earn their own living and thus not be dependent, real progress will be made. That adjustment, however, should not blind the eyes of the social worker to the eugenic measures necessary to prevent reproduction, in cases where there is good evidence of hereditary defect.⁴⁷

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. History of the Treatment of the Feeble-minded. Fernald, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1898, p. 203.
2. The New York Experiment in Colony and Institutional Care of the Feeble-minded. Bernstein, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1920, p. 359; "Colony and Extra-institutional Care for the Feeble-minded," *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1920, pp. 1-28; "Colony and Parole Care for Dependents and Defectives," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1923, pp. 449-471; Davies, *Social Control of the Feeble-minded*, New York, 1923, Chaps. VIII, IX.
3. A State Program for the Care of the Mentally Defective. Fernald, *Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 60, Washington, 1919, p. 399.
4. Review Goddard, *The Kallikak Family*, New York, 1912.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define feeble-mindedness.
2. When we say that a feeble-minded person has the mental age of a five-year-old child, do we mean that he will display all the characteristics of a child of that age? Why?
3. How extensive is feeble-mindedness in the United States?
4. Can we say on the basis of the army draft tests, that the average age of the population of the United States is that of a thirteen-year-old child? Why?
5. Trace the changes in the care and treatment of the mentally defective from early times up to the present.
6. What influence has the doctrine of heredity in modern science had upon the treatment of the mental defective?

⁴⁷ On the difficulties of the private agencies in supervising the feeble-minded, see Hammond, "The Private Agency and the Feeble-Minded," *The Survey*, March 15, 1925, p. 763. On the efficiency of the mental defective in industry see *Employment of Mentally Deficient Boys and Girls*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 210, Washington, 1932.

7. What influence has modern psychology had upon our understanding of the nature of mental defect? What upon our treatment of the feeble-minded?
8. How adequate are the provisions in the United States for the care and education of the mental defective?
9. What three general characteristics must mark any program for the treatment and prevention of feeble-mindedness?
10. Discuss the value and practicability of the following methods of treatment of the feeble-minded: (a) segregation; (b) sterilization; (c) education by the usual methods and in the same school with the normal children; (d) education in special classes under specially trained teachers and in special institutions; (e) colonies.
11. From the description in the text of the colonies at Rome, New York, point out the advantages of that system of caring for the feeble-minded.
12. If you were a social worker under what conditions would you attempt to adjust the feeble-minded person in the community, and under what conditions would you have him committed to an institution?
13. How would you handle the B family quoted earlier in the chapter (a) if you were a social worker? (b) if you were a judge before whom the case came?

CHAPTER XXII

THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

IN this chapter our concern is primarily with the abnormally¹ dependent normal child. The mental defective and the physically handicapped child are considered in other chapters.

The problem falls naturally into two parts—(1) the problem of the infant, and (2) that of the older child. In the one case the task is to secure the survival of the child; in the other his proper education and moral development. Infants, unless carefully tended, show an astonishing tendency to die. Throughout the country as a whole even at this day with its emphasis upon child welfare, 1 out of 10 born dies before it reaches its first birthday, while 1 in 4 or 5 perishes before the fifth birthday. In the institutions for children the death rate has often run as high as 75 per cent of those received.²

However, after the child has attained the age of 5 or 6, he shows a very high vitality as compared with the infant. But with the increase of his viability comes the problem of his social development. He is rapidly learning about the world in which he lives, including the characteristics of the human beings by whom he is surrounded. He is imitative and therefore must be provided examples worthy of imitation.

Social Importance of Early Care of Children. The problem of the physical development of the child is comparatively easy. Even children's institutions have been able to cut the death rate very materially. The problem of the mental and social development of the child is much more serious. While modern medicine has made it rather easy to prevent the death of healthy infants, we are just beginning to get light upon how to solve the much larger problem of the proper mental, emotional, and social development of children. While it may not be the most important factor in dependency, an unsocial personality (by which is meant a lack of adjustment of the personality to the social conditions under which he lives) plays an important part. The families and individuals which come to the attention of the social worker do not all have bad heredity; not all are physically disabled; only a minority are feeble-minded, epileptic, or insane. Among them are personalities without ambition, repressed, unable to adapt them-

¹ For definition of an "abnormally dependent child" see Chapter II.

² Lane, "Just Flickerings of Life", *Surrey*, May 6, 1916.

selves to a given situation, fearful of what may happen if they get out of the ordinary rut of their lives, timid on the one hand, or over-aggressive on the other, suspicious, easily stirred to resentment, unemployed because they do not fit into the economic and industrial machinery, unable to adjust themselves to the complex conditions of life, partly because of their biological heritage, and in part, because of unsettling experiences, usually in childhood. Many children even in normal family life go wrong. Parents do not know how to handle them. How much more probable is it that the children who have been deprived of normal home conditions be mishandled.

Dr. Thom says:

By force of circumstances, children, taken as a group, are destined to spend their early years in closest association with adult personalities who are lamentably ignorant of the most elementary principles which govern behavior. Children are dependent upon adults not only for physical care, intellectual stimulation and moral precepts, but also for an environment in which to live that is not contaminated by the unsatisfied emotional strivings of the parents. That the mental life of the child and its relation to its future health, happiness and efficiency, has been little appreciated in years past, is evidenced by the lack of recognition this important phase of hygiene has received, even at the hands of the various professional groups, such as physicians, educators, lawyers, and others directly interested in problems of the gravest social significance.

The conduct of the child which deviates from the normal and which is unusual or unexpected is as great a mystery to the average parent as certain types of adult conduct are to the child. The parents often have as little comprehension of the underlying forces that account for temper tantrums, fears and personality twists in the child, as has the child who has been punished for some act, the wrongness of which could not possibly lie within his comprehension.

To be sure, when such punishment has been inflicted, the child is aware that something is wrong. His whole horizon is changed from one of joy to sorrow. He is ostracized and humiliated by an effective blow, which has not only hurt his physical being, but damaged his self-regarding sentiment. He struggles blindly with unseen forces over which he has no control, to regain his lost world. The whyness and the justice of the act are perhaps years beyond his intellectual grasp, and the emotional reaction has all the sorrow, bitterness and resentment, while it lasts, that any adult could experience. How little of all this emotional turmoil is understood by the average parent! (And how feeble the attempt to interpret or alter the results in terms of mental hygiene!) One would not be far wrong in stating that most of the serious situations occurring during pre-school years, and the very ones that are most apt to leave scars which incapacitate in later life, are created by the personalities with which the child has to deal. All too frequently we find parents resorting to methods for obtaining desirable conduct that are simply reflections of their own emotional instability.

The over-solicitous mother produces the dependent, clinging-vine type of child. The stern, rigid, righteous father, with all his striving for authority and self-assertion, is not infrequently the creator of the child who feels inferior and inadequate. The parent who is quick-tempered and hands out discipline in the most erratic manner, and the parent who bribes and cheats the child, are accountable for a group of personality deviations in their offspring to the same degree as though they had crippled them by physical force.³

The Hopefulness of Charitable Work with Children. No class of dependents offer such possibilities as children. They are plastic beings. Hereditary tendencies being equal, the child can be molded much more easily than the adult already more or less fixed in habits, and possessing ideals good and bad. Response to treatment is much more emphatic, therefore, in the child than in the adult. Neglected, the child is much more likely to revenge himself on society for such neglect than the adult. Properly cared for, conditioned by good example, and wise handling, the child is much more likely to develop the characteristics necessary for usefulness and success.

Most children live in sight of the end of the rainbow. Possessing the will to live and to achieve they have no acquired pessimism to shadow their path to a better future. They dream dreams. In their adolescence they build their "house of dreams," to use Jane Addams' phrase. With proper treatment, therefore, they tend to grow up to be useful citizens, as the work of every modern, well conducted child-placing agency attests. Constantly children taken from the meanest environment, from the poorest homes, placed in a good environment surprise us by turning out well.

We must not forget, however, that a child is most expensive to raise from infancy to maturity. The prolongation of infancy, as John Fiske pointed out long ago, provides the long period necessary for the development of the mind and habits of the child necessary to enable it to function in social life. This means that a child must be supported much longer than the young of any other animal. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company made a study showing what it costs to rear a child from infancy to eighteen years of age. The conclusion was based upon a study of families with an average annual income of \$2,500. They found that the average cost of rearing a child was \$7,238. This figure represents the cost to the family, without considering the money value of the mother's care. If this figure is correct, it is apparent that low-income people with large families are more likely to have dependent children for the community to care for

³ Thom, "The Importance of the Early Years," *Concerning Parents*, New York, 1926, pp. 100, 101. See also Kenworthy, "From Childhood to Youth," *Ibid.*, pp. 118-136. See also Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment*, New York, 1923.

than families with higher income. While the lack of money is not the only factor in producing child dependency, nevertheless it is clear that, without an adequate income, a large family of children cannot be given proper attention and education, share in those elements of culture, and have that self-respect and confidence which children ought to have. Moreover, while we do not know whether lack of money is the main factor in producing marital unhappiness, we do know that the discouragement that comes both to the father and the mother because of inadequate income many times leads to domestic difficulties and sometimes to the break-up of the family. In these ways child dependency is increased.

Importance of Care in Separating Children from their Homes and in Placing them in Foster Homes or Institutions. Too often workers with children have been unconscious of the violent emotional disturbances frequently experienced by children whose homes are broken up and who are placed in institutions or in foster homes. Status, or the sense of belonging within a family group, means everything to a child. Often irreparable damage is done to his personality by the very fact that he is torn out of the family relationships to which he has become accustomed. He feels lost. The ties which have bound him to other personalities have been broken. A case which came under the writer's observation illustrates this point. A little boy six years old had been taken by a childless but child-loving couple. This lad had already been placed three or four times. A few weeks after his placement in this last home the foster mother was invited by a neighbor woman to send the child one afternoon to a children's party on the lawn. When his foster mother asked him if he would like to go, he burst out crying. She tried to explain to him how nice it would be to go over to the neighbor and have a nice time with the other children. Finally through his tears he asked, "If I go, can I come back tonight?" He had been uprooted so often that he thought he did not belong anywhere. At last he had found a home and persons whom he liked. He feared that this children's party was just another ruse to get him away into some new place in which he would have to strike roots again. He was extremely upset by this prospect. Workers with children must never forget this important point. They must endeavor to conserve the child's parental home. Where that is not possible they must use the utmost delicacy in helping the child to make the adjustment with the least emotional disturbance.⁴

⁴ Murphy, "Conserving the Child's Parental Home," *Foster-Home Care for Dependent Children*, United States Children's Bureau, Publication No. 136, Washington, 1924, pp. 24, 25; Guilford, "The Handicap of the Dependent Child," *The Survey*, August 16, 1920, pp. 614-616.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

While the interest in the care of dependent children in an organized way is comparatively recent, it is not entirely new. Let us look, then, at the chief steps in that development.

The Origin and Early Development of the Care of Destitute Children. As a background of the picture the exposure of certain children among savage tribes today and among the peoples of antiquity must not be forgotten. Infanticide and abortion were common.⁵ These practices also flourished among the classic peoples.⁶ Lycurgus and the Roman Decemvirs ordered the slaughter of deformed children.⁷ Christianity finally put the ban upon abortion and exposure.⁸ Emphasizing as it did the value of the immortal soul, it was but natural that Christianity should condemn the harsh treatment of children. Constantine, in order to lessen infanticide by indigent parents, ordered that children who could not be supported by their parents should be fed and clothed at public expense.⁹ Thus the first Christian Emperor put into operation the provisions made by the Antonines.

The problem was attacked in still another way by early Christianity. In order to lessen the necessity of disposing of children, poor Christian parents were assisted by the charity of the church.¹⁰ Very early in the history of the church institutions for children (*brephotrophia* and *orphanotrophia*) were founded by the church. Lecky says that they are among its earliest recorded charitable institutions.¹¹ Foundling hospitals did not grow up until the early part of the Middle Ages.¹² Says Lecky, "This minute and scrupulous care for human life and human virtue in the humblest forms, in the slave, the gladiator, the savage, or the infant was indeed wholly foreign to the genius of paganism. It was produced by the Christian doctrine of the inestimable value of each immortal soul. It is the distinguishing and transcendent characteristic of every society into which the spirit of Christianity has passed."¹³

During the Middle Ages wherever Christianity spread there developed

⁵ Sumner, *Folkways*, Boston, 1907, pp. 314-320.

⁶ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 20-34.

⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th Ed., Vol. IX, p. 482.

⁸ Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 22, 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹² Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th Ed., Vol. IX, p. 482; *Nelson's Loose Leaf Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, p. 147.

¹³ Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 34.

(usually with the hospitals and in certain cases with the monasteries) the care of orphaned children and foundlings. The date of the establishment of many of these cannot be ascertained. In 1280 St. Leonard's at York maintained an orphanage.¹⁴ As one illustration of the way in which these institutions grew up in connection with churches in England, certain of those providing for children in Medieval England may be cited. For example, about 1400, many wills allude to St. Katharine's Asylum or Hospital for Widows, Orphans, and Bedemen. The Daughters' House was a home for waifs and strays, orphans chiefly, placed in danger through the neglect of their friends and deserted and brought into the hospital of St. Sepulchre, guarded and educated there.¹⁵

The Situation Just Preceding the Nineteenth Century in Europe.

The institutions for the care of children just before the opening of the nineteenth century in Europe were chiefly orphanages and foundling asylums, for the most part under ecclesiastical control, developed during the Middle Ages or at the beginning of the Modern Age.¹⁶ In 1702 the Royal Asylum of St. Anne was founded in London, and 1727 Mr. Andrew Gardner, a merchant of Edinburgh, endeavored to obtain benefactions for maintaining and placing in school ignorant, idle, and vicious children whose parents were either dead or unable to maintain and educate them. In 1713 Addison had pointed out the necessity for a foundling hospital chiefly for illegitimate children. A Mr. Coram led the crusade for such an institution, and finally secured a royal charter in 1739. This royal charter refers to the "great numbers of helpless infants daily exposed to destruction" and suggests that child murder was almost as frequent as illegitimate birth.¹⁷

With the establishment in England of almshouses and workhouses, destitute children were placed in these institutions, a procedure which was to have unguessed consequences in the misery of children. Workhouses were erected especially for children.¹⁸

Outdoor relief was used in England to care for children as well as adults. With the development of apprenticeship, pauper children came to be bound out as apprentices.

Development of the Care of Children in the United States. The four methods of caring for children which we have seen in use in England— orphanages and foundling asylums, the almshouse and workhouse, outdoor

¹⁴ Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, London, 1909, p. 26

¹⁵ Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 26

¹⁶ Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy*, London, 1905, pp. 158, 159.

¹⁷ Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.

¹⁸ Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 115.

relief, and binding out—were reproduced in early America.¹⁹ As almshouses were built, children were placed in them. For a long time in many parts of the country these were the only institutions for the care of destitute children. From these institutions they were sometimes bound out as apprentices. When outdoor relief developed, some destitute children with their families were cared for in this fashion. Gradually there grew up special private and public institutions for the care of children.

Private Institutions for Children. Private institutions for the special care of children grew up early in the United States. The first orphan asylum in the United States was attached to the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, established in 1729.²⁰ Nine years later the Bethesda Orphan House at Savanna was opened by George Whitefield. These two early institutions were forerunners of a considerable number of others. By 1800 institutions for the care of children under private auspices had been established in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston.²¹ By 1851, 77 more such institutions had been founded.²²

Of those founded before 1850 there were in general four types:

1. Those founded by the orphan asylum societies from philanthropic motives.

2. The orphan asylum organized as a distinctly religious institution under the control of church authorities.

3. The endowed orphan asylum established usually by bequest and managed by a board of directors as a trust, such as the Poydras Female Orphan Asylum in New Orleans and Girard College in Philadelphia.

4. Institutions for special classes of children such as the Philadelphia Association for the Care of Colored Orphans organized by the Friends in 1822, a day school established by the Friends for alien children near Buffalo in 1845, and a home for children of destitute seamen organized in 1846 in New York City, and established on Staten Island.²³

After 1850 the institutions for children rapidly multiplied. Folks states that not including some Central and Western states, 47 new institutions were organized in the fifties, 79 in the sixties in spite of the Civil War, and 21 in the first half of the seventies.

During the period of rapid growth of institutions for children after 1850 the types of institutions and organizations varied. Some of them were

¹⁹ Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children*, New York, 1902, p. 3, and Chap. 2.

²⁰ Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²¹ Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 44, 45.

²² Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²³ Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 60.

merely duplicates of those which had been formed earlier in the century. Others were experiments along new lines based upon a change in the conception of the function of such institutions. Among the latter were certain maternity hospitals which sheltered new-born children, growing out of a growing perception of the importance of the care of the mothers in order to reduce the infant birth rate. Others were temporary homes for children until their families could be reestablished. Still others were responses to the feeling that children should not be institutionalized if it were possible to place them in normal homes. Hence they were temporary receiving homes from which they were bound out or adopted or placed out on contract. In the beginning this kind of institution did very poor placement work and exercised little if any supervision over those placed out.²⁴

Early in the fifties there arose still another kind of children's organization, known at first as a Children's Aid Society, such as the New York society, founded in 1853, the Baltimore society in 1860, the Boston society in 1865, the Brooklyn society in 1866, the Buffalo society in 1862, and the Philadelphia society in 1882. These institutions gathered up vagrant and homeless children, provided temporary homes for them, gave them an education by day and evening schools, established reading rooms in the buildings, endeavored to bring to bear upon them religious influences and eventually placed large numbers of them with families in the country.²⁵ With the development of better means of placing children these societies have devoted themselves largely to providing suitable quarters for newsboys and other working boys who have no proper home in the cities in which they are located. The placement work of most of these societies in the early years of their history was very poorly done and has been supplanted by agencies better adapted to that work.²⁶

The latter part of the last century another important development took place especially in the Middle West. This is the development of Children's Home Societies. Usually these are state-wide in scope. The purpose of these societies is to place homeless children in families. These private child-placing institutions sometimes have receiving homes which are used to care for the child until placement can be made. Under the influence of the Federal Children's Bureau and the Child Welfare League of America the standards of child-care in these private societies recently have been very greatly improved.

²⁴ Folks, *op cit.*, pp 63-65

²⁵ Folks, *op cit.*, pp 65-71

²⁶ Hart, "The Development of Child Placing in the United States," *Foster Home Care for Dependent Children*, Children's Bureau Publication, No 136, Washington, 1924.

Gradually public agencies, such as the state public schools for dependent children, and county and municipal departments, entered the field of child placement. They adopted in many places the best principles worked out by the private agencies so that at the present time the field of child-care is covered both by public and private agencies.

About the beginning of the present century several other movements arose which have had a very direct bearing upon child-care. The mothers' pension movement, growth of better standards of public relief, compensation for industrial accidents and disease, the safety movement in industry, and programs effecting health, housing, education, and elimination of child-labor have attacked the problem of preventing child-dependency.

Furthermore, it has come to be seen that foster-care for children has close relationships with private family welfare agencies and with public departments concerned with the care of dependent families. Consequently during the last few years there has been a closer tie-up between the children's agencies and the family agencies than hitherto. The mothers' pension movement since early in the present century has assumed part of the burden formerly borne by private and public institutions and agencies.

INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES FOR THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

According to a study by the United States Children's Bureau in 1930 covering 31 states and the District of Columbia, with a total population of 81,688,483, there were 287,500 dependent children in these states. Since that date, doubtless, the number has increased to more than 300,000. In addition there were 256,000 children cared for in their homes under mothers' pension laws.²⁷ In states where mothers' pensions are poorly developed, a larger proportion of children is cared for either in institutions or in foster families with the result that the greater proportion of dependent children in these states are not being brought up by their mothers.

So far as our knowledge goes at the present time on the basis of these various studies 2.3 per 1,000 of the general population are cared for by their mothers under a pension or by foster homes or institutions.

In 1930 it was estimated that there were 1600 child-caring institutions in this country and only 400 agencies for foster home care. Of the 117 foster institutions from which reports were obtained 88 per cent were under private auspices and 12 per cent under public auspices. Of the private

²⁷ Lundberg, *Child Dependency in the United States—Methods of Statistical Reporting and Census of Dependent Children in 31 States*, Child Welfare League of America, New York, 1933.

institutions 50 per cent were religious organizations, 6 per cent fraternal, and 32 per cent non-sectarian.

The proportion of foster children cared for in institutions has been gradually declining—from 64 per cent in 1923 to 59 per cent in 1930. This decrease is in part due probably to the difficulty of securing sufficient funds to build and to enlarge institutions; in part, without question, to the growing belief that a foster home is better than an institution.

These child-caring institutions may be divided into four groups: (1) institutions for long time care. The number of these has been decreasing. This was probably due to the conviction that a normal home is better for a child than an institution. (2) There has gradually grown up a few institutions to meet special needs, such as those for crippled children and for children with special problems. (3) Institutions for temporary care while a disrupted family is being reorganized or placement is being arranged for. Often these are connected with child-placing agencies. (4) With the increasing emphasis upon psychology in child care there has grown up here and there diagnostic institutions for the more accurate determination of what methods should be employed in caring for children with special problems. Sometimes these institutions keep the child for some days or weeks, and in other cases they are merely clinics.

In spite of the fact that the public institutions and agencies have been growing in number and importance, in 1930 77 per cent of the foster children cared for were under private auspices, probably due to the fact that religious bodies have been very loath to give up the care of dependent children.

In 1930 while only 23 per cent of the foster children were cared for by public agencies or institutions some form of public care was provided for dependent children in 31 states. In only a few of these states, however, was there a comprehensive program, either throughout the state or in the counties.

The Day Nursery. The Industrial Revolution forced women into industry. Their children suffered from neglect. Children too young to be sent to school were left at home, sometimes locked in the house. They had to look after their food themselves and often were hungry. They were in danger from fire and accidents. They were without that care which every child should have. When sick they had to be left without proper care or the mother had to stay away from her work.

To relieve such a situation day nurseries were started. These institutions are places to which the working mother may bring her children below school age, and those of school age during the summer, and have them cared for while she is at work. The children are fed, kept clean, provided play

facilities, given a nap, and in some cases given nursing and medical care. Of course no children with contagious or infectious diseases are received. In many cases the mother is taught better methods of feeding, clothing, and caring for her children. A small fee is charged the mother for the care of each child.

The day nursery is merely a makeshift. It is a confession of the maladjustment of the economic system. Women with young children should not have to work. For the day nursery should be substituted measures which enable the mother to remain with her children rather than go out to work and leave their care to others. Either outdoor relief, or case work intended to secure other methods of handling the children and the home, or mothers' pensions should be used. The presence of a large number of working mothers in any community points to the need of social measures which will enable them to remain at home to care for their children rather than by their work to supplement the income or making a living for the family.²⁸

By 1931 the number of day nurseries in the United States had reached 800. In 1934 the number had decreased to only about 700. In them in 1934, according to reports to the United States Children's Bureau, there were only about 4,000 children. Some of them have developed foster home day care in place of care in the institutions. Others have developed a system of allowances so that the mother can take care of the child in her own home. Gradually the mothers' pension movement has been making the existence of day nurseries less necessary.

Another movement for the care of very young children has served to displace the old day nursery. This is the nursery school. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of such schools increased from 3 to 262. Unlike the day nursery it is based on the educational needs of the child rather than on the financial needs of the family. In 1934 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration set up a system of nursery schools for the children from needy unemployed families and thus made them available to families hitherto served by the day nurseries. Doubtless, the increasing numbers of women with children out of work in the depression has had some influence upon the decrease in the number of day nurseries.²⁹

²⁸ For a description of one of the bad types, see Colborne, "Too Near to be Seen," *The Survey*, January 15, 1924, p. 305.

²⁹ Tyson, "Day Nurseries," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 5; Hart, *Day Nurseries in a Changing World*, National Federation of Day Nurseries, New York, 1931; Kenney, *Foster Day Care as Provided by the First and Sunnyside Nurseries*, Philadelphia Association of Day Nurseries, Philadelphia, 1933; "Trends in Foster-Homes and Institutional Care of Dependent and Neglected Children," *News Bulletin on Social Statistics in Child Welfare and Related Fields*, United States, Children's Bureau, August 1932.

PUBLIC CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Before 1875, with the exception of children cared for in the private institutions just cited, the almshouse and outdoor relief were practically the only recourse.³⁰ However, the authorities of the almshouses in New York as early as 1849 endeavored to take care of some of the infants by boarding them out at nurse. During the first three-quarters of the century indenture or binding-out children from the almshouse was a common practice. Even yet the laws allowing the poor authorities to bind out children from the almshouses remain upon the statute books.

As early as 1844 Dorothea Dix reported adversely on the care of children in almshouses in New York State. In 1865 a select committee of the New York State Senate condemned unsparingly the harmful effect of almshouse life upon the children. Finally 20 years later New York passed a law excluding children from almshouses.³¹

Steps to remove children from almshouses were taken in some of the other states as early as in New York. In 1866 Ohio authorized county homes for children. In 1875 New York passed a law forbidding the retention of children over 3 years of age in poorhouses, and required that they be placed out in families or maintained in private institutions at public expense.³² About this same time the practice of binding out children and keeping them in institutions for educational purposes began to be abandoned in the East, and by 1875 it had largely passed into disuse.³³

State Care of Destitute Children. The first state institution for dependent children was established in Massachusetts when in 1866, following the establishment of the Board of State Charities in 1863, the almshouse at Monson was declared to be a state primary school and the children were not to be designated as paupers. This school, however, was limited in its care to children who were state charges, that is, who did not have a legal settlement in any county in the State.³⁴

In 1868 the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, dissatisfied with the results of the state primary school, abolished the almshouse department at Monson, and began to board out and place out the children from the institution. Thus originated an epoch-making system for handling destitute children which led to the abandonment of the state institution at Monson in 1894.

³⁰ Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

³¹ Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39.

³² Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-39.

³³ Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³⁴ Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Hart, *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*, New York, 1910, p. 53.

In 1874 Michigan established the first state public school for the care of dependent children, county as well as state. It differed from the Massachusetts State Primary School in that it conceived the institution as a temporary training school from which children should be placed in families. It devised a system of state and county agents for placing and supervising children. In the beginning it was intended as the place to which all children from county almshouses should go, from which to be placed in families.³⁵ This plan has been followed by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Colorado, and to a certain extent also by Rhode Island and Montana.

Soldiers' Orphans' Homes. Similar in nature but designed in the beginning for the special care of soldiers' orphans were the State Soldiers' Orphans' Homes which were established in many states following the Civil War. Many of these have since developed into state homes and schools for indigent children.³⁶ In the states of Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois these institutions have become really state school for indigent children from which they are placed in families.³⁷

Care in Private Institutions at Public Expense. A third method is the care of dependent children in private institutions at public expense, a compromise measure between the private and the public institution. Its origin seems to have been an accident. We noted above that in 1875 New York prohibited the retention of children in almshouses. As early as 1811 New York State had appropriated \$500 yearly to the New York Orphan Asylum. In 1817 the Catholic Orphan Asylum was given a similar appropriation. An increasing number of grants were made, both from the New York City Treasury and from the State Treasury up until 1857. In 1870, \$150,000 was appropriated to orphans' asylums. In 1870 the city appropriations to orphan asylums in the city of New York met the entire expense of the institutions.³⁸

While the payment of subsidies to children's institutions from the State treasury was forbidden in the constitution of New York State in 1874, the passage of the law forcing children out of the almshouses gave impetus to their care in private institutions at county or city expense.³⁹

The result of this public subsidy system was a very great increase in the number of institutions caring for children and a decided check to the practice of placing them in families. From 1875 to 1900 the population of New York State increased 55 per cent, while from 1875 to 1898 the number of

³⁵ Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 54.

³⁶ Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 55; Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, pp. 197-217.

³⁷ Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁸ Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-119.

³⁹ Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

children in private institutions supported in part by the public increased 139 per cent.⁴⁰

In 1894 New York endeavored to diminish the increasing tendency to place children in institutions and to check the growing expense of their maintenance in this way. A constitutional convention in 1894 forbade the legislature to compel towns, cities, and counties to make appropriations to private institutions and provided also that no payment should be made by any city, county, or town for an inmate of a private institution unless the inmate had been received and retained pursuant to rules established by the State Board of Charities.⁴¹ The expectations of those who hoped much from these constitutional changes were disappointed.⁴²

A study of the care of dependent children in New York State for the year ending October 31, 1931 showed that of the 108,592 dependent children in that State 91.6 per cent were either public charges or were under public supervision while only 8.4 per cent were maintained through private funds.⁴³ About half of these were cared for either in institutions or by foster care outside of their own homes. Of the net disbursements for the care of dependent children in New York State amounting to \$34,934,038.74, 80.9 per cent was expended from public funds and 19.1 per cent from private philanthropy.⁴⁴

Who Are Dependent Children? The historic institutions for the care of dependent children were known as orphanages, or foundling asylums. The assumption was that practically all the inmates of such institutions were orphans or illegitimate children. Recent studies, however, have shown that there are large numbers of these dependent children who are not orphans. The figures from various studies show great variation. A study made in Pittsburgh in 1908 showed that 47 per cent of the children in public and private institutions in that city were orphans or half orphans. A study by the United States Children's Bureau in Delaware showed that 34 per cent were orphans or half orphans. In 1922 in the District of Columbia of 1174 children in private institutions only 12 per cent were full orphans, and of those under the care of the District Board of Children's Guardians only 5 per cent were full orphans. Almost one-third were half orphans; one-fourth of

⁴⁰ Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁴¹ Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 126.

⁴² In 1925 it is reported there were 1,400 orphan asylums in the United States with 150,000 inmates. Reeder, "Our Orphaned Asylums," *The Survey*, June 1, 1925, p. 287.

⁴³ *Volume, Distribution and Cost of Child Care and Dependency in New York State for the year ending December 31, 1931*, Department of Social Welfare, Albany 1933, pp. 13, 14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

them were illegitimate children. Of a group of children indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School, or adopted from that institution, more than one-half of the former and more than one-fourth of the latter had two living parents. In each case the rest of the children were in the institution or were placed in foster homes because of defects in the character or illness of the parents, abandonment of the child, incorrigibility of the child, physical or mental defect, or evasion of parental responsibility.⁴⁵

In 1933 of 211,153 children under care in institutions and foster homes in the United States 23.6 had both parents living.⁴⁶ From all these figures it is clear that in every institution caring for dependent children there are a large number of children whose parents have either shifted their responsibility on to the agency, or have been such parents as the court could not countenance bearing the responsibility of rearing their children. It is also clear in all of these studies, from facts which are too voluminous to quote here, that had modern methods of investigation and treatment been applied to these children before they were committed to the institution, they could have been cared for either in their own families or other families without institutionalizing the child. In other words, large numbers of children are being taken care of by institutions because careful study of their cases was not made before they were committed. Commitment was the easiest way out of the difficulty. To institutionalize a young child when it is possible to keep him in a normal family is an injustice that, in the light of modern social experience, is indefensible. Orphanages represented an advance in child care at the time they originated.⁴⁷ Institutions still hold a legitimate place for those children who ought not to be placed in normal families, such as certain of the feeble-minded, the disabled, and the incorrigible, and children who do not get along well in any family. Older children usually do better in an institution. Experience has shown that young children can be cared for just as cheaply, or perhaps more cheaply, and much more effectively in free homes or boarding homes than in institutions. To do it that way, however, careful case work must be done on every individual case, whether committed by a court or sent to an institution

⁴⁵ *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage*, The Pittsburgh Survey, New York, 1900, pp. 378-384; Springer, *Children Deprived of Parental Care*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 81, Washington, 1921, pp. 21-26; Lundberg and Milburn, *What Child Dependency Means in the District of Columbia, and How it Can Be Prevented*, Children's Bureau, Washington, 1924, pp. 3, 4; *Child Dependency in the District of Columbia*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 140; *Children Indentured by the Wisconsin Public School*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 150, Washington, 1925, p. 15.

⁴⁶ *Children under Institutional Care: 1933*, Bureau of the Census, Release, September 3, 1935, Table 7.

⁴⁷ Thurston, *The Dependent Child*, New York, 1930, Chapter V

by the parent. Moreover, when children are placed, careful supervision must be given them, else just as grave evils will arise as in an institution.⁴⁸

That much of the difficulty experienced by some agencies is due to lack of careful investigation before the child is received is indicated by the following incident:

The office telephone rang. "Dr. Howe speaking. My colored cook wants to find a home for the five-year-old child of a deceased friend. She can pay the board and will clothe the child."

Next morning the visitor from the Department of Advice and Assistance in the child-caring agency to which this case was referred, started her investigation. There was apparently little to learn. Diana, the cook, either didn't know or wouldn't tell. "She didn't rightly belong to mah frien," she explained. "She got her from a lady in New Jersey and I don' jes disremember 'bout her; but anyhow youse is all right 'cause I'm gittin' good wages an' I sho will pay her board reglar."

But the visitor needed to know more: who was the child and did she have any relatives? what was her background and what sort of foster home, if any, did she need? Other clues lacking, little Gracie herself was questioned. Carefully and tactfully she was led to describe her life in the city of R——. She recalled her mother. Her name was Kate. Then there was Josie who, together with her mother, had been in the big jail just across the street from where they all lived. With this slender clue in hand the investigator wrote to a sister agency in R—— which skillfully identified the family. Gracie's mother, it appeared, had been born in Virginia of respectable parents and had left her home to hide herself and her shame in the city where she had given birth to this illegitimate child. Her parents had mourned her as dead and did not know of the child's existence. When confronted with these facts, Diana broke down and admitted she had feared to tell the truth and that Gracie's mother was her own cousin. Correspondence with responsible citizens in their home town found the grandparents pathetically eager to give a home to the child and to atone through her for their lack of understanding of their daughter. And so the little girl was sent south to be brought up by her own people who would love and rear her as no foster parents, however well chosen, could possibly do.

This story serves to illustrate the need of searching investigation before children are received by an agency for placing-out. Only after every avenue has been exhausted, every effort made to keep or to establish a child with his own, should we resort to what is at best only a substitute for the real home with his own father and mother which is every child's right.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Reeder, "Our Orphaned Asylums," *The Survey*, June 1, 1925; pp. 283 ff.; Trotzkey, *Institutional Care and Placing Out*, Chicago, 1930.

⁴⁹ Hewins, *Supervision of Placed-out Children*, pp. 3, 4.

PRESENT SYSTEM OF CARE FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

As the result of the development which we have traced for more than a century, we have in this country today nine systems for the care of dependent children—(1) care in almshouses, (2) the state school with placing out, (3) county children's homes, (4) support in private institutions at public expense, (5) boarding out, (6) placing out directly through private organizations or by state authorities, (7) temporary care in public or private institutions for children whose parents for the time being are unable to care for them,⁶⁰ (8) permanent care in private institutions; and (9) mother's aid, to be discussed in Chapter XXIV.

Care in Almshouses. This system, originally very general, has proved to be quite unsatisfactory and is gradually dying out. Yet, in 1923 to the almshouses in this country were admitted 4,715 children under 16 years of age.⁶¹ Usually they are small children with their mothers. Most of those remaining in almshouses are either under 2 years of age or are illegitimate children. A poorhouse is no place in which to bring up an impressionable child; he needs a home.

State Schools. In 1923 out of 1,558 institutions in the United States for the care of children or for adults and children 32 were state institutions.⁶² Some of these were state public schools for dependent children, such as are found in Michigan and Wisconsin; others were the outgrowth of soldiers' orphans homes established following the Civil War.

These state institutions have gradually followed the practice of private institutions in placing out for adoption or in free homes, and sometimes in later years even in boarding homes, all children who were placeable. Consequently they have become either temporary receiving homes from which the children are placed out in foster homes or permanent homes for the non-placeable children. Inevitably under this system they tend to fill up with non-placeable children—feeble-minded, crippled, etc.—unless the latter are transferred to special institutions for children with those particular handicaps. Moreover, these state institutions are likely to suffer from an insufficient number of properly trained placement agents.

County and City Children's Homes. In 1910 there were 92 county homes in three states—50 in Ohio, 17 in Indiana, and 7 in Connecticut—with 7,518 inmates.⁶³ There were only 5 municipal institutions for children

⁶⁰ Hart, *op cit.*, p. 57.

⁶¹ *Paupers in Almshouses: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1925, Table 69, pp. 62, 63.

⁶² *Children Under Institutional Care: 1923*, Bureau of Census, Washington, 1927, Table 6, p. 25.

⁶³ *Benevolent Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1913, pp. 27, 83.

at that time and these held only 445 inmates.⁵⁴ The county home system has not proved to be the success its sponsors had hoped for.⁵⁵ It is expensive, it has difficulty in securing properly trained people to manage it, and it tends to become a catch-all for all kinds of dependent children. It is gradually being given up for a placing or a boarding system.⁵⁶

In many states there are county agencies which have authority to place children in family homes. Among these are Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana. In Ohio, Indiana, and Connecticut, where county children's homes have been established, there is a growing tendency to turn these into receiving homes and do placing-out from them in all possible cases.⁵⁷

Support of Public Charges in Private Institutions and Agencies. Nearly 40 per cent of the private institutions for the care of children and 46.3 per cent of the societies for the care of children in 1910 received appropriations from public funds. The institutions received \$5,516,694 or 28.8 per cent of their total income. The societies received \$699,413 or just one-third of their total income.⁵⁸ Up to 20 years ago the tendency in many of our states was to provide in private institutions for children maintained at public expense.⁵⁹

More recent figures on a nation-wide basis on the matter of public subsidies to private institutions and agencies for the care of dependent children are not available. That an increasing proportion of the costs of the support of the dependent children comes from public funds as time goes on is indicated by figures from New York. For 1931 net disbursements for the care of dependent children in that State totaled \$34,934,038.82. Of this 80.9 per cent were from public funds and 19.1 per cent from private philanthropy.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵⁵ Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, New York, 1902, pp. 111-114. See also Hart, in Children's Bureau Publication, No. 136, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Atkinson, "An Ohio Experiment," *The Survey*, November 19, 1921, p. 277; Quinn, "A County's Homeless Children," *Ibid.*, December 15, 1924, p. 347.

⁵⁷ Atkinson, "An Ohio Experiment," *The Survey*, November 19, 1921, p. 277; *Foster Home Care for Dependent Children*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 136, Washington, 1924, p. 8.

⁵⁸ *Benevolent Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1913, p. 70. "In the United States there are 110,000 children in 1,200 private institutions for the care of dependent children, of whom 37,004 are in the State of New York in private institutions which receive public aid, including 25,397 in 39 New York City private institutions receiving public aid"—Strong, *Report to Governor Whitman*, Albany, 1916, p. 91.

⁵⁹ Says Mr. Strong, "In 1804, among the children under the age of 16, one child in every 35 was an inmate in such institution"—Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ Foster and Axel, *Volume, Distribution and Cost of Child Dependency in New York State for the Year Ending December 31, 1931*, Albany, 1933, p. 46.

The experience of the various states which have heavily subsidized private institutions and agencies for the care of dependent children shows a number of tendencies: (1) A steady increase in the number of state supported children in private institutions.⁶¹ (2) A disproportionate cost of this method as compared with public care.⁶² (3) Children tend to be kept too long in the institutions.⁶³ (4) Where this system is largely used it is almost impossible for the state to supervise properly the inmates of these institutions or the way they are handled by the private agency.⁶⁴ (5) Inadequate education is often provided for the children.⁶⁵ (6) The possibility of dissension between the public inspection officials and the officials of the institutions and agencies.⁶⁶

The majority of the leaders in children's work are opposed to subsidies in principle, although there is a large minority which believes that subsidies to private agencies are necessary. It is our conviction that this method of caring for children is antiquated and as soon as possible should be liquidated in all states in which it now exists.

Boarding Out and Placing Out. In 1930 it was estimated that there were 1600 institutions and 400 agencies for foster care of children in the United States. About 12 per cent of the institutions were public and 88 per cent private. Of the private 50 per cent were sectarian, 32 per cent non-sectarian, and 6 per cent fraternal. The 1600 institutions and 400 placing agencies cared for an estimated 287,500 children. There is a growing tendency to care for dependent children in foster homes rather than in institutions as is shown by decrease in the percentage cared for in institutions from 64 in 1923 to 59 in 1930. In that year 36 per cent of the foster family agencies were under public auspices (state, county and city), and 64 per cent under private. In 1930, 77 per cent of the children under foster care were cared for by private agencies. Most of these were religious agencies. The interest of religious and other private organizations in the problem of child care in some states tends to retard the movement toward care under public agencies. Nevertheless, in 1930, 31 states provided direct public care for dependent and neglected children. Under the conviction that as soon as possible the state and local governmental units must take more direct interest

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁶² Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁶³ Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-104. See also Doherty, "A Study of Results of Institutional Care," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 174, also published as a separate pamphlet by the Department of Child-Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1915.

⁶⁶ Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

in the care of dependent and neglected children, an increasing number of the states are developing comprehensive programs either through a state department or through some kind of county children's boards.⁶⁷

Massachusetts pioneered the public placement of dependent children in homes and is now being followed by an increasing number of states.

The practice of indenturing children in free homes on contract, which survived in some states from an earlier time, is condemned, even though the contract has in it a clause providing for the taking away of the child by the placing organization if the latter thinks that the child is not being given a fair chance.⁶⁸

Indicative of the realization of this attitude is the fact that the White House Conference of 1930 found that, while in February, 1923, only 11 per cent of the children under foster care were in boarding homes, on July 1, 1930 the percentage had reached 21. On the other hand the percentage in free homes and others had decreased from 25 in February, 1923, to 20 on July 1, 1930. These figures suggest that up to the Depression there was a tendency among child-caring agencies to place a larger proportion in boarding homes than had previously been the case.⁶⁹

Social Case Work and the Care of Dependent Children. What a change between the methods used in caring for dependent children, when they were sent to institutions in large numbers, or even the methods used by Charles Loring Brace and his New York Children's Aid Society, when he shipped whole car-loads of boys to the West to be taken by whomsoever appeared at the depot and asked for one, and that represented by our best child-caring agencies today. That change is to be accounted for largely by what has been learned by experience in family agencies of the importance of applying modern psychology and sociology. More recently the child-guidance clinics and the psychiatric clinics have made their contributions to the solution of certain problems in connection with dependent children. Psychiatry in child-welfare work as well as in family social work has emphasized a new approach in social case work. That has made itself felt in the agencies which are placing and boarding children. It is now well understood in many agencies that successful placement depends upon a thorough understanding of the child and of the personalities in the family in which he is placed. The illegitimate children, once almost universally sent to institutions, have now been taken in hand by the child-caring agencies on the same

⁶⁷ *Children under Institutional Care: 1923*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1927, Table 6, p. 25, Table 15, p. 38

⁶⁸ *Children Indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 150, Washington, 1925

⁶⁹ *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, p. 771

basis as orphans. The application of the newer methods of case work is even more important here perhaps than in the case of the dependent child of normal parentage.

The application of modern case-work methods to applications for foster care, moreover, has led to the refusal of from 75 to 85 per cent of the applications. It has been shown that these children, instead of placement, need the services of family relief, of educational, neighborhood, health, and other types of agencies rather than to be placed in foster families. Furthermore, many of these families, which try to thrust upon an agency their responsibilities, under the influence of a good case worker are able to assume their responsibilities and are given help to discharge them in a constructive and wholesome manner.⁷⁰

EVALUATION OF THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

The efficiency of the state home and school for dependent children rests upon the personnel of the institution, the adequacy of the force it employs to place and supervise the children, and the alertness of the state board which controls it. In the states in which this plan has had its greatest success these conditions have been measurably fulfilled. The state home and school has distinct advantages, if it is properly supported and efficiently manned. With a wise board it is possible for supervision to be closer and more directly under the control of the state board. Properly conducted, it is not subject to the objections almost inevitable in subsidized private institutions. The best state institution shows a better record than the best county homes from which children are placed in families. Its only successful competitor in the public field is the Massachusetts system for placing dependent children directly in homes from families with whom they are put to board until they can be placed. In Massachusetts the placing agents are under the direct control of a very efficient Department of Public Welfare. In actual practice the state institutions for dependent children suffer from inadequacy of funds and too few and too poorly trained persons to place the children properly. Moreover, in states which do not have adequate provision for feeble-minded and physically disabled children, the state school and home is likely to be a harbor for these unfortunates. It is often the only place to which such children can be sent, and since they are very difficult to place they remain while the normal children flow through the institution to homes. The difficulty, of course, calls for the care of these defective and disabled children either in a separate plant or in different institutions.

⁷⁰ Murphy, "Certain Philosophical Contributions to Children's Case Work," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, Detroit, 1933, p. 75.

On the other hand, the best private child-placing institutions have set a splendid example. Just as the standard of good work has been set in private charity organization societies so in the best of our private child-placing agencies, standards and technique have been worked out which must be followed, if the care of dependent children is to be successful.

The White House Conference of 1909 marked a decided step forward in the care of dependent children. One result of it was the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau. This Bureau, organized and developed in its main lines by Julia Lathrop, has been of the greatest value not only in stimulating interest in the care of dependent children, but also in making studies concerning the causes of infant mortality, of dependency and of delinquency. In the meantime the Child-Helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation had been developed and was doing a splendid work. In 1915 a Bureau for the exchange of information between the various child-caring agencies was formed at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Baltimore. Out of this developed as an independent organization in 1920, the Child Welfare League of America, an organization of some 68 child-helping agencies in the United States. The purpose of this organization is to work out standards to help in a program of education of societies dealing with children and of other agencies, and to stimulate interest in better care of dependent children.⁷¹

These agencies have been of the utmost importance in establishing standards ever more universally recognized in the handling of dependent children.

RECENT TENDENCIES IN THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The new psychology and sociology have led to a new emphasis in the care of dependent children. There can be no question that recent psychology has thrown a flood of light upon the springs of human conduct and has led to a new approach in the care of human beings. It has affected education, has stimulated inquiry into the early habits of the child in the home, as indicated by the widespread habit clinics stimulated by the Commonwealth Fund, and has given social workers a new approach to the problem of the dependent, both juvenile and adult. Sociology, taking advantage of this new light from psychology, has fled from the old institutional method of caring for children except as a temporary expedient to be done away with as soon as possible, has turned away from the hit-and-miss placing of children in homes, and insists upon a thorough understanding of the social background both of the child, of his family, and of the family in which it is proposed to place him.

⁷¹ Child Welfare League of America, Bulletin No. 2, New York, 1921. See also the Constitution of this league in Bulletin No. 1, New Edition, June, 1923.

No longer can successful work be done with children without taking into account these advances in knowledge. Consider this picture presented by a social worker who has found light in the new psychology and in sociology.

But in the dependent child there is operative a set of factors not present at all in the non-dependent. These factors fall entirely in a mental category and have to do with mental states arising from the consciousness of the condition of dependency. They are no doubt, as well as our limited understanding permits definition, emotional states arising from injury to the instinctive tendency of self-regard or self-esteem as a result of the breakdown of family integrity. The "family romance," as it is aptly phrased by Dr. William White, is one of our most deep-seated and cherished personal concepts and race traditions. It cannot be torn from us without an emotional struggle. In his book, *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, Dr. White writes illuminatingly of the "family romance" in its relation to general mental growth away from infantile attachment to true adulthood. But so far as I know no one has called attention to its peculiar application to the problem of the dependent child.

A discussion of the origin and the nature of the family image and its influence on the development of the individual human mind cannot be entered into here. But one has only to recall the mental experiences incident to the growing-up process to realize what an important part the assurance of family integrity or at least of family intactness played in shaping mental and social development. The family circle formed a kind of medium of security which gave impetus to growth and self-expression. The security was no doubt mostly unrecognized by the growing subject, much as a fish swimming always in water probably never recognizes water at all. It has a water consciousness only when it lies panting, flopping, stranded on the shore. Then comes the feeling of helplessness and of "difference," which perhaps is something like that experienced by the young subject when its family medium is swept away. At bottom there are varieties of inferiority feelings, but since in our cases they have a special and a common origin in the condition of dependency we shall term them dependency feelings or the dependency complex.

To bring about a feeling of self-approval without which no human being can thrive, these dependency feelings must be somehow alleviated or compensated by the child himself. Alleviation does not seem to come through external means except perhaps in the case of the very young child or the person whose mentality remains at child levels. The self-approval must be a mental self-approval, and to bring it about, psychological operations must be set going. The demand for psychological alleviation or compensation probably is not insistent until the subject begins to be socially conscious. The age varies, of course. We believe we have seen it as early as six years, but probably it appears commonly about nine

or ten years in the individual of average intelligence. If the child overdoes the compensatory process, he is almost sure to have feelings of grudge, resentment, jealousy, malice, persecution and the like. If he underdoes the compensatory process, he is equally likely to have feelings of depression, inadequacy, self-pity and the like. To escape the distress of reality he very often resorts to the creation of phantasies. These mental tendencies are largely unrecognized by the subject; in any event they are almost never interpreted, but they find outlet in various modes of troublesome conduct and difficult dispositional traits such as disobedience, stubbornness, secretiveness, sullenness, rejection of authority, unfriendliness, and other anti-social reactions or in asocial reactions such as inertia, lack of normal ambition, laziness, lack of interest and application to studies, careless and untidy personal and home habits. To be sure, some of the traits mentioned may be seen more or less frequently in all adolescents. But in our dependent subjects they are much more exaggerated and persistent. They are the traits which give almost constant trouble to the supervisors of dependent children. They are the ones which lead foster mothers so frequently to report, "I cannot get along with ——" and which consequently are the most frequent cause of change in homes.

Is it not possible that in these mental operations by which the dependent child seeks to create self-esteem, to reconcile his feelings of difference and to assuage his consciousness of family breakdown there lies the explanation of the difficulty in the management of the dependent child, his frequent resort to misconduct, his well known irregularities of disposition and his frequent failure to measure up to school and home standards?

On this hypothesis it may be seen that in every dependent child there are present the genetic elements of a mental disorder based on the fact of family breakdown. Add to this the almost invariable factors of bad inheritance, for whatever that may count, the poor physical makeup, and the frequently inferior grade of intelligence and it is truly astonishing that a full-fledged psychosis does not more often develop. That it does not is due no doubt to the innate tendency of the human mind to assimilate its experience to constructive ends. That the by-products, so to speak, of this emotional cataclysm—for such it really must be in the inner consciousness of the child deprived of its family relationship—should so often give rise to irregular conduct and difficult dispositional traits is not in the least to be wondered at. The psychology of the dependent child is potentially a psychopathology, and as such it must be met if the dependent child is to have a fair chance for development into a successful citizen.⁷²

What a flood of light such a picture throws upon the causes of failure of many dependent children and how suggestive!

⁷² Guibord, "The Handicap of the Dependent Child," *The Survey*, August 16, 1920, p. 614.

STANDARDS FOR THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Out of the experience of caring for dependent children certain general principles have been evolved which the Children's Bureau has published as the normal standards for such care.

1. In general for all children needing special care there are certain fundamental rights. These are "normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded."⁷³

2. The state has the ultimate responsibility for children who are in need of special care because of unfortunate home conditions, physical, or mental handicap or delinquency. While private organizations may undertake to discharge this responsibility of the state, they should do so under the supervision of that ultimate authority.

3. In the discharge of that responsibility, the state should see to it that the neglected or dependent child is provided normal home life. Such a home demands primarily an adequate income. It must also furnish the proper guidance in order that the child's personality may be properly developed.

4. When mothers are competent to care for their own children, the state should see to it that the home is not broken up merely because of poverty. An income must be provided by the state in the absence of any other resource sufficient to enable the mother to maintain her children suitably in her own home, and without resorting to such outside employment as will deny her children proper care and oversight.

5. A supervisory body like a state board of control or supervision should be charged with the responsibility for the regular inspection and licensing of every institution, agency, or association incorporated, or otherwise, which receives or cares for mothers with children or children without suitable parental care. It should have authority to revoke such licenses for cause, and to require reports and prescribe forms for reports. This inspection must be in the hands of people who are acquainted with the standards of proper care and are skilful in securing the adoption of such standards.

6. When the welfare of the child demands it, he should be removed from his home, but only when the home cannot be made a fit place for the child. If the child is removed temporarily until the home can be reconstructed, he should then be returned.

7. Children, except those requiring institutional care, who must be re-

⁷³ *Minimum Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau, Washington, 1919, p. 10.

moved from their homes should be provided home life as nearly normal as possible to safeguard their health and to insure for them the fundamental rights of childhood.

8. The older children, who are placed in institutions, rather than in a foster home, should have their rights safeguarded as far as that can be done in an institution. So long as they are in the institutions, efforts should be made to see that a family life as nearly normal as possible is provided for them.⁷⁴

PRINCIPLES OF CHILD-PLACEMENT

In placing children, the following principles should be observed:

1. In seeking a temporary foster home for a child consideration should be given to many circumstances, among them health, mentality, character, family history, reputation among neighbors, ability to furnish adequate moral and spiritual training, experience, education, income, environment of the family, and sympathetic attitude toward the child. Usually they should be families of the same religion as the child's parents.

2. The child, before being placed in other than a temporary foster home, should be carefully examined as to his health, mentality, so far as possible his character, and the history of his family. Any physical defects and any diseases should be corrected before placing. If the child has congenital syphilis or has a history of mental defect in the family, that certainly should be made known to the foster parents.

3. Complete records must be had of the child to understand his heredity and personality, and his development while under the care of the agency.

4. Particular attention should be given to the careful placing of defective children, or those who require care adapted to their peculiar needs.

5. A complete record of each foster home should be kept giving the information on which approval was based, together with entries showing the contacts of the supervising agents with the family after placing, and stating the condition and care of the child. In this way special abilities in the families will be developed. If another child is later placed in the family, reinvestigation need not be so thorough.

6. Supervision of the children placed out must be frequent enough by properly qualified and well-trained agents to make sure that the fundamental rights of the child are being cared for. It has been suggested that periodical physical examinations of the children so placed should be made.

⁷⁴ The author is indebted for the main points in the discussion above to the publication of the Children's Bureau already cited. See *op cit.*, pp. 10-12. For a good statement of the contentions of the institutionalists, see Thompson, "Health and Happiness in an Institution," "The Matter of Orphanages," *The Survey*, September 15, 1925, pp. 621-625.

7. Where children are boarded out the investigation must be no less careful, and the foster parents must be trained for their task.

8. Transfer of the legal guardianship of the child should not be permitted without the consent of the proper state department or court of proper jurisdiction.

9. In case of adoption the court should make a full inquiry into all the facts connected with the family and the child before awarding custody of the child.

HOW FOSTER CHILDREN TURN OUT

Only one careful, thorough-going study has been made in the United States of what happened to non-delinquent, dependent children placed in foster homes.

It was a study of 910 homeless children placed out by the State Board of Charities Aid Association of New York State and who had arrived at the age of eighteen. 797 of these were found by the investigators and their status was determined. The following table shows the distribution of these waifs. The writers of the report are of the opinion that from what information they had on the other 113, had they been found, they would have fitted into the general picture in the same way as the 797 which were known.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT ⁷⁵

Distribution of Subjects Whose Capability Was Known

<i>Social Adjustment</i>	<i>Number of Subjects</i>	<i>Per Cent Distribution</i>
Capable	615	77.2
Incapable	182	22.8
Harmless	89	11.1
Harmful	47	6.0
"On Trial"	26	3.2
In Institutions	20	2.5
Total Known	797	100.0

The authors of this study had a poor control group with which to compare the way in which these children turned out with others who were not foster children. They, however, leave the impression from the study that they were very much like other folks.

One significant finding of this study was that the earlier the child was placed and the less it was moved about from one family to another the more

⁷⁵ Table 3, p. 25. Theis, *How Foster Children Turn Out*, State Charities Aid Association, Publication No 105, New York City, 1924, Chapters 12, 13.

likely it was to be a capable "citizen." Those adopted worked out best largely because they entered the foster family at a very early age and were more likely to feel that they were members of the families. The family was more likely to feel that they belonged to it.

In this study there are many other important findings which it would benefit the student to study. Two other reports of studies concerning the results of placing children in foster homes should be mentioned. One of these is Arctander and Dahlström, *What Becomes of the Children Removed from Home by the Oslo Child Welfare Board*, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, 1932. The other is Healy, Bronner, Baylor, and Murphy, *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth*, New York, 1929, part 4. Both of these studies, however, concern themselves with the placing in foster homes of delinquents. Hence, they are not comparable studies with the Theis' study noted above.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Functions of State Board in the Care of Dependent Children. Williams, "State Supervision of Agencies and Institutions" *Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, Washington, 1919, p. 313.
2. Japan's Treatment of Dependent Children. Namaye, "Child Welfare Work in Japan," *Ibid.*, p. 321.
3. Principles of the Care of Dependent Children. Hart, "The Conclusions of the White House Conference—Ten Years After," *Ibid.*, p. 339.
4. The Care of Dependent Children under a County Board. Taylor, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1920, p. 36.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How were destitute children cared for in early times?
2. What four methods came to be used in England and early America?
3. What four types of private orphan asylums existed prior to 1850? What new types were founded after 1851? What are some of their functions and results? What is the rôle of the day nursery?
4. What has been the history in brief of public care of dependent children?
5. What has been New York State's experience with subsidized children's institutions?
6. Briefly characterize the present nine systems for the care of dependent children. Evaluate these different systems.
7. In the light of the foregoing discussion, what different methods should have been used in the following case. Why?

"There were seven children in the J family, all but one of whom were sent to Sparta. The court commitment stated that the father had deserted, and the

mother was unable to care for the children. There were no relatives able to assist. The father was the son of a man spoken of as a 'dead beat and a bad egg generally.' The mother married Mr. J at the age of 17, much against the wishes of both families. The couple lived together more or less unhappily for several years, aided occasionally by relief agencies and their own parents. They then began associating with a 'fast crowd,' and trouble resulted.

"Amos was 10 years old, and Jane was 8, when they were placed together in their first indenture home, just 12 days after their admission to the State school, with a childless couple considered wealthy by their neighbors. The foster parents owned a well-cared-for 80-acre farm, which the man worked by himself except during the rush season. They did not take a daily newspaper and seldom heard of the outside world. Jane was popular at school and made many friends, but when she had been in the home for 1 year and 10 months she was returned to the State school on the ground that she was dishonest and disobedient and would not help in the house. Amos remained about a year longer and then ran away. He also was returned later to the State school.

"Jane's second home was with a middle-aged couple in comfortable circumstances and with no children of their own. The child was well liked at school and active in sports. The foster parents hoped to send her to college. She did well in the home until she accidentally met her father while on a vacation during her second summer in the home. After this she became difficult to manage and wished to go to her father. The foster parents sent her back to the State school. She was then 14 years of age. She begged to be permitted to return to the indenture home, but the foster mother was not willing to take her. At the time of the study Jane was still at the State school, as her own home was not satisfactory.

"Amos's second home was with thrifty, hard-working people on a large farm. The home was neat and comfortable, but the boy was unhappy. Amos was popular at school, and his work was good. His teacher believed that he was misplaced; he was a 'city type' and hated farm life. There was continued friction between the boy and his foster parents because he liked to remain in town in the evenings, and they considered that he was too young to do so. He ran away from his home at the age of 13, after having been there about three and one-half years.

"He was found in the city and taken to a near-by farm. The family liked the boy, and an indenture was later arranged, but permission for the boy to go to this home was given before the home had been investigated. This third indenture was not satisfactory. The boy had to work too hard and was not allowed sufficient time for recreation, even though the foster parents were fond of Amos and proud of his school record. He ran away from this home after about eight months. He had been in high school but a short time.

"Amos then went to the home of his maternal grandparents and was released to them at the request of the county judge. At that time the boy was a few months over 14 years of age. About a year later the judge wrote the school

that the grandfather could not control the boy and wished to return him. The school was not able to take him back, and Amos was sent to his father, who put him in high school, where he remained until the end of the term. Not quite a year before the study, the boy then wished to return to his first indenture home to work. His former foster parents would not take him, and he secured work with a neighbor, Mr. E. After two weeks he was sent away because he had wantonly destroyed several articles of furniture and had stolen 12 jars of preserves and \$10 in cash which he spent in one evening at a carnival.

"He then worked with another farmer for one week. During his employer's absence he broke into the safe and stole money, for which offense he was discharged. The boy then 'bummed' around the neighborhood and broke into his first foster home, stealing money and preserves. He then returned to the E's home and stole \$20. Mr. E had him arrested, and he was confined in jail for several days.

"Amos next went to a city, where he secured work in a grocery store. When it was found that he was under working age, he was returned to his father. Mr. J outfitted the boy and sent him again to high school until spring. He then worked in the same store with his father until he was discovered stealing. Amos was then sent to his paternal grandfather in another State, where he worked in a store for a short time and earned about \$16 a week. The last time the father heard from the boy he was working in a moving-picture theater. The superintendent of schools in the boy's home town thought that much of Amos's trouble came from lack of understanding at home. The boy had not been given proper clothing and felt there was no real place for him in the home.

"Amos's sister, Sarah, was 5 years old at the time of her commitment. Her first home must have been most unsatisfactory unless the home conditions in 1917 were very different from conditions at the time of the bureau agent's visit. The foster parents were 'border-line dependents' and received occasional help from the county. The home was slovenly, and the three small children were half dressed and very dirty. The foster mother was barefooted, and her breath smelled of liquor. They complained that Sarah was rude and stubborn and refused to obey. She was returned to the State school at the end of two weeks.

"Sarah's second home was on a farm in a poor, sandy section. The foster parents had moved, and the only information that could be secured was that the child was not liked by the foster parents and was not treated as a member of the family. The impression of the neighbors was that the child had to work hard for her age. She was only 8 years old when she left the home after a two and one-half year indenture period.

"Since Sarah's return from this last home she had remained at the State school. A recent mental examination classified her as border-line feeble-minded.

"Jean was 2 years old at the time of her commitment and was still in the indenture home in which she was first placed.

"Nettie was 11 years old when sent to the school. She remained in her first

indenture home for a little over two years. The reasons given for her return were increasing disobedience and fondness for boys, which made the responsibility of her care more than the foster parents wished to continue.

"Leslie was 3 years old at the time of his admission to the State school and remained at the school for almost five years. He was indentured about a year before the study, but his home was not visited.

"The parents of these children were divorced some time after the children's commitment, and the father remarried. His second wife was much younger than he. At the time of the study they had a 3-year-old child and lived in a comfortable five-room flat in a city. The stepmother seemed to be interested in her step-children and hoped to have them home as soon as they could afford it. Mr. J appeared to be doing well, considering his early background. The mother of the children was said to be living in Canada with a man to whom she was not married; she had a young baby."⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *Children Indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 150, Washington, 1925, pp. 59-61.

CHAPTER XXIII

DEPENDENT CHILDREN: CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK

AS we have stated in an opening chapter, children are at birth *natural* dependents,—usually upon two parents,—sometimes upon a mother only, or upon a mother and other kin. The illegitimate, new-born child faces peculiar hazards as a dependent. At the outset we must recognize that almost any kind of circumstances may attach to the illegitimate child: The birth may result from rape (rape, near-rape, seduction and claimed seduction, when studied with careful scrutiny, shift from one to the other. Often the persons involved are unable to agree as to the actual state of affairs) or from incest—usually of the father-daughter relationship— but these cases are rare. It may result from actual seduction or from only a nominal seduction, for intent and motive are hard to prove. Sometimes prostitution explains the illegitimate child, but probably more often the disgrace and despair of the unwed mother drive her into prostitution. Few prostitutes ever bear more than one child and many are never mothers. In the main illegitimate births are probably due to complicated causes involving primarily ignorance, poverty, getting drunk (or only half drunk), loneliness, the failure of contraceptives, or feeble-mindedness of varying degrees.

Many illegitimate infants have been and are born to girls and young women even in the best of families. In many cases well-to-do families arrange somehow for the lying-in of the mother and the support or adoption of such infants. Also in many humble families parents of the girl “in trouble” prefer, if possible, to hide or share her “disgrace” rather than to cause her to become or allow her to become an actual outcast. In a great many cases, however, the unmarried but pregnant girl or young woman is in a desperate situation needing special care. She may be an orphan, practically homeless, physically out of condition and ignorant of her rights. Many such girls lose their lives annually in the United States through abortion, procured usually illegally, or self-induced. Suicide claims some. Ill health and neglect bring some unwed mothers to child-birth in such a condition that the infants do not long survive, and the mother's own health is seriously impaired. Some deliberate and—shall we say—unavoidable neglect gives a high death-rate for the infants born to these mothers. In

addition there is also infanticide and abandonment, the latter often fatal to the child. All this is merely background to the situation as a whole. From it one is easily able to understand that because of illegitimacy there is a considerable amount of institutional dependency for the children, and poverty—perhaps deeper poverty—for the unmarried mother. The whole represents a tragic but apparently inescapable loss—in ideals, strength, and in economic status—to the community. There is no doubt that taking all things into consideration we are justified in saying that the illegitimate child not only stands a greater hazard of death but also of dependency and the distortion of personality.

Leffingwell has well drawn the pitiful figure of this tragic creature in the words, "Against the background of history, too prominent to escape the observation from which it shrinks, stands a figure mute, mournful, indescribably sad. It is a girl, holding in her arms the blessing and burden of motherhood, but in whose face one finds no traces of maternal joy and pride. There is scarcely a great writer of fiction who has not somewhere introduced this figure in the shifting panorama of romance, appealing for pity to a world which never fails to compassionate imaginary woes; now it is Effie Deans in the 'Heart of Midlothian'; now Fantine, resting by the roadside with Cosette in her arms; or Hester Prynne, pressing little Pearl against the scarlet letter as she listens from the Pillory to the sermon of Mr. Dimmesdale. Who is this woman so pitiable, yet so scorned? It is the mother of the illegitimate child. By forbidden paths she has attained the grace of maternity; but its glory for her is transfigured into a badge of unutterable shame."¹ This moving picture of the unmarried mother describes only a part of them.²

Incidence of Illegitimacy. The extent of illegitimacy is often indi-

¹ Leffingwell, *Illegitimacy and the Influence of Seasons upon Conduct*, London, 1892, pp. 1, 2.

² The Milwaukee Conference on Illegitimacy made a study for the Federal Children's Bureau of 362 babies born out of wedlock in that city. This study showed five different types of unmarried mothers:

1. The young, deceived girl under 18 years of age constituted 11 per cent.
2. The normal girl over 18 years of age made up practically 32 per cent of these unmarried mothers.
3. The subnormal and feeble-minded girl constituted about 8 per cent.
4. Forty-one per cent of these cases were girls with previous sex irregularity, other delinquencies, and otherwise poor character.
5. Another 8 per cent of them were women who had lost their husbands; Drury, "The Unmarried Mother and Her Child," *Proceedings, Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work*, 1918, Madison, 1919, pp. 61-68. The study published by the Federal Children's Bureau on *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part II, Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921, indicates much the same conditions in Boston—19 per cent had had illegitimate children before, and 13 per cent since the study.

cated by a comparison of the legitimate and the illegitimate birth rates per thousand of babies born. A more refined method of comparing the birth rates of legitimates and illegitimates is to compare them with reference to their ratio to a thousand women between the ages of 15 and 49. The following table, the latest figures available, will indicate the situation with regard to illegitimacy on the latter basis just before the outbreak of the Great War.²

NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF WOMEN FROM 15 TO 49 YEARS ANNUAL AVERAGE, INFANTS BORN LIVING

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Legitimate Infants to 1,000 Married Women, 15 to 49 Years</i>	<i>Illegitimate Infants to 1,000 Unmarried, Widowed or Divorced (15 to 49 Years)</i>
Austria-Hungary		
Austria: 1908-1913	219	30
Hungary: 1906-1915 . .	198	38
Bosnia and Herzegovina		
1907-1914	247	5
Belgium: 1908-1913	161	12
Bulgaria: 1910-1911	280	4
Denmark: 1906-1915	191	24
Finland: 1906-1915	230	17
France: 1910-1911	114	16
Scotland: 1906-1915	202	13
Italy: 1907-1914	226	14
Netherlands 1905-1914 . . .	233	5
Norway 1907-1914	224	13
Portugal: 1896-1905	228	28
German Empire: 1907-1914 .	196	23
Prussia: 1907-1914	204	21
Bavaria: 1907-1914	214	31
Saxony 1907-1914	153	36
Wurtemberg: 1907-1914 . .	211	21
Great Britain		
England and Wales 1906-1915	171	7
Ireland: 1909-1912	250	4
Roumania: 1896-1903	223	48
Russia in Europe: 1896-1897	299	17
Serbia: 1896-1897	236	7
Spain: 1906-1915	218	14
Sweden: 1908-1913	196	26
Switzerland: 1906-1915 . .	184	8

² *American Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. I, No. 3, July-September, 1918, pp. 342-343. (Adapted from a table prepared by Emma O. Lundberg in an article called "The Illegitimate Child and War Conditions," based upon the *Annuaire Internationale de Statistique*, publié par l'Office Permanent de l'Institut International de Statistique, Partie II. *Movement de la population (Europe)*, pp. 54-56; La Haye, 1917.)

The figures for the United States are very much less accurate than those for Europe because of our backwardness in birth registration.

The United States Bureau of the Census announced that of 2,203,958 births in 1930 in the District of Columbia and forty-six states, excluding California and Massachusetts which do not distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate births, 3.2 per cent were reported as illegitimate.⁴

BACKGROUND OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHERS

What were the backgrounds of these mothers who bore children out of wedlock? What were their occupations, their personal characteristics, their mental levels, and their earnings? From what kind of homes did they come? What were the characteristics of their parents? What were their ages and their general physical condition? All these questions have a bearing upon the fitness of the woman for motherhood and upon her capacity to give the proper protection and care to the child.

Age of the Unmarried Mothers. The most important source of information at present available on the problem of the unmarried mother and her child, is a study by the Children's Bureau covering the situation in a number of the important cities of the United States. The age of the mother in this study ranged from 11 per cent under eighteen years of age in Boston to 24 per cent in eighteen counties of New York State. In the latter study 9 per cent of these mothers were under sixteen years of age at the birth of the child. Smaller percentages were found in the other studies in the United States ranging as low as 2 per cent in Milwaukee. A comparison between the ages of white mothers having no previous children who bore in wedlock 4,116 children in four cities, and that of the mothers of 1,486 illegitimate children in four cities, holding the distribution by nativity constant, showed a preponderance of the mothers of illegitimate children under the age of twenty years. Of the mothers of illegitimate children 17.2 per cent and only 5 per cent of the mothers of legitimate children were under eighteen years of age. Between the ages of eighteen and twenty years were 30.4 per cent of the unmarried mothers and only 26.5 per cent of the married mothers.⁵ For the age groups above twenty years of age increasingly the percentage of married mothers preponderated over that of unmarried mothers.⁶ It is clear at once that the age of a considerable propor-

⁴ *Social Work Year Book: 1935*, New York, 1935, p. 60.

⁵ In 1928 almost half of the unmarried mothers were less than 21 years of age. Donahue, "Children Born Out of Wedlock," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1930, p. 163.

⁶ *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 128, Part III, pp. 6, 7.

tion of these unmarried mothers renders the support of themselves and their children a difficult problem. These facts also point to the importance of throwing about young girls proper influences in order to reduce illegitimacy.

Age at which these Mothers Left Home. This study by the U. S. Bureau showed that probably as important as the age of the mother at the birth of the child was the age at which she left home. In Philadelphia 32 per cent of them had been deprived of the protection of home before they were fourteen years of age, and 68 per cent had left home before they were eighteen. A similar situation is shown in the other cities studied. Of those studied in the rural counties of New York State almost half had left the parental home before they were fourteen, and four-fifths before they were eighteen.⁷

Broken Homes. The frequency of the broken home is familiar to all students of delinquent girls. In this study of the unmarried mother it appears as an important factor. The percentage which came from broken homes ranges from 23 to 31 per cent in Massachusetts, 49 per cent in Milwaukee, and 56 per cent in the rural counties of New York. In Philadelphia it rose to 71 per cent.

Even in the unbroken home conditions were often found to be inimical to the proper development of these girls. In one place studied more than one-fourth of the mothers came from homes in which the parents were alcoholic, immoral or otherwise of poor character. The home conditions were found to be often directly responsible for the waywardness and weakness in these unmarried mothers.⁸

Mental Conditions of the Unmarried Mother. The proportion of the unmarried mothers of a low mental level varies somewhat from place to place. Of those studied in Massachusetts 11 per cent were diagnosed as feeble-minded, subnormal, or insane, and a further 7 per cent were considered subnormal. In Philadelphia 8 per cent were diagnosed as not normal mentally, in Milwaukee 9 per cent, in the rural districts of Massachusetts 13 per cent, in the rural counties of New York 16 per cent were diagnosed as feeble-minded, subnormal, or insane, and an additional 7 per cent were thought to be below normal mentally.⁹ Apparently the proportion in the rural areas is greater than that in the urban. This, however, may be due to less careful diagnosis in the rural areas.

Character of the Unmarried Mother. The proportion of the unmarried mothers who were of poor character varied from 54 per cent in Massa-

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

*chusetts to 34 per cent in Philadelphia, 26 per cent in Milwaukee, more than 50 per cent in the sea-coast section of Massachusetts, and 61 per cent in the rural counties of New York.*¹⁰ The percentage of poor characters among the repeaters varied from 10 per cent in Milwaukee to 26 per cent in Boston.¹¹ In the Massachusetts part of the study it was found that if the character of the mother, father, and maternal grandparents was considered together for a group of 2,178 children born to unmarried mothers, 62 per cent were alcoholic, immoral, otherwise delinquent, or of poor character.¹²

Occupation of the Unmarried Mother. The same study in Massachusetts showed that an unduly large proportion of the unmarried mothers were gainfully employed before they gave birth to the child—86 per cent. The connection between early employment and illegitimacy is shown by the finding that of the unmarried mothers between sixteen and twenty years of age at the time their children were born, 83 per cent were gainfully employed compared with only 60 per cent of all women in Boston between those ages.

The outstanding occupation was domestic service—37 per cent. Thirty-six per cent of them were reported as having been employed at housework in private families. At that time only 25 per cent of all the gainfully employed women in Boston were employed in this occupation. The percentage employed in factories was also high as compared with all gainfully employed women in Boston—27 per cent as contrasted with 16 per cent. On the other hand, only 11 per cent of the unmarried mothers were clerks as compared with 26 per cent of the gainfully employed women of Boston.¹³

BACKGROUND OF THE FATHERS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

As might be expected it is impossible to get data as complete on the fathers as on the mothers of illegitimate children.

Economic Status of the Father. Information was obtained in the Boston Study concerning only 311 of the 840 fathers. 12 per cent of these fathers were engaged in an independent business or profession, 36 per cent were clerks or kindred workers, or skilled workers in various industries, 46 per cent were semi-skilled workers, laborers, or servants, 3 per cent were soldiers or marines, and 3 per cent were not gainfully employed. In other words, the father in most cases was a man of small income.

Bearing upon this point of the ability of the father to support his illegiti-

¹⁰ *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹² *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 41.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 46, 47.

mate child are these further facts: About 21 per cent of those about whom information was obtained were married. Three per cent of the total were widowed, divorced, separated, deserting or deserted. Of the fathers of the illegitimate children under care of the Boston agencies, whose histories were obtained, about one-third were responsible for the support of a family before they became fathers of these illegitimate children. No wonder the courts were unable, in a large proportion of the cases, to get any support for the mother and her illegitimate child out of these fathers. It is hard to get blood out of a turnip. The fathers of these children in only a small percentage of the cases assumed responsibility for the support of the child,—31 in Boston, 40 in Philadelphia. Court action to enforce support is not a success. For example, in Boston court action was taken in only 11 per cent of the cases coming to the attention of agencies in one year and in only 9 per cent was some arrangement made for support. However, the percentages in some other cities studied was higher—28 per cent in Milwaukee and 48 per cent in Philadelphia were brought to court with some provision being secured in 20 per cent of the cases in Milwaukee and 30 per cent in Philadelphia. Taking the study as a whole it is of the utmost significance as to both the ability and the character of the fathers to note that of some 2,000 fathers of illegitimate children, one-third were married, widowed, divorced, or separated. Furthermore, the youth of many of these fathers made it impossible for them to assume parental responsibility. In the series of age studies by the U. S. Children's Bureau, the percentage of fathers under eighteen years of age varied from 1 to 7 per cent. From 12 to 28 per cent were under the age of legal majority. Likewise, the whole study showed that from 42 to 59 per cent of the total number of fathers were professional and skilled workers. The percentage of those who were semi-skilled workers, servants, laborers and others of similar occupations in five studies varied as follows: 41, 46, 56, 58, and 58.¹⁴

MORTALITY OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

It is a well-known fact that the mortality rate of illegitimate children is two or three times that of the legitimate.¹⁵ The following table will indicate the relative number of deaths in illegitimate infants and legitimate infants:

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Part III, pp. 5, 6.

¹⁵ "The infant mortality of illegitimate babies is three times that of legitimate." Amey Eaton Watson, "The Illegitimate Family," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, May, 1918, p. 110; *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 128, Part 3, p. 3.

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

COMPARISON OF INFANT MORTALITY RATES FOR CHILDREN OF LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH IN FIVE CITIES

INFANT MORTALITY RATE

City	Infants of Illegitimate Birth	Infants of Legitimate Birth	Relative Frequency
Baltimore (white)	315.5	95.9	3.3
Boston	281.0	95.0	3.0
Brockton	291.7	96.7	3.0
Milwaukee	236.8	101.2	2.3
New Bedford	346.5	130.3	2.7

These facts indicate that, as a group, unmarried mothers are less able than girls with normal mentality, under similarly hard conditions, to make a living for themselves and their babies.¹⁶

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TREATMENT OF THE ILLEGITIMATE CHILD

In early society the treatment of the illegitimate child and its mother was both better and worse than in modern society. Even though the child was not malformed or a hybrid, in some savage societies it was more likely to be killed than legitimate children. Half-white children in Australia are killed. On some islands of the Solomon group illegitimate children are killed. In Samoa the unmarried practice abortion.¹⁷ The Kabyles kill all illegitimate, incestuous and adulterine children. The mother who would spare such a child suffers death.¹⁸ For the illegitimate, infanticide seems to have been

¹⁶ *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication, Pt. 3, Table I. The best measure yet available of the burden of dependency caused by illegitimacy is that stated in the study of the problem in Boston. Of the cases handled by the child-caring and child-protecting agencies in Boston in 1914, 13 per cent were children born out of wedlock, costing the agencies \$124,000 a year. *Ibid.*, p. 41. Studies of the Federal Children's Bureau in the District of Columbia and in Delaware show the proportion of dependent children in those places who were illegitimate. The study in Delaware showed that illegitimate children constituted 14 per cent of all dependent and neglected children included in that study. Springer, *Children Deprived of Parental Care*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 81, Washington, 1921, p. 18. In the District of Columbia children under the care of the Board of Children's Guardians were 25 per cent of illegitimate birth. Of the children under the care of private institutions in the District, 8 per cent were born out of wedlock. In Massachusetts, of over 7,000 children under the care of the Division of Child Guardianship of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare, 23 per cent were born out of wedlock. Lundberg and Milburn, *Child Dependency in the District of Columbia*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 140, Washington, 1924, pp. 4, 5; see also *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part 2, p. 37, Children's Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921.

¹⁷ Sumner, *Folkways*, Boston, 1907, pp. 316, 317.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

quite the usual thing. Sumner thinks that infanticide has flourished or vanished according to the severity of treatment given to mothers of illegitimate children.¹⁹ When infanticide was condemned by public sentiment, abandonment of illegitimate infants increased. The emphasis of the Church upon the religious condemnation of infanticide and its rather early provision for foundlings gave added impetus to the abandonment of fatherless children.

Institutions for the care of abandoned infants and orphans were established very early in the Christian era, but it is uncertain whether exposed children were admitted.²⁰ Even before the advent of institutions for foundlings, however, they were cared for by the Church.²¹ Foundling institutions are not found before the sixth century.²² In the late Middle Ages they are found scattered all over Western Europe in the large cities, following the decree of the second Council of Nicea, A. D. 787, that one such institution should be established in every city.²³ The first of these seem to have been established at Milan in the very year of the Council (787). We know of one at Montpellier in 1070, at Rome in 1212, at Paris in 1362 and at Venice in 1380. From that time on mention is made of the existence of such institutions in many other cities.

The invention of a special form of receiving apparatus known as the *tour* must have occurred at the close of the eleventh century for we find it established at Rome in a hospital built by Pope Innocent III before 1200. This institution soon afterwards is found in Italy, Spain and Portugal. It originally was a basket placed at the door in which a child could be placed by the person who brought it, and from which it was taken into the institution to be cared for. No questions were asked. Apparently its invention was inspired by the hope that thus the prevalent infanticide could be diminished. It was introduced officially into France and Belgium in 1811, but was eliminated in Belgium in 1860 and in France in 1862 because of its influence in increasing illegitimacy, and the high death rate of infants in the institutions in which they were kept.²⁴

Modern Foundling Asylums. What may be described as the first foundling asylum along modern lines was established by St. Vincent de Paul at Paris in 1638. However, from 1452 to 1789 in France the law imposed on the *seigneurs de haute justice* the duty of caring for all children found

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 320

²⁰ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol II, p. 32.

²¹ Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol I, p. 482

²² Lundberg and Lenroot, *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication No. 66, Washington, 1920, p. 43.

²³ *Nelson's Loose-Leaf Encyclopedia*, Vol V, p. 147.

²⁴ Lundberg and Lenroot, *op. cit.*, p. 48

deserted in their territories. At the Revolution among the first constitutions were provisions that the state should undertake the support of foundlings as a duty. Under that régime for a time premiums were given to the mothers of illegitimate children, whom the Revolutionists called *enfants de la patrie*.

Under the laws establishing *L'Assistance Publique*, initiated by a decree of January, 1811, and amended by many other laws passed since, foundlings are among the *enfants assistés*. They are placed in a departmental asylum for a short time from which they are placed out in country districts, usually apprenticed to a peasant until their majority, and are under the guardianship of the administrative commissioners of the department. The state pays the whole cost of inspection and supervision. Often unmarried mothers are given "outdoor" relief for the care of the child temporarily to prevent desertion. These and other expenses of the care of the children are borne two-fifths by the state, two-fifths by the department concerned and one-fifth by the commune. In Italy the old type of foundling asylums still flourishes.

In Austria, where as in most other European countries they were established under private auspices, they were given legal status by Emperor Joseph II in 1781. In 1818 they were declared to be state institutions and were supported by the state until 1860 when they were handed over to provincial committees and were made to depend on provincial funds. Connected with these were asylums for mothers of the children. The mother might enter free with her child if she is willing to serve as nurse or midwife for four months, or if she got a statement from the "poor-father" of the district testifying that she was unable to pay. If able she paid for the child's care. At the age of two months the child was placed out for 6 or 10 years in respectable homes in the neighborhood and looked after by the authorities.

In Germany, while foundling asylums were established quite early, they have long since been abolished. Instead, foundlings are cared for by being placed directly by the local authorities at board or placed in institutions designed for the care of dependent children.

In the United States institutions to take care of foundlings arose about the middle of the last century. In 1864 a temporary home for deserted children was founded in Boston. Out of this developed the Massachusetts Infant Asylum, chartered in 1867. While the death rate of infants in almshouses in that state had been as high as 85 per cent, the rate in this institution was reduced to 19 per cent. In 1869 in New York City was established a foundling asylum. In 1871 Chicago's Foundling Asylum was established. Soon similar institutions sprang up in many other places as a result of the effort to get children, mostly foundlings, out of the poorhouses. In many

cases such children were taken care of by orphans' asylums, chiefly under private auspices.

Methods of Caring for Illegitimate Children Growing out of the Failure of Foundling Asylums. The motives which led to the establishment of foundling asylums were various. Among them was the motive of training them in the religion of the organization which built and conducted the institution. Perhaps wider in its appeal was that of rescuing the children from the debasing influence of the almshouse. A third motive was the hope that in a special institution for children the appalling almshouse death rate among infants would be lessened.

While some of these hopes have been realized in the foundling asylum, others have been doomed to disappointment, and new problems have arisen. The institution *does* succeed in training children in the religion of the institution, so that some religious organizations, intent upon the eternal salvation of the child's soul, have been slow to recognize the importance of the defects of the institution for these children. While foundling asylums in some cases have succeeded in reducing the appalling death rate of infants therein, other methods have succeeded better.²⁵ Recent investigations have shown that in spite of all efforts to save the lives of infants in such asylums, they die at a rate which condemns the institution. Commissioner Strong found that in such institutions in New York as late as 1916, while the death rate for infants under two years of age in the state at large was 87.4 per thousand, for 11 institutions in the state the rate was 422.5, or five times as great.²⁶

Moreover, in such institutions, especially such as are paid for their services at so much per child out of public funds, the sanitary conditions are often bad, the education of the older children is neglected, and they miss that training in useful knowledge which should enable them to succeed in life. How can a child which grows up in an institution where everything is provided for it, with no personal responsibility for learning to do things which every child in a home learns to do, and which have such a decided influence in developing initiative and judgment in the conduct of life, compete successfully with the child which is brought up in a normal home where it is taught to take its share in the orderly and successful conduct of the home?

As a result of the observation of the effects of the old kind of institution life upon children of this kind, various new methods have been devised better to care for this unfortunate class.

A number of the older institutions have reorganized so as to give their

²⁵ In some institutions for foundlings the death rate has risen as high as 96.7 per cent. For details see Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents*, Boston, 1901, pp. 105, 371.

²⁶ *Report of Charles H. Strong to Governor Whitman*, Albany, 1916, p. 120.

children an approximation of the living conditions in a normal home. Thus, Dr. Reeder made over the New York Orphanage at Hastings-on-Hudson into an almost ideal institution. It is not in the crowded city, but in the country. It is not a pile of buildings of the older institution type, but an assembly of cottages around which are flower beds, gardens, chicken yards, animals under the children's care as in a home. In each cottage there are children of all ages, few enough in numbers so that the house-father and -mother may give them that individual attention so necessary, if children are to develop as they should. Each child has his own responsibility for a due share in the work of the institution. He has his pets; he earns money and spends it. The institution is his home in a real sense. The buildings are so built that each child has plenty of air and sunshine. Every attention is given to his health and development. The school is a real school, and is supplemented in the training of the child by careful attention to his mental and moral growth in every activity of his life there.²⁷ Yet Dr. Reeder says the institution for the normal child is a poor substitute for a normal home.²⁸

This is one of a number of institutions for the care of children, among them foundlings, which have changed themselves to approximate the conditions in the normal home. There seems to be a need of institutions for foundlings and other children, although Massachusetts appears to have got beyond any such need.

With the development of modern methods of caring for children (described in the previous chapter) naturally, illegitimate children shared in the benefits. In some cases such children are placed out by private societies placing children in homes; in other states where public authorities place out children the child born out of wedlock is placed out just as other destitute children; in Massachusetts they are boarded out or placed out in free homes along with other children, under supervision of the Department of Public Welfare.

In 1873 there was established in Boston, and six years later in Philadelphia and still later in New York, the plan of placing both mother and child in homes in the country usually at service, but sometimes at board. The Boston institution was known as The Society for Helping Destitute Mothers and Infants. It placed both married mothers left destitute with small children and mothers with illegitimate children in these ways. This organization grew up to care for children *without separating them from their mothers*. From November 1, 1915, to October 31, 1916, 310 cases were assisted, of which

²⁷ Reeder, *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn*. (For a brief description of the principles at the basis of his institution see Reeder, "Study of the Child from the Institutional Standpoint," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1907, pp. 265-273.)

²⁸ Reeder, "Our Orphaned Asylums," *The Survey*, June 1, 1925, p. 283.

246 were unmarried mothers and their children.²⁹ In Philadelphia this plan of caring for unmarried mothers and their infants was adopted by the Children's Aid Society. Later it was extended to Buffalo, Chicago, New York, and other parts of the country by different kinds of societies dealing with this problem.³⁰

Illegitimate children have shared with other children the benefits of state supervision of the agencies placing them in homes or caring for them in institutions.

Growing out of the experience with foundling homes and general hospitals, maternity homes and similar organizations have developed agencies which give expectant mothers advice and care and provide for the after-care of mother and child. It has been discovered that when possible mother and child should be kept together for several months in order that the child may have a chance at life. By after-care mother and child can also have the benefit of careful supervision as to health, while the mother can be trained to care properly for her health and that of her infant.

Recent European Developments. In England of late special attention has been given to the care and training of mothers before and after confinement, and hostels have been founded where they may board and leave their babies, going daily to work, but caring for their infants at night. The National Council for the unmarried mother and her child is backing the movement.³¹

In France first assistance is given by the 400 pre-natal centers and maternity hospitals. Then *L'Assistance Publique* gives assistance to unmarried mothers until the children are 3 years old, requiring the mothers to nurse their children if they are able to do so. The Department of the Seine is also giving a premium for breast feeding amounting to 200 francs a year. Payment is made through women visitors of *L'Assistance Publique*. For those insured under the compulsory insurance law of 1928 free medical attendance is provided before and after child-birth, a cash benefit is paid for six weeks before and six weeks after child-birth, a nursing benefit is available for nine months.³²

²⁹ *Report of the Society for Helping Destitute Mothers and Infants, 1915-16*, Boston, 1917, p. 21.

³⁰ *Report, International Congress of Charities and Philanthropy, Chicago, 1893*, Vol. on Care of Children, pp. 60-64.

³¹ Colbourne, "For Unmarried Mothers Abroad," *The Survey*, October 15, 1923, p. 96.

³² *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication No. 66, Washington, 1920, pp. 45-48. See also Mudgett, "For Unmarried Mothers in Europe," *Survey*, March 15, 1927, p. 809; *Ms*, "Legislation for the Protection of the Unmarried Mother and her Child in Denmark, France, Germany, Italy and Sweden," Children's Bureau, Washington, November, 1935.

As a result of the War, Italy, the country where foundling asylums had been less changed than in most of the countries of Europe, at last awakened to the importance of protecting infants, including illegitimate children. The Sub-Committee on Health of the Italian Commission for the Study of Measures Necessary for the Period of Transition from War to Peace, urged that the country make permanent the temporary measures brought about by the War and take new measures for the purpose of making secure the lives of the mothers and children of Italy. As a result of this agitation The National Bureau of Maternal and Child Welfare, established by law in 1925, provides through its local bureaus various aids to the unmarried mother and her child. These include physical examinations, simple treatment, financial and legal aid, and help in securing employment. These bureaus also distribute premiums to unmarried mothers who marry the fathers, provide pensions to unmarried mothers who keep their children, and place children in foundling homes, and place or board them out.

In the Scandinavian countries some of the earliest important provisions have been made for the care of illegitimate children. Norway was a pioneer in correcting some of the injustices which had existed from time immemorial concerning the unwed mother and her illegitimate child.³³ The provisions differ among the various Scandinavian countries, but in general represent forward-looking procedures.

In some other European countries since the World War progress has been made. In Austria the protection of illegitimate children has become a responsibility of the State. In social-democratic and later in Nazi Germany both national and local administrative authorities aid illegitimate children and their mothers. In Czecho-Slovakia every illegitimate child has a guardian appointed for it immediately, who summons the putative father to court; the unmarried mother is considered only a witness. In those cases which involve more than one man, the burden of proof is upon the man whom the mother names. If paternity is established, the father must pay according to his ability. Also in Switzerland the illegitimate child is assigned a guardian during the first year of his life. Generally, it may be said that the care of the illegitimate child in Europe is much more a public responsibility than in this country.³⁴

Under the Bolsheviks in Russia special attention has been given to the

³³ Magnusson, *Norwegian Laws Concerning Illegitimate Children*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 31; *Law Concerning Children Born Out of Wedlock* (adopted by the Norwegian Storting, April 10, 1915, effective January 1, 1916), Chicago Woman's Club, no date, Chicago, Ill.

³⁴ Mudgett, "For Unmarried Mothers in Europe," *The Survey*, March 15, 1927. A summary of this article may be found in *Journal of Social Hygiene*, April, 1921, p. 242.

care of mothers and children. Under the Soviet scheme of things there is no such thing as an illegitimate child. As a matter of fact none of the stigma attaching to the child born out of wedlock in this country is countenanced by the laws of the U.S.S.R. What we should call the illegitimate child is given the same protection by the State as every other child. Its father and its mother are required to give it proper care. In case they are unable to do so, the child has the same care and protection as any other child.³⁵

Developments in the United States. In Maryland, Minnesota, and North Carolina, the separation of mother and child within six months of birth, except by consent of the authorities who are charged with the care of the health of the mother and child, is forbidden. In Maryland and North Carolina, however, there is no provision for the support of the mother.³⁶

Public supervision and care of the unmarried pregnant woman, and after the birth of her child for some time, has been provided in Norway and Sweden. In the United States state supervision and care of unmarried mothers and their infants is not provided for except in Wisconsin, Massachusetts and Minnesota.³⁷ Illegitimate children elsewhere are not cared for by public authorities except as they are included among children who are placed out after separation from their mother.

Thus some progress is being made in the handling of this age-long and difficult problem. With the progress of knowledge and the growth of social experience, instinctive and sympathetic methods of dealing with the unmarried mother and her innocent child are yielding gradually to rational methods. When society once reaches the place where consideration for the social welfare, rather than tradition, dogmatic, and impulsive considerations, weighs in social judgments and inspires the laws dealing with this difficult problem, greater emphasis will be given to prevention rather than to repression.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CARE OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Experience has brought to light certain fundamental principles necessary to deal successfully with the unmarried mother and her child.

1. Registration of All Births. No complete picture of the problem

³⁵ Field, *Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia*, New York, 1932; Halle, *Woman in Soviet Russia*, London, 1934; Kingsbury and Fairchild, *Factory, Family and Woman in the Soviet Union*, New York, 1935, Chapter 13; Newsholme & Kingsbury, *Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia*, Garden City, 1933 Chapter 12, and especially page 160.

³⁶ Stevenson, *Analysis and Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Illegitimacy in the United States, in Effect January 1, 1928 and the Text of Selected Laws*, Children's Bureau, Chart No. 16, Washington, 1929, p. 6

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5; *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication No. 66, Washington, 1920, pp. 45-48.

of illegitimacy can be obtained until we have fairly complete registration of all births. In Germany, where most detailed study of the problem has been made, complete birth registration has been practised for years in the interest of military service. In France and Norway studies have been made because of special interest in the problem. Gradually the number of states in the United States which are registering births has increased. However, the registration does not always indicate whether the birth is legitimate or illegitimate. In the course of the next ten years sufficient progress will probably be made to enable us to know more exactly the situation.

¹ The registration of illegitimate births is especially important in those states in which a public authority is given the responsibility for the care of the unmarried mother and her child. In Wisconsin and Minnesota the statute expressly states that it is the duty of the State Board of Control to see that the child has "the nearest possible approximation to the care, support and education that he would be entitled to if born of lawful marriage." The public authority cannot discharge this responsibility unless it knows which births are illegitimate.

2. **Proper Care of the Mother before Birth of Child.** The shame of the mother makes such care difficult, but not impossible. With proper provision for pre-natal care of mothers, and good publicity concerning the importance of advice before confinement, it will be much less difficult than now to get girls to attend clinics and hospitals. Often now they go to a physician or some "doctor" who has a reputation for abortion in order to get rid of the unborn child. It is probable that part of the unusually high death rate of illegitimate infants is due to the lack of proper care of the mother before confinement.

In Minnesota, Wisconsin and Norway, in order to enable the Board to fulfill its duties it is usually required that maternity hospitals, infants' homes and other public or private hospitals must use due diligence to ascertain whether a woman who has come to the institution for care before confinement will give birth to an illegitimate child, in order that the Board "may offer its aid and protection in ways as are found wise and expedient to the unmarried woman approaching motherhood."²⁸

In Massachusetts the State Infirmary receives for confinement unmarried women who are about to become mothers. On their discharge the State Department has administrative control of such mothers and their children. It follows up the cases of mothers and babes leaving the institution. Other agencies getting mothers with illegitimate children turn over their cases to

²⁸ *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, Washington, 1920, pp. 45-48.

the Department. Hence, the social service work for this class of mothers is broadening constantly. Furthermore, the Department undertakes to place the illegitimate children as it does any destitute children, giving them the same supervision through social service visitors as it gives to any of the minor wards of the State.³⁹

The work of the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Massachusetts deserves earnest study and indicates a tendency which is full of promise. Until some better way can be devised, these plans offer the best hope from the standpoint of the discharge of the state's responsibility for illegitimate children. Gradually more of the states are recognizing their responsibility for this problem. The County Children's Boards in Minnesota and Wisconsin, the Boards of Child Guardianship in a number of the Eastern states, provide local units through which the state can discharge a part of its responsibilities. In those states which have had some experience with the problem it is felt that the localities should assume their share of the responsibilities by setting up boards and committees to look after the illegitimate children and their mothers and to plan methods of prevention.

Private agencies by their attention to this problem have succeeded in a good many communities in getting the municipality to set up some agency to take responsibility for the care of unmarried mothers and their children.⁴⁰

Moreover, the private agencies are giving increasing attention to this problem since the Children's Bureau through its studies has called attention to its importance. The case-working agencies are doing the best work in this field because of the careful attention which they give to each case under their care.

3. Mother and Child Should Be Kept Together for a Time. Formerly, quite generally the practice was to separate the child from its mother very soon after birth. In the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection there was a difference of opinion as to whether the child should be kept with the mother in all cases. A section of those in that Conference believed that the determination of this question should be answered upon a case-work basis. It was suggested by this group that no unmarried mother under sixteen years of age and no feeble-minded, epileptic, insane, or incompetent mother should be expected to keep her child. It also was felt that no mother who had not developed affection for her infant in the first six months of its life should be forced to keep it. It was agreed by all concerned that no permanent separation should be made in order to save

³⁹ *Fortieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts*, 1918, Boston, 1919, pp. 110-133.

⁴⁰ Mattingly, "The Unmarried Mother and Her Child," *School of Applied Social Sciences*, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1928; *Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare*, The City of New York, 1931, p. 39.

the family name or the social position of the girl. Further, emphasis was placed by this group of people upon the importance of re-educating the mother so that she will not be forced back into an occupation which is hazardous to her moral welfare.

Moreover, it was emphasized that the father, hitherto neglected by the case-worker, should be subject to the same procedure in order to reorient him to his social duties and responsibilities.⁴¹

Whenever the welfare of the child is not menaced thereby, the best way to develop that sense of responsibility which many of these women lack, and which is necessary if they are to be reclaimed, is to keep with them the child. Our foolish concern for the reputation of the girl and her family blinds us to the necessity of considering first the welfare of the child, and *then* the development of moral responsibility in the mother. Experience has shown that by proper effort most of the women who have parents can return with the child to the home of the parents. When they have no home it is possible to get them a place where mother and child can live while she earns their living. When that is impossible, the mother capable of rearing her child can be boarded with it until she can get a place at work with her child, or until the child can be safely separated from her and properly placed in a good home.

4. **Placement of Mother and Child.** It is highly desirable that mother and child in those cases in which the mother and child should not be separated should be placed in a position where the mother can earn her way and support her infant. The testimony of most experienced agencies shows that to relieve the mother of her responsibility for her child, not only breaks the chief bond by which she may be saved from a repetition of her mistake, but produces in the minds of others a conviction that the unwed mother can easily shake off such a responsibility. Moreover, it confirms the current but wrong opinion that the chief concern of society should be for the *reputation* of the woman rather than for the development of her *character*. Furthermore, it substitutes tenderness for the families concerned for consideration for the welfare of the innocent child and the moral development of the mother.

While such placement is difficult, it is not impossible, as the experience of the Boston Society for the Care of Destitute Mothers and Infants, and of the Massachusetts State Department shows.⁴²

⁴¹ *Dependent and Neglected Children*, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, New York, 1933, pp. 251-275. See also Mathews, "Case Work with Unmarried Mothers," *The Family*, October, 1932, p. 185.

⁴² See Murphy, "The Unmarried Mother at Work," *The Survey*, February 28, 1920, pp. 641, 642; also Edlin, "Jewish Unmarried Mothers," *The Survey*, June 19, 1920, p. 408.

5. **Establishment of Paternity.** The laws of most of our states on the establishment of paternity in illegitimacy cases constitute a travesty on justice. In many of our states the mother herself must make the complaint. In some of our forward-looking states, anyone can make complaint and start action for the establishment of paternity. In Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, a state board is charged with the responsibility of seeing that paternity is established, if possible.

While the establishment of paternity is often a difficult matter, in progressive states like Minnesota and Wisconsin, "the State Board of Control is counsel for the child and has something to say as to whether or not that child shall have a legally responsible parent . . . and not leave it to the schemes and machinations of attorneys and the families of the persons who are involved."⁴³

In Minnesota and Wisconsin, if ever a man has admitted paternity or is adjudged to be the father of the child, he is thenceforth subject to all the obligations for the care, maintenance and education of the child, and to all the penalties for failure to do the same which may be imposed under the laws of the state upon fathers of legitimate children of like age and capacity. If he fails to support the child, he is proceeded against as in a criminal action, and if he deserts the child or leaves the state, he is guilty of a felony and can be brought back on a process of extradition.⁴⁴ We shall never make much progress until we have made every effort to place responsibility upon the father as well as upon the mother of the illegitimate child.

6. **Legitimation.** Norway has led the world in its provision for the legitimation of children born out of wedlock. It gives the child born out of wedlock the same right of inheritance from the father, after paternity has been established, as a child of legitimate birth. It is entitled to the father's as well as to the mother's family name.⁴⁵ Sweden's law is less advanced from the standpoint of the welfare of the child than Norway's. It gives no right of inheritance from the father except in the case of "betrothal children." It does, however, place the responsibility for support on both parents. In Russia there is no such thing as an illegitimate child. The only problem there is the one which disturbs us so much everywhere—to determine paternity. When paternity is established the State sees to it that the father takes his share of the responsibility in the support and education of the child. In most of the United States, legislation provides only for the legitimation by

⁴³ Hodson, "Securing a Children's Code for Minnesota," *Proceedings, Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work*, 1918, Madison, 1919, p. 54.

⁴⁴ Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Norwegian Laws Concerning Illegitimate Children*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 31, Washington, 1919, pp. 14-27, and *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, 1920, pp. 40, 41.

the subsequent marriage of the parents, or, in some cases, if the man who marries the mother adopts the child. North Dakota is an exception.⁴⁶

7. **Public Responsibility for the Care and Education of the Child.** The illegitimate child, like every other child handicapped by birth or later circumstances, is a ward of the state. The state should stand in place of the parent in the interests of the child.⁴⁷

8. **Supervision of Unmarried Women and Children.** States cannot discharge their social responsibilities and neglect to supervise unmarried mothers and their children. The practice of Massachusetts and Minnesota should be adopted throughout the country. A sufficient force of inspectors should be employed to give proper attention to these women and their children in the interests of society as well as the welfare of these wards of the state.⁴⁸

9. **Disposition of Children of Mothers Unfit to Care for Their Infants.** Children born out of wedlock to mothers who are unable or unfit to care for their babies generally have to be cared for in some other way. In the United States two-thirds of all adoptions are of illegitimate children. It is important, therefore, that in such adoptions at least as much attention be given to the principles of foster care as in the cases of legitimate children who must be adopted.

Doubtless, further experience will indicate modifications of these principles. By keeping clearly in mind, however, that the primary consideration is the welfare of the child, and secondary the welfare of the mother, both physically and morally, progress can be made in the solution of this difficult and important problem.⁴⁹

PREVENTION OF ILLEGITIMACY

Measures should be taken to prevent illegitimacy. We cannot rest content with simply taking care of unwed mothers and their children. The Children's Bureau has suggested the following points in such a program:

⁴⁶ Lenroot, "For Children of Illegitimate Birth," *The Survey*, September 15, 1920, p. 723.

⁴⁷ A uniform illegitimacy law has been urged and has been adopted by a number of our states. See Freund, "A Uniform Illegitimacy Law," *The Survey*, October 15, 1922, p. 104; *Analysis and Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Illegitimacy, etc.*, U. S. Children's Bureau Chart No. 10, p. 46, Note 1.

⁴⁸ For Massachusetts, see Lundberg and Lenroot, *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part 2, Children's Bureau Publication No. 75, pp. 273-332. For Minnesota, see Freund, *Illegitimate Laws of the United States*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 42, Washington, 1910, pp. 158-162.

⁴⁹ *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part II, Children's Bureau Publication No. 75, pp. 68, 69.

1. Since industrial, economic, and social conditions contribute to this problem, measures should be taken to guide young women in their vocation and to throw safeguards around them in industrial plants and other places in which they must work. Attention must also be given to the standard of living in order that they may find a place in economic and social life to satisfy their fundamental needs.

2. Raising the level of general education, and providing for all children opportunities for moral and spiritual development, including training in standards of morality and conduct.

3. Provision of opportunity for wholesome recreation, properly safeguarded, and supervision of commercialized amusements.

4. Removal of degrading community influences.

5. Adequate provision for the diagnosis and care of the mentally subnormal, including institutional provision for the feeble-minded and the defective delinquent in need of such care, and special training and supervision in the community.

6. Special protection for young people of both sexes who are surrounded by dangerous influences or who show tendencies toward wrongdoing; improved standards of case-work with families and children, with special reference to the detection and removal of influences that menace the welfare of children.

7. Assisting and safeguarding mothers of children born out of wedlock, to the end that they may gain a position of independence and self-respect in the community, and that they may not repeat their unfortunate experiences.⁵⁰

The real test of the methods used in handling the unmarried mother and her child is what happens after the agency has done its utmost in the case. The U. S. Children's Bureau made a study of 253 illegitimate children born to 241 mothers in 11 cities of this country. Unfortunately the outcome in the cases of these children could not be established in all cases. At the time the report was made 42 of them were eighteen years of age and over. Most of these were self-supporting, married, or living in their parental homes. They were capable of supporting themselves and required no more supervision or assistance than any other young people of the same ages. 121 of the 211 under eighteen years of age were in situations which promised at least a fundamental education. For a considerable proportion of them further advantages were to be expected, including training in a vocation. Some of them looked forward to a professional education. The outlook for 21 of these children was uncertain and for only 23 were the prospects sufficiently unfavorable to lead to the expectation that the child would not be equipped

⁵⁰ *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part II, Children's Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921. See also *Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born out of Wedlock*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 77, Washington, 1921.

for self-support and might possibly become dependent upon the public. For 46 it was not possible to forecast their probable futures.⁵¹

What happens to the unmarried mother? A study made in 1921-22 of 82 cases, approximately five years after the child had been born, was made in Boston. The authors conclude that less than one-fifth of the group occupy a worse social position than that occupied at the time the child was born. More than one-half of the cases inflicted visible and material injury on society in the five years after the birth of their illegitimate child. Thus, apparently unwed motherhood had a more disastrous effect upon the mother herself than upon society at large. This study showed further that the situation in 66.6 per cent of the mothers of normal intelligence, in the five years since their experience, had become better. With the dull normal 37 per cent were better, 42 per cent the same, and 21 per cent worse than before the experience. In the border-line 25 per cent were better, 40 per cent the same, and 20 per cent worse. The group with the worst outcome—36.3 per cent worse after five years—was that composed of girls characterized by psychopathic conditions.⁵²

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Illegitimacy in the National Capital. Ottenberg, "Fatherless Children of the National Capital," *The Survey*, January 30, 1915, p. 459.
2. The War and Illegitimacy. Lundberg, "The Illegitimate Child and War Conditions," *American Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. I, No. 3, July-September, 1918.
3. A Comparative Study of the Laws Concerning Illegitimacy. Freund, *Illegitimacy Laws of the United States and Certain Foreign Countries*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 42.
4. Prevention of Illegitimacy. Watson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 102.
5. Outcome in Illegitimacy Cases. References in footnotes 51, 52.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. From the material in the text give what you consider is the best estimate of the amount of child-dependency due to illegitimacy.
2. Trace the development of the treatment of the illegitimate child from early times through the foundling asylums.
3. What motives led to the establishment of foundling asylums?

⁵¹ Donahue, "Children of Illegitimate Birth whose Mothers have Kept their Custody," *Children's Bureau Publication* No. 190, Washington, 1928, pp. 25, 26

⁵² Guibord and Parker, *What Becomes of the Unmarried Mother?* Research Bureau on Social Case Work, Boston, 1922, pp. 69-76; For an illuminating study of the methods used in handling unmarried mothers see in addition to the previous references Parker, *A Follow-up Study of 550 Illegitimacy Applications*, Research Bureau on Social Case Work, Boston, 1924.

4. What methods of care grew out of the failure of these institutions?
5. What principles should regulate the care of illegitimate children?
6. What preventive measures for illegitimacy should be put in operation?
7. "It's this nosing into other people's business that I don't like," said the

Prospective Donor. "The institution I'd like to support would be one that asked no questions—whose right hand was a stranger to the left—that's my opinion. Perhaps it would be a place where an unmarried mother could go and leave her baby unquestioned and start life over, forgetting the horrible past."

"Well," admitted the Social Worker, "the family welfare worker doesn't see it that way so I guess I'd better not keep you waiting."

"Hold on now," said the P. D. "Just tell me why your Society doesn't and if I could see it their way—well—I know \$500 that the Income Tax will never see. But, by Jove, I've got to be convinced—that's what."

"All right," said the Social Worker, sitting down beside the mahogany office desk. "I'll try to show you by telling you two stories."

"Bertha B. 'got in trouble' at seventeen with an older man who took advantage of her. She ran away from home and took her week-old baby to a city and finally to a 'no questions asked' institution for foundlings where a basket was always on the threshold. After placing her baby in the basket, Bertha stood on the corner crying bitterly. 'Nobody cares what happens to you in this world,' she sobbed to herself, 'if I could only ask somebody what was right. She's my baby—and yet—and yet——' So she stood in agony of mind and body for one hour, debating with herself. Then she saw the door swing in and the baby taken up—and the door closed. The wretched girl sat on a park bench all that night and finally slept from sheer exhaustion."

"The years that followed were dark. Furnished rooming houses—factory jobs—cheap men—and always a haunting memory of having turned her back on the one thing that could have been dearest to her—he had been a deserter and a coward. In this mood of "nothing matters now" she drifted into bad company. Once she tried to find her baby, but the institution said there was no record for no name was attached and all the children had been adopted out. "With the exception," they added, "of those who die, because when they are left motherless shortly after birth, it's pretty hard to save them all," and Bertha never knew."

"So that's that," said the Social Worker, sighing.

"Terrible, terrible," said the P. D., nervously drawing on the small end of a dry smoke. "Let's have the silver lining quick, for an antidote!"

"Elizabeth H. is the silver lining story," said the Social Worker, "and she started on her career so exactly like Bertha that it might have been the identical girl. But she came with her baby to a family welfare society office, asking that they send the baby away for good so she could get a fresh start and nobody would know. The social worker told her the story of Bertha. Elizabeth was torn with grief. But how could she go back home? Everybody

knew and her parents must hate her for it. No! The baby must go and then she'd forget and start over. And yet—didn't the social worker think it was an unusually pretty baby, cooing away there unmindful of the tragedy? They finally agreed it needed a week to be thought over and during the week Elizabeth should stay at a comfortable place at the Society's expense.

"Every day in that week was like an act in a drama. The social worker and Elizabeth became good friends and yet the young mother felt that each day was thwarting her plans—for the baby was getting such a tight hold on her heart. On Saturday the social worker went down to the town of X—from which Elizabeth had run away. Anger had given place to worry and, now, entirely to forgiveness if the girl would only come back to her home. In the end the social worker brought Elizabeth's mother back with her and in the little back parlor the three generations met. When the social worker returned an hour later, the baby was on her grandmother's lap and Elizabeth with shining face was packing her little valise to go back home. She guessed if her mother was willing to stick up for her, she wasn't afraid to see it through back in X—. And then—there was the baby. It would kill her now to part with little Betty—she was so trusting and—well, she was *hers*."

"Well," said the P. D., "it just shows how little the average business man realizes about these problems. "No questions asked" sounds good, but apparently it is most heartless."

"The difference lies," said the Social Worker, "in the person who is doing the asking. If she is a trained social worker anxious to solve people's difficulties intelligently, then her rôle is mostly that of a sympathetic listener. If she is the detective-minded inquisitor, then the interview turns into a grilling. But that sort of a person represents just the kind that have no place in social work."

"I want to give you that tax-exempt donation right now," said the P. D., fumbling for his check-book, "to start a fund; and I want that fund to go toward the salaries of those who know how to manipulate the question-mark intelligently and with great kindness." ⁵³

- (a) Why was careful constructive work in the latter of these two cases better than asking no questions and doing what seemed best without investigation?
- (b) What might have been done in the first case to avoid the consequences there noted?
- (c) From these two cases what would you say are the necessary qualities in a successful worker with the mothers of illegitimate children?

⁵³Tousley, "The Selling Points of Case Work," *The Family*, May, 1925.

CHAPTER XXIV

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

THE stigma of ordinary charity long ago fastened itself upon its recipients. Private charity, represented by the Charity Organization Movement, has tried to overcome that handicap by emphasizing service rather than relief. Pity for the helpless mother left with young children prompted search for a method by which help could be given her without the taint of charity. If her necessities were relieved by the public poor relief official, then she and her children were forever branded with the term "pauper." Many private societies, while endeavoring to remove the stigma of "pauper" from all their cases by careful case treatment, yet felt that ordinary relief did not have the certainty of income which is necessary if the mother's mind is to be free from the worry incident to her unfortunate position.

As long ago as 1877, in London, the importance of a steady income for the aged was recognized by the organization of the Tower Hamlets Pensions Committee, created by a number of Charity Organization and Poor Law workers in East London.¹ The application of the principle of pensions to mothers, however, did not occur anywhere until 1911. While France in 1900, in connection with a system of compulsory old age insurance, made provision for the death benefits to dependents, and while Germany, in connection with a revision of its social insurance laws in 1911, inserted as an important feature a national system of widows', and orphans' pensions, the earliest specific approach to the problem in this country was made when, in 1912, Colorado adopted by popular referendum a "Mothers' Compensation Act" which became operative in January, 1913.

Indicative of the development of thought on this question about this time are experiments of cities in two states and of a private organization doing family relief work in New York City.

For many years it had been the custom in California under the authority of the state constitution to allow institutions \$100 a year for the care of dependent orphans and \$75 a year for half orphans and abandoned children. Under a provision of the juvenile court law of that state it had also been the practice to allow up to \$11 a month for the care of children committed to

¹ Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1867-1912*, London, 1914, p. 283.

institutions. Under this law, liberally construed, the institutions had made a practice of giving the amount allowed by the court to the mothers to care for the children in their own homes when it seemed that the child could be cared for in that way as well or better than in the institution. San Francisco and Los Angeles had followed the practice. In 1913 the state passed a law which authorized the payment of a subsidy, half from the state treasury and half from local funds, to mothers for the support of half orphans in their own homes.

In Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, also without legislative enactment authorizing such practice, the county board by resolution of March 26, 1912, set aside a fund of \$5,000 to be used by the juvenile court in giving assistance to the families of dependent children instead of sending them to the County Home for Dependent Children.²

In December, 1912, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor began the experiment of pensioning certain mothers of dependent children. The experiment was tried out first on a small scale. Up to an early date in 1914, 50 such widows had been pensioned. The experiment was such a success that the director of the Department of Family Welfare of that Association, in 1914, felt that the policy should be extended to all the widows in their care.³

This work by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor was carried on for some time by means of a pledge to the Association from the Rockefeller Foundation. During the nine years ending October 1, 1923, a total of 115 families, in which there were 470 children, were cared for through this fund.⁴

In addition to these experiments two states had passed laws in connection with their compulsory education laws not only to supply school books and clothing to poor children of school age, but also for the support of indigent children. Oklahoma passed, as early as April 10, 1908, her "school scholarship" law providing for the payment to the widowed mother of a child of school age an amount equal to the earnings of the child, when the child's wages are necessary for the support of the mother. Michigan in 1911 enacted a law requiring the payment from the school funds of a sum not to exceed \$3 per week to indigent parents to enable their children to attend school.⁵

² *Laws Relating to "Mothers' Pensions, etc.,"* Children's Bureau Publication No. 7, Washington, 1914, pp. 7, 8.

³ Matthews, "Widows' Families, Pensioned and Otherwise," *The Survey*, June 6, 1914, pp. 270-275.

⁴ Matthews, "Breaking the Poverty Circle," *The Survey*, April 15, 1924, p. 96.

⁵ *Laws Relating to "Mothers' Pensions, etc.,"* Children's Bureau Publication No. 7, Washington, 1914, p. 8.

Attitude of Private Agencies and Workers Toward Mothers' Pensions. At the beginning of this movement private case working agencies and their workers had very grave doubts concerning the plan. In 1912 the Russell Sage Foundation appointed Mr. Carstens to study the working of public benefits to widows.

After a survey of the legislation and a study of the administration of the law in the places visited, Mr. Carstens reported adversely to the scheme of mothers' pensions.⁶

In the meantime the advocates of the plan pressed for the enactment of laws in various states. The sentimental appeal of the plan outweighed the prudential considerations urged by the more experienced case-workers of the social agencies. When once the movement got under way the private social agencies took measures to insure that it adopt the principles of case-work which had been found valuable among the private agencies. In a number of places early in the history of the movement the private agencies lent case-workers to the mothers' pension departments in order to introduce sound principles of case-work into the administration of this assistance. Gradually as case-work methods were adopted by the public agencies the private social workers have given up their opposition and have cooperated heartily.

EXTENT OF THE MOVEMENT

On the basis of these municipal, state, and private experiments and impelled by an active propaganda in favor of "Mothers' Pensions," the movement grew rapidly. During 1913, 13 states in the Union passed new or amended old laws on the subject. By 1935, 45 of the 48 states had adopted some form of mothers' pension.⁷ Other countries in addition to France and Germany mentioned above, which passed somewhat similar acts earlier, have adopted the principle of giving state aid to dependent children. Denmark passed such a law in 1913; New Zealand in 1911. In the United States in 1931, 253,298 children in 93,620 families were receiving this kind of aid. This number does not include information from 242 counties in 17 states. It

⁶ Carstens, *Public Pensions to Widows with Children*, Russell Sage Foundation Publication No. 31, New York City, 1913, pp. 25-28. This report started a lively debate which continued for a number of years with considerable activity on both sides. William Hard, "The Moral Necessity of 'State Funds to Mothers,'" *The Survey*, March, 1913, pp. 769-773. Richmond, "Motherhood and Pensions," *The Survey*, March 1, 1913, pp. 774-780. Sheffield, "The Influence of Mothers' Aid upon Family Life," *The Survey*, July 24, 1915, pp. 378-379. Lindsey, "The Mothers' Compensation Law of Colorado," *The Survey*, February 15, 1913, pp. 714-716.

⁷ *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, January, 1921, p. 184; *International Year Book of Child Care and Protection*, London, 1925, p. 395; *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, p. 282.

is estimated that by 1931 there were at least 300,000 children benefiting from this form of aid.⁸

It is quite probable that, under the impetus given by the United States' Social Security Act, very soon all the states will have laws authorizing this type of assistance. This aspect of the Social Security Act will be discussed later in the chapter.

THEORY OF THE MOVEMENT

The Mothers' Pension movement is an attempt to carry out the first resolution passed at the White House Conference on the care of dependent children, in 1909. This resolution reads: "Home life is the highest, finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character suffering from temporary misfortune and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children." The movement violates the principle laid down in the second part of that resolution which is: "This aid should be given by such methods and from such source as may be determined by the general relief policy of each community, preferably in the form of private charity rather than of public relief." The movement accords with the last part of the resolution which says: "Except in unusual circumstances the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality." In short, the theory back of the movement was that (1) Children should be kept with their mother, infants for the sake of keeping the infant alive, older children for the sake of moral development of the child; (2) the care of children in institutions is undesirable. Institutional care involves an exceedingly high death rate for infants, an unnatural life for the older children, and the breaking up of the home; (3) public poor relief, and private charity, involves, as was then believed, the stigma of pauperism; (4) that those charged with the care of children should have adequate support.

Where well-trained and experienced social workers have been placed in charge, good work is being done.

The following statement shows how a better technique is being introduced into this very important work:

⁸ Abbott, "Recent Trends in Mothers' Aid," *The Social Service Review*, June, 1934, p. 191; *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, p. 283.

We were reminiscing. She was a widowed mother, who for several years had been receiving a state grant toward the support of her young children, and I the executive secretary of the Mother's Assistance Fund. We had had many intimate contacts and had grown to know one another well during this period. I was curious to know from this mother what we had meant to her. I knew to the cent the amount of money she had received, and the "statistical accomplishments," but I wanted to know how she actually felt about our long association.

It was evident that we had her confidence, and that she felt we had aided her in various ways in overcoming a variety of difficulties. The part of our conversation that held my attention long afterwards was her description of her attitude toward our department and social work in general before she received assistance. She said that when her husband died she had been told by a neighbor that there was a state department that gave money grants to widowed mothers with little children. The neighbor had warned her, however, not to apply unless she could not possibly manage without and Why? If she did her private affairs would be so thoroughly investigated that her relatives and neighbors would know all the intimate things that she would like to keep to herself. Furthermore, she was warned about the social worker—a strange person who would watch her every move, and who "could take her grant off of her" unless she did exactly as she was told.

Because of this repellant picture of what would happen if she applied for assistance, this widowed mother postponed coming to the state department until the constable had levied on her household goods, and she and the children were on the point of eviction. In a moment of desperation she decided that come what may, she would apply for state aid, and she did. For days after she had made her application the thought of being investigated was agony to her. Now her step-brother who had never liked her husband, who had not seen her or the children for years, would know that John had died without providing for his family. John had been a good husband and a loving father, but not "one to get ahead." There was also a brother-in-law in the next block, who could help if he would, but who was so indifferent to her needs and the children's that no amount of appeal would influence him to assist his brother's family. She suffered from the thought that this brother-in-law would be interviewed, and would later "throw it up to her."

When the social worker representing the state department made her first call at the home, this mother said she almost ran out the back gate. With a hasty wipe at the children's faces, her heart thumping, and her head in a whirl, she opened the door, braced for she knew not what. There stood a very pleasant, friendly sort of person, who had since become her most helpful friend.

Later I talked with other widowed mothers, and found that to a certain degree all had felt the same way. The more I thought about it, the more I saw that investigations must be made. Thorough knowledge of the family circumstances, or case work as we call it, should have positive value both to the state and to the family. But how could we dissociate it from the old ideas of patronage and

meddling and the resulting antagonistic response? It came to me that while we may not like to do it, most of us tell our family physician our full life history, social as well as medical. Frequently, our insurance company knows more about the details of our family life than our best friends. Most employers are requiring more and more data about the affairs of their employés. One even scans one's future husband in the light of his family setting. Certainly the government knows more about our incomes today than most of us knew ourselves some five years ago. Thorough methods must not only remain in social work, but, perhaps, must become more thorough; the real challenge is levelled not against what we are doing, but against the manner in which it is being done. Parenthetically, this challenge might also be made of some physicians, employers, and government agents.

The great art is to make requirements understandable and acceptable. As a caretaker paid by the state, a widowed mother should be expected to manage her home comfortably, and to give care and training to her children. Some states go so far as to require each mother to keep a monthly budget of her expenses and to have routine health examinations for herself and her children twice a year. She is sent to a psychologist or psychiatrist, if a child presents any unusual mental or behaviour difficulties. All of this is intelligible, but is it not far ahead of the common practice and understanding?

As a means of interpreting the Mothers' Assistance Fund to the widows of Philadelphia County, we organized a conference of the widowed mothers and members of the staff. The purpose of the conference is to discuss informally the philosophy of the movement, methods of administration, and the various problems of child care. When the plan was first considered I found to my amazement that many of my professional associates warned me against it. There was evident fear of this grouping of the mothers. How did we know what distorted tales they might not circulate? Why risk a possible public denunciation of the fund by a mother who resented a justifiable cut in her grant? Would not such a meeting emphasize to the mothers that they belonged to a dependent group? Because of these protests it was not wholly without misgiving that we arranged our first meeting.

The conference has met for the past two winters in groups of fifty. The meetings are called early in the evening in the office of the organization, and begin with refreshments. We "visit" informally until all are present and then bring up the discussion of the evening. As each meeting so far has represented practically a new group of mothers, we have begun by outlining briefly the movement in general, stressing the fact that it is based on an appreciation of mother care and the value of family life for little children. In giving the mothers this glimpse of their value to the state, the vastness of the movement, the enormous sums of money needed to carry it on, it is quite simple to bring out forcefully that the success or failure of the movement depends entirely upon the quality of the service rendered by the mothers. The assistance or aid given is always referred

to as "pay." Both mothers and social workers are referred to as employees of the state, engaged in the care and training of the fatherless wards of the state. The widow, perhaps for the first time, sees herself as part of a great whole. She gets a sense of her relationship to the entire widowhood of a great city and state. She gets an appreciation of the grave responsibility of the organization, its difficulties and its needs. Furthermore she receives the inspiration that comes from seeing and hearing other mothers in like situation earnestly struggling to meet difficulties similar to her own. She is strangely comforted and encouraged when she finds other mothers attempting to meet difficulties that she perhaps has solved satisfactorily. This sense of being one of many helps a mother who is prone to see all requirements from a strictly personal point of view. In so far as the mothers can be made to feel themselves integral parts of a public department, they not only accept but heartily endorse methods which lead to accuracy, fairness, and helpfulness to all. . . .

We have considered a wide variety of subjects; such as the reason for a thorough investigation of all applications before drawing on a public fund, to what extent relatives or older children are responsible for the partial support of the family; the difficulties that so frequently come with adolescence, the problem of truancy, and how to meet it, the merits of the child labor laws; the value of continuation-school training; the kind of work that can be secured for minors; the public playgrounds as a source of recreation; the movies, the value of routine health examinations; methods of disciplining boys and girls, the question of institutional care for young children. It is not unusual to have three-fourths of the mothers present take active part in these discussions. The talks are delightfully spontaneous. The sense of genuine kindness, generosity, sympathy and a fine spirit of fair play has been most inspiring. The group is always ready for a laugh, and as easily touched by pathos.

One of the most interesting meetings centered around the training of boys without the help of the father. One of the widows, the mother of seven sons, brought out most effectively the controlling power of love and confidence, the necessity of giving boys responsibility, of letting each child feel his family's need of him. When she ended by saying that her eldest son not only locked the doors and banked the fire at night, but never went to bed without sniffing all the gas jets for fear of a leak, the group was divided between tears and laughter. At the end of this meeting, one of the mothers who was considering placing her only boy in an institution because he had become difficult said she was overwhelmed with shame for she saw for the first time that she was responsible for her son's irresponsibility and misconduct.

The group is quick to show approval or disapproval. They frequently applaud, and while they have never hissed, there have been times when the dead silence following an unwise or unsound remark could not be mistaken for other than disapproval. One mother was complaining that her eldest son was "too bossy." She said that he was but 16, and yet already felt he was the head of the house.

Instantly, a mother arose and said, "I think it is because I have looked to my boy, 16, as the head of the house, that I am making a man of him." There was no doubt in any one's mind which attitude met with the group approval.

The topic which always brings ardent discussion is institutional care of children. Most of these mothers have placed at some time, or have considered placing, one or more of their children. It is evident that in most instances these mothers have placed their children temporarily because of lack of funds before receiving state aid, or have put their children in the endowed institutions because of the educational and vocational opportunities offered. Only one mother said she had placed her eldest son because she felt it was impossible to raise a boy without a father. Immediately other mothers were on their feet challenging this statement in the light of what they had done. Later, when we put the question—if given their choice would they place the child in the institution, or accept a scholarship that would enable them to give him a high school education and vocational training—the group was practically unanimous in its decision that the scholarship would be chosen. One mother said very earnestly, "Oh, if they would only give us our choice, we would do it for the very least we could raise them on." Another mother said that she felt that some grown-ups did not realize that young children valued above everything else the spirit of home; that little children had very little appreciation of material advantages, but clung to the affectional values in life. She told of her modest home, and of one evening when she was sewing and the children were studying their lessons around the center table, her little girl, aged six, broke the silence by saying, "Mother, I love our home, and I think it is beautiful." This mother went on to say that to a little child the humblest home is altogether beautiful if it has the atmosphere of love and understanding.⁹

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOTHERS' PENSION LAWS

The methods adopted to carry out the underlying purpose of the mothers' pensions laws have varied from state to state. It may be helpful briefly to review the provision of the different state laws.

Recipients of the Aid. By 1931 only Utah and Connecticut restricted Mother's Pensions to widows. Ten states—Colorado, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Washington, and the District of Columbia—provided that this aid may be granted to any needy mother or to any other mother with dependent children. Twenty states have included in their legislation provisions which have been generally agreed upon by social workers—aid to mothers competent to perform the duties of housekeeper and mothers whose husbands are dead, divorced, or who have deserted them, unmarried mothers, mothers whose husbands are in prison or whose husbands because of physical and mental

⁹ Cavin, "Come, Let Us Reason Together," *The Survey*, June, 1924, pp. 347, 348.

disease are unable to support them. In general the social workers have held that the law should apply to all children in need of long-time care because the normal wage-worker, the husband or father, could not for one reason or another, be counted on to support his wife and children. Generally, however, it is the mother who receives the allowance.¹⁰ In 1931 only three states specifically provided for mothers' aid to unmarried mothers.¹¹ Eighteen states and the District of Columbia expressly provided for the granting of aid to persons other than the mothers, usually the guardian or some other person functioning in place of the parents. Five states include the fathers among those who may care for the children and receive the aid.¹²

Conditions under Which Aid Is Granted. The conditions governing the granting of aid in the different states are almost as varied as the persons to whom they are granted. In some states the mother must be unable to support her child because of destitution, insufficient property or income, or lack of earning capacity.

In practically all of the states the legislation explicitly or implicitly provides that the grant shall be sufficient, when supplemented by such income as the family has, to maintain the family at a reasonable standard of living in order that the mother may not be under the necessity of outside employment and thus neglect her children. In 1931 eleven states and the District of Columbia made no restriction upon the size of the grant. In all others some limitations are set in the law. In many of the latter the amount is too low. Nevertheless, the plan is superior to ordinary outdoor relief in its bearing upon the sense of security and the self-respect of the recipient. It has the following advantages: (1) The grant is determined in advance. (2) It is assumed that the grant will last, although subject to occasional review, as long as the children are within the specified age limit. (3) It is paid at regular intervals without re-application for each allowance. (4) Except in unusual instances it is given in cash to be spent at the mother's discretion.

In most of the states the *home conditions* are factors to take into consideration in the granting of a pension. Usually it is required that a mother be a fit person to bring up her children and that it is for the welfare of the child to remain in the home.

Residence and citizenship are conditions of the receipt of aid in some states. Residence requirements vary from 6 months in the county and 1

¹⁰ Abbott, "Recent Trends in Mothers' Aid," *The Social Service Review*, June, 1934, pp. 194, 195.

¹¹ *Mothers' Aid, 1931*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 220, p. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

year in the state to 5 years in each. Citizenship, or the declaration to become a citizen, is required in a few states. In some laws there are provisions as to the amount of property which may be held by the mother.

A few of the states require the mother to make *monthly reports* to the court or commissioners. Increasingly as experience proves the importance of case-work in mothers' pensions, the statutes require investigation of each applicant and some supervision of families receiving grants on the case-work basis. That means that trained social workers are being introduced to aid the authority, be it judge or other official, in administering mothers' pensions.

The age of the child differs. In the legislation of all but two states children can receive aid until they are legally exempt from school attendance. In a few they may be eligible even beyond that age.¹³

The maximum amount of the allowance varies. Experience has shown that the law should not set the maximum grant permitted. In 1931 eleven states and the District of Columbia had recognized this principle in their statutes. In those which restrict the amount of the grant the limitation is stated in different ways. However, in most cases a certain amount is allowed for the first child and a smaller sum for each additional one. Some further limit the grant by specifying the maximum amount a month that may be granted to any family irrespective of its size. In no state does this maximum exceed \$75.00 and in some it is as low as \$40.00.¹⁴ In four states the law provided that in certain cases additional amounts may be allowed.

Investigations by the Children's Bureau in 1931 showed that the average number of children in the mothers' pension families throughout the United States was 2.7.¹⁵

The administration of the law varies from state to state. Following the precedent set in Illinois and Colorado, which established the first mothers' pensions in this country, most of the states have made the local administrative unit the juvenile court. However, recently there has appeared a tendency to establish county children's boards, or county-wide social service agencies, to which would be committed the local administration of mothers' aid. The tendency is shown by the fact that six of the ten states that have passed mothers' pension laws since 1919 have provided for the administration by a county welfare board. In 1931 seventeen of the thirty-seven states with local administration placed responsibility for mothers' pensions in the juvenile court. In thirteen the county commissioners or local officials responsible for the administration of poor relief were designated as the administra-

¹³ *Mothers' Aid*, 1931, Children's Bureau Publication No. 220, Washington, 1933, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

tive agency. In seven county welfare boards with other responsibilities for children, or specially created to administer mothers' aid, were designated.¹⁶

In some states there is a measure of *state supervision*. State supervision in principle is usually based upon state participation in the financial support. By 1931 seventeen states had provided aid to the localities for the administration of mothers' pensions. In two (Arizona and New Mexico), both the pension and the administrative expenses were paid entirely from state funds. New Jersey paid only the salaries and expenses of the state staff responsible for service and supervision to the mothers' pension families. In that year complete, major responsibility for administration was given to state agencies in eight states. In nine others which contributed to the local funds a state agency was responsible for the administration of the state's contribution and for some supervision of the administration of the local agency. There has been a growing tendency even when the funds are provided by the locality for some state agency to be given authority to develop standards of administration. Nevertheless, in the majority of the states (28 states) the administration of the Mothers' Pension is entirely a local problem, administered chiefly by the juvenile court.¹⁷

MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Before the World War only two countries of Europe, Germany, 1911, and Holland, 1913, had national systems of compulsory insurance for widows and orphans. Before that in almost every European country there had been pension funds for special industries which in addition to providing old age insurance also provided pensions for widows and orphans of deceased members of the pension fund. By 1930 there were about thirteen countries of Europe which had provisions protecting the widow and her children. In addition New Zealand and some of the Australian States, and some of the provinces of Canada have widows' pensions. In contrast to the development here in the United States, in most of these foreign countries the mothers' pension was a part of the social insurance legislation providing against the hazards of old age, of unemployment and of sickness.

Let us look at a few of these laws. Denmark's law differs from that of a number of the European countries in that it is not a part of a general social insurance law. The amount paid to mothers is graduated according to the number of dependent children. It varies with the age of the children, the largest amount being for the child under two years. It requires fitness of the mother and proper home conditions. The mother must not have been

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

in receipt of poor relief. The purpose of the law is to set off this category of those receiving aid from those receiving ordinary poor relief in order to remove the stigma of pauperism. Half of the amount is paid by the state and the other half by the commune in which the mother resides. It also provides that this aid shall be given to the guardian of the children after the death of the mother and also to the children of mothers who were not receiving aid before the latter's death. Its benefits are also extended to widowers with children.

The New Zealand law, first operative in 1912, was limited to widows of good moral character with children under fourteen years of age. Later it was extended to wives of inmates in the insane asylums, and still later its provisions have been even more liberalized. The law was so phrased as to make it an aid in the prevention of destitution rather than a remedy for destitution after it had occurred. The New Zealand law started as a separate law. In 1913, however, it was made a part of the general pension legislation. It was administered by the Pension Department. Widows' pensions are granted or refused after a hearing before a magistrate. They are reviewed every twelve months. The whole amount is paid by the state through the postoffice. These pensions are granted to the guardians of children also after a mother's death. Further provision is made for dependent children by adding to the old age pension an additional amount if the pensioner had children under fourteen years of age dependent upon him. Still further provision is made that the widow of a contributor for five years to the National Insurance Fund who has children under fourteen receives an additional weekly allowance.

The German Act originating in 1911 as part of the general insurance scheme has been changed many times, and in 1931 the payments were reduced because of the financial stringency. To a widow of sixty-five or younger, if incapacitated, is paid six-tenths of the amount which would have been due to her deceased husband. The children may receive up to one-half the pension of the deceased, but the total must not exceed 80 per cent of his average earnings. Moreover, the amount of the pension depends upon the wage class to which the insured belonged, and according to American standards is very small.¹⁸

In Great Britain the Mothers' Pension scheme is a part of the general social insurance act. The widow of an insured man receives ten shillings per week, five shillings per week for the first half orphan, three shillings for each additional child, and seven shillings six pence for each additional full orphan. Under the British plan a widow with three dependent children

¹⁸ Rubinow, *The Quest for Security*, New York, 1934, p. 502.

would receive 21 shillings per week. In 1930 there were 187,200 widows with 129,300 half orphans and 5,500 full orphans on the pension roll. During the year they were paid £8,435,000. This amount, equivalent to about \$40,000,000, is very close to the estimated cost of mothers' pensions of this country in spite of the fact that the population of Great Britain is about one-third that of the United States.¹⁹

SOME OF THE RESULTS OF MOTHERS' PENSIONS

The U. S. Children's Bureau found in 1931 from the reports by 38 states and the District of Columbia that mothers' pensions in this country are still limited largely to the families of widows. In 82 per cent of the cases the father was dead. In 5 per cent he had deserted, in 4 per cent he was physically disabled, in 2 per cent the parents were divorced, in 3 per cent the father was mentally afflicted, and in 3 per cent he was in prison.²⁰ The average monthly grant in 1931 varied from \$4.36 in Arkansas to \$69.31 in Massachusetts. The median between the extremes was in South Dakota with \$21.78 per month.²¹ The number of families aided per 10,000 population varied from 1 in Maryland to 24 in Wisconsin. The median between these extremes was in Maine with a rate of 8. There is no means by which we can make an exact statement as to the kind of social work which is being done with these families. Doubtless some of it is very good and perhaps a great part of it, in states which do not have careful case-work done on the families, is very poor, and perhaps quite as pauperizing as public outdoor relief. An approximation as to the kind of work done by these families is indicated by the percentage of the total fund used for mothers' pensions which is spent for administration and service. Fairly complete information is available from only six states. The percentage ranges from 5 in New York to 9 in Pennsylvania and Delaware.²² The following case shows what can be done when good social work is done in the family:

The father, who was American born, had been a teamster, earning \$48 a month. The court's investigation brought out the fact that the family had previously been known to the Cook County agent, the visiting nurse association, the adult probation department of the municipal court, and to the United Charities. The United Charities record showed that the family had been first reported to them in November, 1904, when the father was ill and the children were begging from house to house; and again in 1908 this complaint was made about the children. The

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

²⁰ *Mothers' Aid*, 1931, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 220, Washington, 1933.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

family at this time were living in a house owned by Mr. B's mother and were not paying rent. When the application for pension was made, however, the family were living in four rooms in a basement, described on the record as "filthy, damp, and dark." Mrs. B, a woman of 35 years, complained of ill health and looked frail, slovenly, and discouraged.

The Teamsters' Union raised a purse of \$100 for the family which just covered funeral expenses, as Mr. B had carried no insurance. During the investigation by the court, which lasted a month and a half, the family was dependent upon county supplies and the irregular help of relatives. At the end of this time a pension of \$40 a month was granted. This seems to have constituted the family's only income until the two older girls were old enough to become wage earners.

For nearly three years Mrs. B was sick practically all the time. It was difficult to improve her housekeeping, which was very slatternly, and to get the children properly cared for.

In all there were eight probation officers on this case, but each one seems to have given herself to the problems in hand with energy and determination, and gradually the standards of living were raised, and the mother's health began to show a decided improvement. The family was moved from time to time to more desirable rooms. Medical treatment for Mrs. B was secured, and regular dispensary treatment was insisted upon. The diet and buying of the family was carefully supervised, and Mrs. B instructed in the art of keeping a clean home.

The pension for this family has been gradually reduced from \$40 to only \$24, as the children have become old enough to go to work. Both girls have good positions, one as a stenographer, and the other working for the telephone company. In another year one of the boys will be able to go to work.

In the words of the present probation officer: "This family will soon be self-supporting, has greatly improved in health and standard of living, will probably move into better quarters." This family illustrates the effect that constant, intelligent supervision may have upon the most careless housekeeping habits. The record shows a woman who, when the court began its work with the family, had a miserable home and neglected children, and whose own physical resistance was so low that the slightest ailment incapacitated her. Gradually she has become a woman who washes and scrubs her house, launders her curtains, paints the walls, keeps the children clean and fairly well dressed, and is herself practically discharged from the doctor's care.²³

The most hopeful observers of mothers' pensions believe that as trained social workers take charge of these cases for the courts or other administrative agencies, really constructive work is done in rehabilitating the families of these pensioners.

²³ Breckenridge and Abbott, *The Administration of the Aid-To-Mothers Law in Illinois*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 82, pp. 34, 35.

TENDENCIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MOTHERS'
PENSION LEGISLATION

The rapid growth of the movement for mothers' pensions indicates the place which the child has come to hold in the sentiments of people. It implies the belief that home life and a mother's care are of the utmost importance to the child, and testifies to the determination of people that children shall not be denied the advantages of their mother's care, because there is not sufficient income to enable her properly to care for them. However, the weakness of mothers' pension administration often grows out of the assumption that money is all that is needed in these families. Skilled service is often needed just as much. In general it may be said that the distinct trend is toward providing capable child-welfare workers in the local administration of mothers' pensions and in state supervision. It is recognized that unless that is done no matter what the purpose of the law, mothers' pensions will degenerate into another kind of poor relief.

In general there is a tendency to stricter supervision by some state body which has the responsibility of studying the problem. However, in many of the states the supervision is only nominal and little attention is being given to improving the methods of administering the law. It is probable that a result of the mothers' aid section of the U. S. Social Security Act will be to extend state supervision over this function and perhaps to raise the standards of administration in the locality.

Adequate relief is one of the fundamentals of modern social work. The maximum set by some states, designed to prevent untrained workers from wasting the taxpayers' money, is too inflexible to insure good administration. If the real purpose of the law is to be carried out, relief in the cases which are properly mothers' pension cases should be adequate. Gradually more states are modifying their laws to permit the amount to be spent on each case on the basis of a standard budget after a careful investigation of the needs.

Mothers' Pensions in the Depression. The depression with its business failures and bank closings, widespread unemployment, and exhaustion of savings, caused the number of mothers needing pensions to increase greatly. At first, as shown by the U. S. Children's Bureau in December, 1933, the number receiving such pensions increased both in 1931 and 1933. However, the same study showed decreasing appropriations. In 9 of the largest cities, between 1929 and 1933, 8 showed an increase in both the amount expended and in the number of families aided. Chicago alone showed a decrease of 15 per cent in the amount expended and 12 per cent

in the number of families assisted. The increase in the amount expended in the 8 cities varied from 11 per cent in Detroit to 106 per cent in Milwaukee. The number of families aided increased in the 8 cities from 30 per cent in Cleveland to 110 per cent in Los Angeles. Evidently, what happened in Chicago was a reduction in the intake in order not to lower standards of aid. In Detroit, on the other hand, standards were lowered in order to assist somewhat greater numbers.

Before 1929 the trend was toward extending the use of mothers' pensions to an increased number of counties in the United States. However, between 1931 and 1933 the Children's Bureau study showed that 90 counties in 12 states which had previously granted mothers' pensions had cancelled all grants, while 21 counties in 9 states were paying grants in 1933 which had not done so in 1931. Thus, 69 counties during the period from 1931 to 1933 had discontinued this form of aid to the mothers of dependent children. In numerous cases this was done because the Federal Government and the states were providing money for emergency unemployment relief. To transfer the families from mothers' pensions to these funds meant relief for the local taxpayers. Some sample studies made by the Bureau led to the estimate that about 4 per cent of the persons cared for by the unemployment relief funds were those who otherwise would have been mothers' pension cases. It is clear, therefore, that the depression on the whole had a tendency to slacken the progress going on up to 1929 in the extension of mothers' pensions.

The Social Security Act and Mothers' Pensions. The Social Security Act approved by the President of the United States on August 14, 1935, has as its Title IV, "Grants to States for Aid to Dependent Children." This law provides for a subsidy to those states which meet the requirements set down in the Act, and which fulfill the plans made by the Social Security Board. The Act itself requires that the state to be entitled to receive a part of this subsidy to aid in the care of dependent children must (1) provide that it shall be in effect in all political subdivisions of the state, and, if administered by them, be mandatory upon them; (2) provide for financial participation by the state; (3) either provide for the establishment or designation of a single state agency to administer the plan, or to supervise the administration of the plan; (4) provide for granting to any individual, whose claim for aid to a dependent child is denied, an opportunity for a fair hearing before such state agency; (5) provide such methods of administration (other than those relating to selection, tenure of office, and compensation of personnel) as are found by the Board to be necessary for the efficient opera-

tion of the plan; and (6) provide that the state agency will make such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Board may from time to time require, and comply with such provisions as the Board may from time to time find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports. The Act further provides that the Social Security Board shall approve any plan which fulfills the conditions just specified except that it shall not approve any plan which imposes as a condition of eligibility for aid to dependent children, a residence requirement which denies aid with respect to any child residing in the state, (1) who has resided in the state for one year immediately preceding the application for such aid, or (2) who was born within the state within one year immediately preceding the application, if its mother has resided in the state for one year immediately preceding the birth.

Payments of the Federal subsidy to the state is made on the quarterly basis and is equal to one-third of the total of the sums estimated to be necessary during such quarter under the plan approved by the Board up to one-third of a total of \$18.00 for each child per month, or in case there is more than one child in the family, one-third of \$18.00 a month for one such dependent child and one-third of \$12.00 for each month for each of the other dependent children.

The Act also contains directions as to cutting off appropriations to the state, if the Social Security Board finds that the state has failed to comply substantially with the provisions of the Act or with the regulations of the Board.

The definition of a dependent child laid down in this Act enlarges that to be found in the law of many states, and is as follows: "The term 'dependent child' means a child under the age of sixteen who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent, and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle or aunt, in a place of residence maintained by one or more of such relatives as his or their home."²⁴

The purpose of the Act is to stimulate the states to provide adequate care for dependent children in a proper home by providing one-third of the cost of supporting those children, and by requiring certain standards as to definition of a dependent child and the eligibility of children to the benefits of the Act. One may expect that a great extension of Mothers' Pensions will develop from this Act.

²⁴ Public—No. 271—74th Congress, H. R. 7260, Title IV.

CONCLUSION

By raising the standards of relief and service in connection with the administration of mothers' pensions, the standards of public relief of all dependents may be raised. The movement for the saving of babies' lives has led to the conclusion that you cannot save babies and rear healthy children without giving careful attention to general health problems; so emphasis upon child-welfare has given a greater health impetus to all, and mothers' pensions are probably a means of bringing society to see the necessity for proper methods in public poor relief.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Make a digest of the "Mothers' Pension" laws of your state.
2. Discussions in the National Conference Concerning "Mothers' Pensions," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1912, pp. 458-498; *Ibid.*, 1914, pp. 457 ff.
3. "Mothers' Pensions" and Family Life. Sheffield, "The Influence of Mothers' Aid upon Family Life," *The Survey*, July 24, 1915.
4. Two Sides of the Debate. Hard, "The Moral Necessity of 'State Funds to Mothers,'" and Richmond, "Motherhood and Pensions," *The Survey*, March 1, 1913.
5. The U. S. Social Security Act and Mothers' Pensions, Reference in footnote 24; Burns, *Toward Social Security*, New York, 1936, Chapters 6, 13.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What has been the development in the legislation for mothers' pensions during the last decade? What is their extent today?
2. State the early attitude of private agencies towards mothers' pensions
3. What are the theories and reactions back of the movement? What was lacking?
4. How do the laws vary as to recipients of the aid?
5. What are some of the conditions under which aid is granted?
6. What are some of the noteworthy provisions in the mothers' pensions laws of Denmark and New Zealand?
7. What are some of the outstanding tendencies in the administration of mothers' pensions legislation?
8. State the arguments for and against mothers' pensions and evaluate these
9. Under what conditions do mothers' pensions differ from ordinary outdoor poor relief?
10. Of what importance is the skilled social worker in connection with the administration of mothers' pensions?
11. What effect will the Social Security Act probably have upon the extent of Mothers' pension in the U. S.? Upon the quality of administration?

CHAPTER XXV

THE DEPENDENT SICK

IN CHAPTER VII we have referred to the poverty and dependency caused by disease. In this chapter attention will be given to the various diseases in the attempt to find not only what each contributes to preventable poverty, but also to relate them to the measures which society has already devised to deal with them, and to suggest further steps which should be taken to deal adequately with them.

RELATION OF ILL-HEALTH TO DEPENDENCY AND POVERTY

Relief Cases. If the figures given in the table at the end of Chapter 9 (page 114) may be taken as typical, then two-fifths of the cases which come to relief organizations (40.9%) are due immediately to illness.¹ These figures while important do not reveal the results of sickness in reducing people's capacity to support themselves, except in those cases where they have come to relief organizations. That sickness causes loss without bringing people directly to a relief organization is revealed by a number of studies. Thus, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company found that of white persons of both sexes and of all ages over one year, roughly 2 per cent were so sick or injured as to be disabled. On the average each of these persons lost 6.9 days per year.²

On the whole man's struggle with preventable disease and death has not been a failure. In backward societies the death rate is much greater and the length of life much shorter than in those which have learned to use the achievements of medical knowledge. For example, longevity in India is scarcely more than half that in France, while it is much less than half that in Sweden.³ In Geneva, Switzerland, the average length of life in the sixteenth century was 21.2 years, while from 1801 to 1883 the average span of life was

¹ The figures provided by the New York Charity Organization Society about 1905 showed that three-fourths of the cases coming to that organization were caused by sickness. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, New York, 1900, p. 54.

² Mills, *Extent of Illness and of Physical and Mental Defects Prevailing in the United States*, Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Publication No. 2, Washington, p. 26.

³ United States Senate Document No. 493, 62nd Congress, 2d Session, Washington, 1912, p. 12.

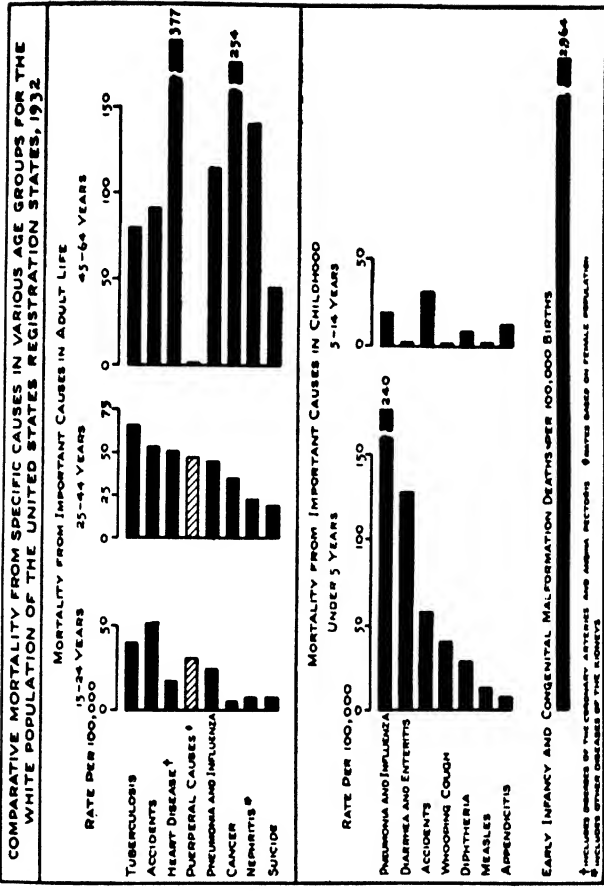
39.7 years. In the western nations even in the last 400 years the span of human life has been lengthened from an average of from 18 to 20 years in the sixteenth century to nearly 58 years today. Thus, in less than four centuries life has been lengthened more than 100 per cent.⁴ Progress of medical science and the consequent lengthening of human life has added greatly to the economic value of the human beings on the face of the earth.

Relative Importance of Certain Diseases. Health is not only wealth; it is the foundation of social usefulness and personal capacity. Consider the economic value of the health assets of the 125 millions of people in this country. One cannot evaluate human life, of course, in terms of money alone, yet healthful human beings have a very high economic value. Dublin has worked out the economics of health for this country. He finds that the cost of raising a child to the age of self-support in families whose total income is about \$2,500 a year amounts to \$7,238, aside from the money value of the mother's care. This amount is more than the sum necessary to raise to adulthood any other animal. Cynics, looking over the general run of people, have suggested that on the average they are not worth it. However, it is shown by other calculations that the value of a man as a wage-earner is very much greater than the cost of his rearing. Dublin calculates that the present worth of a man's future earnings at an average salary of \$2,500 is well beyond \$41,000 at the age of eighteen. The present discounted worth of his future personal expenditures is less than \$13,000. Therefore, his value at the age of eighteen is close to \$29,000. However, if this man lives to be twenty-five years of age, the net worth of his future earnings is more than \$32,000. After that, with advancing age, his net worth declines. It is easy to see that the value of a man whose maximum earnings are \$5,000 a year is very much greater. Hence, if we take these calculations and assume that the average value of the males is that of the \$2,500 income class, and figure that there are sixty millions of male persons in the United States, and if we further calculate that the economic value of the women is only half as much, our national wealth represented by the energies of our 125 millions of people amounts to over 1,500 billions of dollars. Since, in 1922, the national material wealth amounted to 321 billions, the vital assets of the nation surpassed the ordinary material wealth in a ratio of about five to one.⁵

Consider the inroad on this national asset made by sickness. Studies have been made which present quite a good picture of the economic toll taken by

⁴ Flsher, *Report on National Vitality*, Washington, 1900, p. 17.

⁵ Dublin, *Health and Wealth*, New York, 1928, pp. 2-6. This figure corresponds closely to the estimate of Professor Nicholson of England concerning the relative value of the vital and material assets of the United Kingdom in 1801.



Courtesy of the Milbank Foundation, New York.

illness. Dr. Frankel and Dr. Dublin made a study among a half million insured persons which showed that about 2 per cent were constantly sick. Other studies confirm this.⁶ The average individual in the United States loses from his work about seven days a year on account of sickness to say nothing of the many days when he is not at his best on account of illness.

Converted into economic terms this seven-days-a-year loss amounts to a tax of a billion and a quarter dollars annually. To this should be added the cost of medical care, hospital service, etc. It is estimated, therefore, that sickness costs directly in lost wages, reduced production, and necessary care two billion and a quarter dollars a year. Fisher calculated that about 45 per cent of the sickness was preventable. Dublin has arrived at the conclusion that about one-third of the deaths which occur every year are postponable. On the basis of his studies he estimates that the total capital value of the lives which could be saved annually through the application of modern preventive medicine and public health measures is over six billion dollars. Falk (*op. cit.*, p. 12) says ten billion dollars.

The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care found that on the average the people of the United States suffer from one to two disabling illnesses per year. Females each have close to two cases of disabling illness per year, the males about one case. Female workers lose approximately from eight to twelve days per year, while male workers lose from seven to nine. School children average seven or more days of illness per year. Nine studies of the most serious disabling diseases have shown that colds and bronchial conditions, and influenza and grippe are the two leading groups of diseases in causing disability both from the standpoint of frequency and of days lost. Also of considerable importance are diseases of the pharynx, tonsils and larynx. Digestive diseases and disorders also loom large. The non-venereal diseases of the genito-urinary system rank high as the cause of disability among women and girls. Included in this class are acute and chronic kidney diseases which are especially important in causing death. Rheumatism was included among the first ten causes in most of the surveys of adults. All the studies beginning with the studies of the men in the draft, but including studies of the civil population more recently, have revealed the importance of venereal disease. It is estimated from these studies that one per cent of the people on an average day are being treated for venereal disease. Tuberculosis, drug addiction, and diabetes together effect on a single day over 800,000 persons. Malaria is widely prevalent in sections of the South. In spite of the fact that we know how to prevent it, smallpox causes over 30,000 cases of illness a year. In

⁶ Falk says 2.25 per cent. *Security Against Sickness*, Garden City, New York, 1936, p. 13.

addition to these disabling diseases which cost money for treatment and result in loss of wages, certain types of non-disabling diseases which lessen the productivity of the wage earner stand out. Among 10,000 industrial workers and 100,000 other men examined by the Life Extension Institute between 30 and 40 per cent had defects of the teeth, abnormal or diseased tonsils. Other diseases and defects of the nose and throat were found to effect 45 per cent more. Defects of the eye and ear were found among a quarter or more of the cases. About one-fifth are troubled with disturbances of the digestive system. The fact that heart disease has risen to first place among the causes of death shows that large numbers of men in the prime of life, especially in the higher economic groups, have important and often dangerous disorders of the heart, blood vessels, the nervous system, and the urinary system.⁷

Cost of Preventable Disease and Death. We have no exact measure of the economic loss resulting from preventable death and disease, but consider some of the estimates. Dublin has calculated that the loss in wages from sickness which involved inability to work amounts to more than \$1,250,000,000 a year in the United States. If we add the cost of such items as medical care, hospital services, drugs and appliances, and the like, it would amount to \$2,250,000,000 a year. He calculates that, if you add to that the preventable loss from sickness which causes premature death removing individuals in their prime when they have large economic values, and to that the economic value of 120,000 babies who die every year from preventable conditions during the first year of life, preventable disease and death in the United States costs over \$6,000,000,000 a year.⁸

These figures and averages, however, cannot convey the startling significance of illness and death in individual cases. It takes the tragedy involved in a flesh and blood reality to convey to us a picture of the misery of every sort which sickness involves and to show how important it is in the production of poverty and dependency. Consider the facts in the following case:

Whither, indeed, is this crushing load of sickness thrusting us. . . . The two million years and the more than one billion and a half dollars that are lost annually are taken from only a fraction of the twenty-two million people who are ill every year in the United States. John Jones was indisposed this morning but he may be back at work tomorrow. His allotment of thirty-five days' illness is

⁷ Mills, *The Extent of Illness and of Physical and Mental Defect Prevailing in the United States*, Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Washington, pp. 5-9; Emerson, "Heart Diseases," *The Survey*, November 1, 1924, p. 113.

⁸ Dublin, *Health and Wealth*, New York, 1928, Chapter 1.

merely mathematical. As a matter of fact somebody else bore the sickness that statistically was assigned to him.

This is the most terrifying aspect of disease. It seems to select certain victims upon whom it wreaks its full force. Thus, three in every hundred workers who are sick, are ill for more than six months.

The financial burden of disease is correspondingly unequally divided, for the longer the illness the greater the loss in wages and in expenditures for treatment. This is well illustrated by a study of the expenditures of 365 families to which the Philadelphia Visiting Nurse Society was called in July, 1918. While the average was \$47.00 a family the real burden of the sickness fell upon fifty households. The cost of their illness was equal to more than one-half of the money spent for sickness by the whole group, and although twenty-six of the fifty had incomes of less than thirty dollars a week and fifteen of less than twenty dollars a week their expenditures ranged from one hundred dollars to four hundred and sixteen dollars. Two families with incomes of twenty dollars a week had doctor's bills of \$200 and \$400, respectively. Consider what it would mean to have to spend twenty or forty per cent of one's earnings for sickness, yet not only was this the obligation of these two families but their income was less than that needed to maintain a family at the lowest minimum standard of living.

This, moreover, is not unusual. Thus, seven per cent of the sick families found in a study of forty-one city blocks by the Illinois Health Commission were found to have expenditures for sickness equal to more than fifty per cent of their entire income.

What happens to such families? Ask the remedial loan societies and they will tell you that sickness is one of the chief reasons given for loans. Ask the charity organization societies and they will show that sickness is the principal physical factor in the distress of thirty in every hundred families under their care—and this is a most conservative estimate. Thirty in every hundred—compare this with the three in every hundred persons who are sick at any given time and what happens to the families who bear the full brunt of sickness becomes clear.

They do what Thomas Calcheck did when he became too ill to support his family. They exhaust their savings. He had \$700. Then they borrowed on their life insurance. This was the policy that Calcheck followed. Then they extend their credit and borrow from their friends. Everybody liked Calcheck and creditors and friends were liberal to the point of making gifts. Beyond this most families do not have to go. Their friends and relatives are able to provide for them. The children and the wife work. It is only when every possible source of help has been exhausted that they do what Calcheck did—that they apply to a social agency for assistance. For four years Calcheck and his family were under the care of the Society for Organizing Charity. For the first seven months the Society supplemented the family income with a total of \$129. During the remaining three years and four months the Society's share of the family's budget was \$1,800 or \$540 a year.

Then Calcheck died and widowhood was scheduled as the principal physical factor in the family's distress, although it was sickness that had caused the widowhood and although two of the children need constant medical attention. Thus, when we speak of sickness as a factor in family social work we do not include incidental illness. Societies which have counted it in their estimates have variously reported sickness in from sixty-six to eighty per cent of the families under their care.

Overwhelmingly, it is sickness that is responsible for the death in the prime of life of men whose widows despite state and municipal aid to mothers, still demand the largest percentage of relief provided by family social work agencies. It is sickness that causes hospitals, dispensaries, and physicians to be the form of community service most frequently used by social workers in helping families. Sickness—preventable sickness—brands the children of the poor even in infancy. It seizes them for its own again and again, in their youth and in their prime, until those who succeed in surviving to old age are covered with the scars of the destroyer.⁹

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Turn now to a consideration of the social treatment of disease, and review the steps society has taken in the past to deal with the cause of so much human misery.

Changes in the Conception of the Nature of Disease. Looking into the history of peoples, one soon discovers that for the greater part of its history mankind has lived under the dominance of erroneous notions concerning this cause of poverty and misery. So long as people had false notions of the nature of disease, they employed ineffective means to combat it.

Among primitive peoples terror is engendered by pestilence. As man reflected upon this matter of such serious import to his survival, very naturally he had to form some theory as to its nature; so he resorted to the magical conception of disease. Not understanding natural forces, primitive man explained natural phenomena on the basis of personal causation. His experience had taught him that other persons affected his welfare for good or ill. An enemy could injure him directly. Disease, therefore, he assumed, was caused by his enemy or some occult hostile power.

With the growth of religious ideas man began to attribute illness and death to supernatural beings, for example, to God or to demons or to the Devil. Most of our race today are still dominated by these conceptions.

Later originated the religio-ethical conception of the nature of disease, according to which it is the result of the violation of the moral code. This

⁹ De Schweinitz, "Sickness as a Factor in Poverty," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, pp. 158, 159

code is sanctioned by an omnipotent and just God who punishes by either natural or supernatural means those who violate it.

With the development of modern science, we have the rise of the medical conception of the nature of disease. The labors of Pasteur revolutionized not only methods of treatment, but also the theory of the causation of disease. The germ theory has done more than anything else to throw light upon the problem, and to suggest methods of treatment. More recently the medical conception has been enlarged by its corollary: that certain social conditions are favorable or unfavorable, as the case may be, to the growth of the germs in the human organism. We have discovered that housing, sanitation, quarantine, over-fatigue, occupational poisoning, and worry over conditions in home or business, are conducive to the growth and multiplication of germs. Moreover, many social conditions devitalize the body and thus lessen its resistance to the disease germ.

Changes in Methods for the Treatment of Disease. Methods of treatment have changed with the conceptions of the nature of disease. When sickness was believed to be caused by the magical incantations of an enemy, the proper thing to do was to invoke the help of some magician who would produce a stronger counteracting magical influence. For this reason among all primitive peoples the medicine man and magician occupy an important place. When it was believed that God sent sickness to punish sin, repentance and sacrifice were the means by which to cure it. When the ethical conception of the nature of disease arose, reparation for injuries and reconciliation with one's fellows would have a beneficial effect upon disease. With the conception that illness is caused by a germ and that social conditions favor or hinder the propagation of these disease germs, the social treatment is entirely modified.

Even under the domination of the religious theory of disease there came in another motive which provided the beginnings of social care. A religion which prompts to good deeds to one's fellow men, in the presence of the tremendous problem of sickness necessarily leads to measures for their care. Hence, even before the rise of the modern conception of the nature of disease, the religious motive was providing neighborly care and hospitals for nursing the sick. The growth of humanitarian feeling and the widening of human sympathy added another social motive to the compelling force of religion.

Physicians. From time immemorial priests and magicians have acted as physicians on the theory that disease is caused either by gods or demons. The priest exorcised the demon; the magician by means of incantations brought under control the spirit of the enemy or an evil spirit which caused

the sickness. With the development of science a special class of physicians arose. The Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans all had physicians treating disease on the empirical basis. Until about the middle of the last century, however, medicine did not progress much beyond the stage reached by Galen and Hippocrates. With the formulation of the germ theory of disease, based upon scientific investigation, the importance of the physician has steadily increased. Moreover, the number of physicians has multiplied with the growth of popular knowledge concerning the nature of disease and the increasing efficiency of medicine and surgery in curing illness. In 1930 there were 164,514 physicians and surgeons in the United States, more per 100,000 of population than any other country in the world.¹⁰

However, in spite of this fact there are large areas of the United States in which the ratio of physicians to population is very small. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1927 South Carolina and Montana had only 71 physicians per 100,000 people, while California at the other extreme had 200. The larger cities are over supplied with doctors while the smaller towns and rural districts are relatively under supplied.¹¹

At the present time the medical profession is a somewhat commercialized profession. So far as it has succumbed to the spirit of gain the practice of medicine is to enable doctors to make a living. From the point of view, however, of the public, the primary purpose is to heal the sick. No class of professional men have given more largely of their time and services without pay, because of their pity for the suffering, than the physician and surgeon. Every practising physician, whether in general or special practice, does a great deal of free work for the poor. Thus, two purposes struggle for mastery, the one with the other, in the practice of medicine—the business purpose and the professional.¹²

In the United States it is the general practice in those states where public outdoor relief exists, for the county, or other unit of relief, to provide at public expense a doctor to treat public dependents. However, because of the poor pay, usually the younger and less experienced physicians, or the less efficient ones, take this "contract" practice.

Midwives. Midwives are found among all early peoples. There is the mention of them among the Hebrews of Egypt (Ex. 1: 15 ff.), of the mid-

¹⁰ *The Survey*, January 1, 1930, p. 423.

¹¹ Peebles, *Medical Facilities in the United States*, Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Washington, pp. 5, 6.

¹² *Medical Care for the American People*, Final Report of the Committee on Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, p. 193; Filene, "A Merchant Looks at Medicine," *The Survey*, January 1, 1930, p. 389.

wife who attended Rachel (Gen. 35: 17), and of the midwife who attended Tamar (Gen. 38: 28). Examples could be cited among other nations of antiquity and among primitive peoples of the present.

They are found in every city of this and other countries. In 1929 there were 47,000 midwives in private practice in the United States.¹³ In 1925 approximately 300,000 births were cared for by these midwives, most of whom were untrained, dirty, and superstitious. About 15 per cent of child-births in this country are attended by midwives.¹⁴ The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care suggested that in many parts of the country, particularly the South, the trained nurse-midwife working with a skilled obstetrician seemed to offer the only solution to the difficult problems involved in providing proper maternity services to economically weak or widely scattered populations.¹⁵

Hospitals. Long before there were hospitals for the better treatment of those who could pay for their care, there was the charity hospital.

In Chapter XIV attention was directed to the fact that in early Christianity general institutions for the care of various classes of needy arose. These were called hospitals, although they cared not only for the sick but for the aged, for children, and in fact for almost every kind of needy person. Typical examples of these early Christian general institutions for the unfortunate are that founded by St. Basil at Cæsarea in 369, which had a special ward for lepers, and the Hôtel Dieu in Paris which dates from about 660, and is the oldest hospital in existence today. During medieval times almost all the monasteries cared for the sick. Perhaps the most famous of these was the Benedictine Abbey of Cluny, founded in 910.

Very early in the Middle Ages refuges for special classes of sick were established. Perhaps the first of these were the special institutions for lepers. Says Lecky, "When the hideous disease of leprosy extended its ravages over Europe, when the minds of men were filled with terror, not only by its loathsomeness, but also by the notion that it was in a peculiar sense supernatural, new hospitals and refuges overspread Europe, and monks flocked in multitudes to serve them." The first hospital for lepers in England seems to have been founded by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1080. He also established another for ordinary diseases. The great age for the building

¹³ *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143; McCoy, "Ketchin' Babies," *The Survey*, August 1, 1925, p. 483; Winslow, *The Frontier Nursing Services*, Miscellaneous Contributions on the Cost of Medical Care, No. 10, Washington, 1932.

of hospitals, however, was the eighteenth century, although several were founded in England after the Reformation.

About 900 the first hospital of which we have record in England, was established by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such institutions increased rapidly all over Europe during the Crusades. Privately endowed hospitals appeared first in Italy as early as the twelfth century. In all Europe, philanthropic individuals soon after endowed such institutions.

Among the English hospitals those of London stand out most prominently: St. Bartholomew's, founded about 1123 and given to the city by Henry VIII in 1544; St. Thomas', established in 1215 and placed upon a secular basis in the reign of Edward VI; Bethlehem, known as "Bedlam," founded in 1547 and devoted to the care of the insane a little later, and Westminster, dating from 1719.

In the United States in 1663 there was established what is probably the earliest hospital, erected to care for the soldiers and negroes of the East India Company. The oldest hospital in the United States today is the Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1750, which grew out of the necessity of caring for the sick in the Philadelphia almshouse. The New York Hospital was founded in 1771, Bellevue in 1811, St. Vincent's in 1849, St. Luke's in 1850 and Mt. Sinai in 1852.

Vastly more important today in their effect on poverty and dependency than the doctors and midwives are the hospitals and sanatoria, especially those which receive patients who can afford to pay none or but part of the cost of their care.

In 1930 in the United States there were nearly 7,000 hospitals with a total capacity of slightly under 1,000,000 beds. In 1931, 66 per cent of these hospitals were under governmental control giving 73 per cent of all patient-days of service. These institutions like the physicians were very unevenly distributed. Their distribution seems to be based largely upon the real or supposed ability of patients to pay for the services. Consequently, many communities are under-supplied with hospitals while others have a surplus. In 1928 out of 3,072 counties in the United States only 1,765 had hospitals for general community use. In Wisconsin there was one bed to each 154 persons; in South Carolina only one to each 749 persons.¹⁰

Nursing. So far as known previous to the Christian era there was no organized nursing. In the early days of the Christian church deacons and deaconesses concerned themselves with the care of the sick. For centuries

¹⁰ *Medical Care for the American People, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, pp. 4, 5.*

after they originated, the religious orders did practically all the organized nursing. The first great secular nursing orders date from the twelfth and thirteen centuries. The Beguines originated in what is now Belgium. They were an order the members of which lived together from the labor of their own hands and went out of the institution to nurse the sick. In the thirteenth century Montpellier's Order of the Holy Ghost arose for the same purpose. From that time on for several centuries these nursing orders multiplied.

The modern period of nursing history dates from about 1836 when Pastor Fliedner and his wife established at Kaiserswerth, Germany, an institution for the instruction of deaconesses. A part of the work was the training of nurses. In 1840, Elizabeth Fry established an institution for nursing in London, based upon the Kaiserswerth example. The Anglican sisterhoods soon followed. Then came the great development of nursing under the inspiration of Florence Nightingale. In 1860, a fund was raised to commemorate the work of Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War and it was used to establish the first modern training school for nurses. However, before that in the United States, as early as 1798, Dr. Seaman established in the New York Hospital a course of lectures for nurses. From the middle of the last century the movement grew rapidly. In 1929, in the United States, there were 118,000 graduate nurses in private practice, and an additional 77,000 in medical institutions.¹⁷

While the nursing orders of the Middle Ages often went about in the homes of the sick much as does the modern visiting nurse, it was not until the latter part of the last century that the visiting nurse as we know her came into existence. Since then she has taken on a great variety of forms. Under a private association or under a public health department she has charge of a district and visits in the homes of the poor. She is employed by school boards and follows the sick children into their homes. Recognition of the tuberculosis problem in the last century led to the tuberculosis nurse. The growing appreciation of venereal diseases resulted in the establishment of venereal clinics and nurses. The development of the public health movement has given us the public health nurse. The movement for the prevention of infantile mortality and for saving the lives of mothers has been responsible for the rise of prenatal nurses. Thus, modern health movements have given rise to a great variety of nurses who work in the homes of the people.

The importance of nursing is indicated not only by these figures concerning the number of nurses, but also by the number of nurses' training schools. In the United States in 1930-31 there were 1844 nurses' training schools in

¹⁷ *Medical Care for the American People, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care*, Chicago, 1932, p. 4.

which were enrolled more than 100,000 student nurses. This number represents an increase of 2.7 per cent from 1927-31.¹⁸

There is no question that the schools are turning out at the present time many more nurses than can be employed. The increasing unemployment and under-employment among private-duty-nurses is a well-known fact. They have been trained in ever-increasing numbers regardless of the demand for their services. That was true even before the depression which made the situation even more desperate.¹⁹

Dispensaries and Clinics. The first dispensary in England was opened in 1696 as a result of the efforts of the members of the College of Physicians to give free treatment to the poor. From that time until 1770, when the so-called "General Dispensary" in London was started, the history is not clear. From that date to 1782 four more were started in London. They were supported at first by private subscriptions of a guinea each, and received patients only upon the recommendation of a subscriber. In 1801 these five institutions were treating 50,000 persons annually, a third of them in their own homes.²⁰

The first dispensary established in what is now the United States was opened in Philadelphia a year before the adoption of the Constitution. By 1800 three such institutions had been established. In 1900 there were about 100, and six or seven times as many by 1913, excluding commercial and advertising concerns. In 1930 there were nearly 8,000 clinics and out-patient departments of hospitals.²¹ These institutions render service to about one in every 10 persons in the United States annually, and in the large cities to one out of every four or five in the population.²²

It is the usual practice in clinics to charge a small fee if the patient is able to pay, but it does not cover the cost of services. Usually the doctors are paid only for occasional special work.

Recently what are called group-clinics have arisen, usually owned by a group of physicians and operated on a business basis. The physicians en-

¹⁸ *Statistics of Nurse-Training Schools, 1920-21*, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin, 1933, No. 2, Washington, 1933, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, p. 26.

²⁰ Davis and Warner, "The Beginnings of Dispensaries," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, May 23, 1918, pp. 712-715.

²¹ *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, p. 4.

²² Plumley, *Growth of Clinics in the United States*, Chicago, 1932; Rorem, *Private Group Clinics*, Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Publication No. 8, 1931; Davis, "The Boom in Dispensary Work—Its Growth and Development," *The Modern Hospital*, August, 1914, Vol. III, No. 2.

gaged in these clinics represent different specialties, and thus provide for every kind of medical care in the same center.

There has been a growth also of free public clinics attached to public hospitals and institutions in addition to those attached to private hospitals. These usually charge a small fee of 25, 50 cents, and a dollar, or the service is given free, according to the patient's capacity to pay. As with hospitals, dispensaries are too few in number and very unevenly distributed.

Some medical societies and other medical groups have protested against further development of clinics, believing that they interfere with the physicians' regular practice on the ground that many people who could pay for medical services resort to the clinics in order to get cheap treatment. From the information unearthed by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care it appears that these clinics are in a small way an answer to the people's desire for more medical care than they feel they could have at higher charges from physicians in private practice. Their findings show that the percentage of individuals receiving no medical, dental, or eye-care decrease from the lower income classes to the higher. (From 46.6 per cent to 13.8 per cent.)²³

Since the poor are much more likely to go to a dispensary than to a hospital, and since early treatment of disease is of the greatest importance in preventing the development of a sickness which may lead to long illness or death, it is apparent that present provisions for the treatment of those who feel that they cannot pay a physician's fee, but would go to a clinic or dispensary, are utterly inadequate to check this important cause of poverty and pauperism.

Medical Social Service. Hospital social service work grew up in response to the conviction of people in charge of hospitals that disease cannot be cured and prevented by work—medical or surgical—in the hospital alone. Many cases come to the doctor because of social conditions in the home or in the community. These cases cannot be properly treated unless someone follows up the patient to see that the conditions are changed. Frequently the advice given to the patient will not be followed unless someone goes into that home to see that the directions given by the physician are lived up to. The hospital social service worker does both of these things. She sees that the girl who has been given a prescription for a brace wears that brace according to directions; that the boy who has been given a prescription for a pair of glasses in the first place finds a way to get the glasses and then wears them. She must help the dyspeptic whose trouble has been caused by bad cooking to get better food; the person who is suffering from insomnia because of worry about a wayward daughter to have that cause

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 9, Table 4.

removed. She must know the conditions in the home in order to see that the doctor's orders are obeyed and that the social causes of disease are removed.²⁴

Hospital social service work definitely began in this country as recently as 1905. Years before, however, efforts which resemble hospital social work were inaugurated both in this country and in England. Dr. Blackwell, who in 1859 founded the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, visited herself in the homes of her patients and sent a lay-woman to assist mothers by teaching them how to care for themselves and their children. Recognizing that sickness was often the result of economic and social conditions, she provided loans for those in need. Thus, in her work she inaugurated a form of medical social service. Later, about 1885, Dr. Chapin of the Post-Graduate Hospital of New York had every child leaving the hospital visited at its home, on the principle that it is necessary to improve the faulty life conditions that either might cause the original disease or tend to a relapse.

In England about 1900 the abuse of the dispensaries led to the appointment of social investigators by two of the institutions, and to give service to cases of distress which appeared at the dispensaries. In 1904 in the Presbyterian Hospital of New York the superintendent of nurses in connection with the Visiting Nursing Department inaugurated social work among the patients of the wards and the dispensary.

Hospital social service of a general nature, however, began in Boston in 1905. On October 2 of that year in connection with a small dispensary attached to Berkeley Temple the pastor's helper visited patients in their homes. The next day Dr. Richard C. Cabot of the Massachusetts General Hospital began hospital social service in the out-patient department by appointing a nurse with settlement experience to assist the physicians on their cases by looking into home conditions and to do follow-up work on them.²⁵

This movement has rapidly spread, so that almost every large hospital and many dispensaries have their social service departments to cooperate with the doctors and nurses in making medical ministry to the poor effective. In 1934 the American Association of Medical Social Workers had a membership of about 1,500. In 1933 of 1,570 hospitals, members of the American Hospital Association, 538 had departments of social service. These are exclusive of social service departments established under the American Red

²⁴ Emerson, "Social Work at Johns Hopkins Hospital," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1908, pp. 157-161; Cannon, *Social Work in Hospitals*, New York, 1923.

²⁵ Felton, "History and Status of Hospital Social Work," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, pp. 333-336. In the same year such work was started also at Bellevue Hospital, New York City.

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Cross in six army and navy hospitals, and those connected with hospitals and clinic facilities administered by the Veterans' Administration.²⁶

The movement has begun to spread from the general to the special hospitals. It is now to be found in connection with hospitals for the insane, venereal clinics and special dispensaries, each class of worker having its special designation indicating the type of cases with which the social worker deals.

Convalescent and Rest Homes. In addition to these various agencies dealing with the sick there are needed convalescent and rest homes to which the patient may be sent from hospital and clinic in order to allow that recuperation so necessary to prevent a return of the trouble. These agencies are much too few in number to deal adequately with this important problem. In 1931 only twenty-four states had convalescent institutions of any nature whatsoever aside from the hospitals. At that time about one-half of the bed capacity of these institutions was either within or served greater New York City.²⁷

THE INADEQUACY OF PRESENT MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

In spite of the fact that over one million American citizens make their living in administering to the sick and that the people of the United States pay annually over three and one-half billion dollars for the care that they receive, it is generally agreed that there is a tremendous amount of preventable physical pain and mental anguish, needless deaths, economic inefficiency, and social waste, which point to the inadequacy of present methods of handling this problem. Although medicine has made great strides in understanding the human body and in perfecting the technique of the treatment of disease, it has failed to organize its knowledge and techniques in such a way that the great mass of the people can avail themselves of its facilities. Many persons cannot receive the care they need, because they are too heavily burdened by its costs. On the other hand, large numbers of the practitioners are poorly remunerated and are not fully occupied. As we have seen, physicians, hospitals, clinics, are poorly distributed. It has been shown that the incidence of disease is likely to be highest in the low-income groups. This is true especially of disabling diseases which interfere seriously with economic activities. It is not true of all diseases. Some diseases like heart disease and certain diseases of the kidneys and arteries have the highest

²⁶ Cannon, *Social Work in Hospitals*, New York, 1923; Cannon, "The Functions of Medical Social Service in the United States," *Hospital Social Service*, January, 1933.

²⁷ *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, p. 259.

incidence among the well-to-do. Recent studies have shown that infant death-rates at over one month of age are ten times as high in the lowest income group as in the highest income group.²⁸ However, families with incomes under \$1,200 or \$2,000 receive far less medical service than those with incomes of \$5,000 or \$10,000 and over.²⁹

Under the present set-up for the treatment of the sick medical care is inadequate except for the very wealthy. This is clearly shown by a study under the auspices of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care of nine thousand white families. Of the families with annual incomes under \$1200, 80 per cent belonged to the group in which charges for medical service were less than \$60 a year. This group of the low income families, however, paid only 31 per cent of all the medical charges paid by those having incomes under \$1200. The other 69 per cent of the total charges to this income group was paid by about 21 per cent of the families of the nine thousand white families.³⁰ It is quite clear that under present methods of payment for services it is impossible for about 99 per cent of the families to set aside any reasonable amount of money out of their income with the expectation that that sum of money will purchase all needed medical care. It is believed that low-income families cannot usually pay an annual cost of even \$20 to \$40 per capita.³¹

During the depression the economic condition of vast numbers of people was changed. Recent studies have shown that change for the worse in these families resulted in an increased amount of sickness and relative decrease in the amount of medical service given them.³²

The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care concluded that the people need substantially a larger volume of scientific medical service than they now utilize; that the lack is particularly noticeable in rural areas, towns and small cities; that geographical distribution of practitioners and agencies is very bad; that the current expenditures for medical services in rural and semi-rural areas are insufficient to insure even approximately adequate service to support necessary facilities or to provide satisfactory remuneration to the practitioners and that the prevailing methods of purchasing medical care have unsatisfactory consequences.³³

²⁸ Collins, *Economic Status of Health*, Public Health Bulletin No. 165, United States Health Service, Washington, 1927.

²⁹ *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, pp. 6, 7

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³² Perrott and Collins, "Sickness and the Depression," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January, 1934, p. 28; *Ibid.*, April, 1934, p. 99

³³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-35.

The depression has shown as nothing else has in recent years the imperative necessity of providing more adequate medical care than is possible under the present arrangements of private practice on a pay or charity basis.

PRINCIPLES OF MEDICAL AID

Before the social implications of health and ill-health were so clearly recognized the principles of medical care were very much simpler. The sick individual selected the physician in whom he had confidence, paid for the service if and when he could. If he was unable to pay, the doctor simply counted that as a part of his charity work. Sickness was largely an individual matter and the doctor's primary responsibility was to his patient. So far as there were hospitals they were largely for those who could not be expected to pay for their care. The motives back of the building and running of hospitals was largely a charitable matter prompted usually by religion. Social considerations have assumed increasing importance in modern medicine.

An increasing number of people have seen that health and disease are not of concern only to the individual, but also to society. Illness has a direct relationship to the economic welfare of the community through the efficiency or inefficiency of the laborer. Sickness calls for contributions of givers or for taxes necessary to support those who are sick or have been reduced to poverty by illness. It has become clear that sickness has all kinds of social implications. The treatment of the sick and the prevention of illness is a responsibility of society. That responsibility must be discharged either through group action voluntarily or through the political organization.

However, the theory of *state responsibility* has had to contend with individualistic theories. Commercialization of the medical profession rested upon quite another theory. The welfare of society under that earlier theory was an incidental result of each man taking care of himself; the state's only business was to act as umpire and give each man a fair field in the struggle for existence. The *laissez faire* philosophy, however, has had to yield to the conception that the group has responsibility for each member of it. Paul's statements that "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself" (Rom. 14: 7) and, "And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it" (I Cor. 12: 26), is not only good religion, but a fine sociological statement of group responsibility, increasingly recognized in modern society.

1) **As to Free Treatment in Hospitals and Dispensaries.** As the theory of social responsibility for the care of the sick has begun to realize

itself in concrete activities, such as dispensaries and clinics, the question has arisen as to its effect upon the income of practising physicians. Physicians, however, are not disturbed by the fear that their private practice will be interfered with by agencies which give free treatment to those who cannot afford to employ a practising physician. Most of them are well aware that large numbers of our people in the lower-income classes postpone consultation with a medical man long after they need advice. They are better aware than the laymen of the necessity of giving attention to sickness in its early stages, and of providing agencies to which the poor may go, in order that the vital assets of the nation may be conserved. What they do dislike is the tendency of some people who could pay for physicians' service to take advantage of hospitals and clinics in order to secure free treatment.³⁴

There is another problem of interest not only to physicians but also to the student of society. That is whether the medical charities have not undermined the independent spirit of the working class. This problem has arisen largely out of the abuse of clinics.

The hospitals and clinics have attempted to meet these problems by ascertaining whether the patients were able to pay the whole or a part of the charges for the services rendered. In some institutions the medical social worker as a part of her general investigation makes this inquiry. These problems, of course, turn upon the question as to whether medical service is an individual matter or whether good health is not of sufficient importance to the whole community to warrant its being supplied as is education. At present that is the issue centering around what is known as socialized medicine.

Even under the theory that everyone who can should pay for the medical services he needs, it is pretty generally admitted that so long as people receive their treatment in clinics and hospitals used for teaching purposes the patient renders an equivalent for the services received.³⁵ When medical service is given in institutions where there is no teaching of medical students or nurses, the matter is on a different footing.

The practice of free treatment of patients in hospitals, dispensaries and clinics is a partial recognition of the duty of society to cure and prevent disease. It is also a confession that at present the practice of medicine is in a half-way state between a commercial profession and a social function. With increase in the cost of preparing for the practice of the profession and the cost of treatment in hospitals and in private offices, it is impossible for the

³⁴ "The Use and Abuse of Medical Charities in Their Relation to Medical Education," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1898, p. 329.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

doctor to have the same attitude toward the free treatment of those unable to pay as was the case when the science of medicine was not as well developed.

2) **The Physicians Cannot Carry the Load of Free Treatment Necessary.** It is not right that doctors should do such work at their own charges. Every study of the income of physicians has shown that there are only a few in the high income group. For every physician with a professional net income of more than \$10,000 there were two who received less than \$2,500 when the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care made its study in 1929. The average income of physicians in private practice was found to be \$5,300 in that year. The highest paid group of medical practitioners in 1929 were the 30,000 complete specialists who received as a group more than the 70,000 general practitioners.³⁶ Furthermore, free practice by private physicians is inadequate.

Increasing numbers of the public and also of the doctors are convinced that some method must be devised whereby more adequate medical service will be made available to larger groups of the population. There is no consensus of opinion among the doctors or among the public as to just what that scheme should be. Experiments are being made by doctors and are approved by some groups of the medical profession whereby skilled medical and surgical service will be made available to groups of people who pay a certain amount each year. Such schemes are just as stoutly resisted by certain other sections of the medical profession.³⁷

3) **Coordination of the Agencies for the Treatment of the Sick in Each Community.** At the present time the various agencies available for the care of the sick are not organized for any effective attack upon the problem of ill-health. Hospitals grow up haphazardly under religious organizations or at the instigation of a group of doctors for their own practice or under public auspices. Some of the physicians are more than fully occupied, and others do not have half of their time engaged. The beds of some hospitals are full, while in others half of them are empty. In most communities there is no organization of the available facilities aimed at supplying the maximum amount of medical care which the facilities would afford.

In addition, due to the competitive nature of the practice of medicine and the use of hospitals, some doctors have excellent facilities for diagnosis and

³⁶ *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, p. 22.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Chapter 2; Davis, "Organized Action in Medical Care," *The Survey*, April, 1933, p. 207; Davis, "Middle-class Hospitals and Clinics," *The Survey*, January 1, 1930, p. 419; Rorem, "Private Group Clinics," *The Survey*, January 1, 1930, p. 410; Streeter, "Pioneers Plough a Way," *Ibid.*, p. 402; Brown, "Industry's Answer," *Ibid.*, p. 398.

treatment at their command, while others have very poor facilities. The whole thing as at present in most communities is chaotic. Unless some physicians have gone together in groups, there is little coordination between general practitioners and the various specialists. So costly has become modern scientific methods of diagnosis and treatment that, unless physicians have enormous financial resources, or unless they are connected with some good hospital, they cannot give the patient all the advantages of modern medical science.

Under the present competitive and commercialized practice of medicine, organized correlation of all the medical facilities in any community cannot work to maximum efficiency in giving the people the service they need.

Says Dr. Emerson,

We believe that the state should be more responsible for the care of its poor citizens when sick. It is for the prevention of disease, as in the case of smallpox and other infectious diseases. There is little danger of such paternal care pauperizing the patients, for doctor's visits and medicines seldom become a habit. (The question of sick diet is quite a different one.) The same "pauperizing" argument was used against free parks, free concerts, free libraries, and above all the free schools with free textbooks. It is now not necessary for anyone to pay a cent for excellent school education, for the very reason that the state wishes educated citizens, and we believe that the same effort to keep healthy citizens would help it as much and injure them just as little.³⁸

4) **As to Nursing Service in Connection with the Care of the Sick in Their Homes.** No work in connection with the treatment of the sick poor is more important than nursing. Professional nurses provide proper care for the sick who can afford to pay her. Out of the inability of the poor to pay regular rates to the professional nurse has grown the visiting nurse movement. Employed first by private organizations to care for the poor in their own homes, these nurses not only give care to the poor, but teach them personal hygiene at the same time. As worked out in actual practice, the district nurse charges a small fee in some cases for the same reason that the dispensary charges those who may be able to pay.

A further socialization of the nurse has occurred in the provision for school nurses in connection with the school health movement. Still further extension of the social aspect of nursing is to be found in the public health nurses now being employed in some states. The movement registers the growth of public sentiment in favor of preventable health measures. For example, the State of Wisconsin in 1919 passed a law providing that every

³⁸Emerson, "Free Medical Aid for the Poor," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1906, p. 173.

county in the State should employ by July 1, 1921, either a trained nurse as county public health nurse or a health instructor to teach the people the essentials of disease prevention. In connection with industry, also, the nursing movement has made progress. Almost every large industrial plant has a nurse to give advice, aid, and helpful instruction to the girls employed.

5) **Social Service in Hospital, Dispensary, and in Homes of the Sick.** The movement for the coordination of the practice of medicine and special work is of the very greatest importance. Without social service the physicians must endeavor to diagnose and treat the case in the dark as to social conditions. Such social service prevents waste of effort by dispensaries and hospitals, assists the diagnostician in determining the cause of the disease, and thus enables him to prescribe proper treatment, extends the reach of the hospital and dispensary into the home, in order to modify social conditions under which the patients live.

Moreover, hospital social service provides the spiritual after-care which alone often spells rehabilitation. Dr. Cabot has well pointed out the importance of attention to the mental treatment of sick people. He says, "The true business of the social worker is psychical diagnosis and treatment—a labor parallel to the physical diagnosis and treatment of the physician."³⁹

Social service is the answer also to the problem of the pauperization of those who receive free medical service. Moreover, the social service worker is in touch with conditions which produce disease and death. She is in a position to call attention to the significance of these conditions in the pauper psychosis.

Hospital social service work was started in some cases, as at Bellevue a few years ago by the Free Synagogue of New York, by agencies not connected with the hospital. While such a procedure may be necessary as a demonstration, it is not the best way for such work to be conducted. It should be an integral part of the hospital or dispensary work.⁴⁰ Otherwise, administration will be difficult and clinical team-work impossible.

6) **As to Universal Provision for Medical Service.** It has been urged that since the community has an interest in the health of its people, no less than in the education of its children, the state should provide medical service for all without charge or at a nominal price so that anyone may have early the best attention to health problems which medical science can give. On the other hand, there are those who argue that, since medical service touches the individual so closely, his earning capacity and his personal

³⁹ *Social Service and the Art of Healing*, New York, 1917, p. 65. On this point the whole of Chap. 2 should be read.

⁴⁰ Goldstein, "Hospital Social Work: Principles and Implications," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, p. 345.

welfare no less than the welfare of society in general, he should see to it himself that out of his own income his health should be looked after. It is claimed that he will do it, if the state does not do it, provided that his income is adequate. Hence, what society should concern itself with is not his health but his income.

There are still others who take a middle ground that those who can afford to pay for medical treatment should do so, while those who cannot afford it should be provided free treatment for the sake of the bearing of their health upon the general welfare.

The practical difficulty is that if each is left to provide for medical attention as he can afford to pay for it, often he will neglect it, especially in those diseases the beginning of which is not painful, but slow and yet deadly in their effects. Moreover, how often does the health and charity worker see it happen that one who should see a doctor does not do so because he does not have the money to pay the fees required! Illness is neglected which if attended to early could be checked, and the long train of causes which finally bring to poverty and death would be removed. In fact, society is now providing the preventive health work, such as sanitation and quarantine, and is trying to educate the people in the fundamentals of good health. If medical and surgical service were free to everyone, or to all members of great classes of the population, no stigma would attach to it, as none does to free education, or free parks, and recreation grounds. There would still be room for the private practitioner for those who wished and could pay for private service.

It has been suggested that one way to solve the difficulty, which would meet the objections of both sides to the argument and which would provide care for all who need it, is compulsory health insurance.⁴¹

7) **In Medical Service the Family Should Be the Unit of Treatment.** As in other social work the individual cannot be treated apart from his family. Child welfare cannot be thought of as if the child lived *in vacuo*. The sick person must be considered in his home relationships. So often it is home conditions which contribute to illness. Many years ago Dr. Goldstein said in reference to hospital social service, "In the first place, sickness is seldom an isolated phenomenon. It is in most cases nothing more than a symptom. It appears as a manifestation of undernourishment and malnutrition; of dark, damp rooms in a basement, or five flights of stairs in a tenement; of heavy housework or domestic irritability; of occupation, low wages and long hours; of indifference, ignorance, neglect, incompetence; of

⁴¹ *Medical Care for the American People*, Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, Chapters. 3 & 5

the general discouragement and lassitude into which the weak, the worried, the wretched inevitably drift. Sickness is a sign of morbid social conditions—conditions in which the entire family is imbedded.”⁴² This principle is no less true concerning medical treatment. The family must be treated, else the same conditions which produced sickness in the first place will cause it again.

8) **In Medical Service, Education in Personal and Public Hygiene Should Go Hand in Hand.** It is not sufficient that the individual be treated for his illness and the matter stop there. This principle is recognized to some degree by practitioners at the present time. Usually the patient is given advice as to his method of living. It is now recognized, however, that such instruction by a busy doctor is inadequate. Says Dr. Cabot, “Teaching—training has usually gone hand in hand with medical work in our hospitals—teaching, that is, for everyone but the patients. Doctors, students, nurses, ward-tenders, all are getting their training in most of the hospitals of this country. But the patients? How many of them are being efficiently and skilfully taught those fundamental and far-reaching lessons on which their permanent recovery often depend?”⁴³

Moreover, the doctor often hesitates, even if he could spare the time, to explain his plan of treatment to the patient in a crowded dispensary where the noise and often the slight knowledge of the English language possessed by the patient make it quite possible that what he tells the patient will be misunderstood. “So,” says Dr. Cabot, “doctors have gone on giving bread pills (encouraging thereby the habit of depending on drugs rather than on hygiene) because there was no time or opportunity adequately to explain to patients why drugs are sometimes unnecessary, how diet, fresh air, regular habits and clean minds may work both cure and the prevention of disease.”⁴⁴ Hence, the hospital social service worker. She acts as teacher and interpreter to the patients, repeating in simple terms the advice which the doctor would have given, and thus educating the patient in the art of right living, who will then hand it on to others.

Hence, also, there has arisen the last few years the movement to educate the public through newspapers, lectures, and exhibits as to the fundamentals of health. The doctor who is satisfied merely to minister to his patients' misery from sickness, without at the same time trying to educate them in methods of preserving health, is not doing his whole duty. The community which is depending upon the medical practitioners to educate the public is

⁴² *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, pp. 342, 343.

⁴³ *Social Service and the Art of Healing*, New York, 1917, p. 187.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 190.

falling short of its duty to the people. Schools, colleges and state departments of health have the opportunity and duty of informing the people in health. Disease must be attacked by educational measures which will aim to prevent illness.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Review Fisher, *Report on National Vitality*, Washington, 1909, or *Report of the National Conservation Commission*, Senate Document No. 676, 60th Congress, 2d Session, Washington, 1909, Vol. III, pp. 620-777.
2. Poverty and Tuberculosis. *Poverty and Tuberculosis*, Publication No. 84, New York Association for the Improvement of the Poor.
3. Medical Social Service. Cabot, "Social Service Work in Hospitals," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1911, p. 223.
4. The Results of the Present Method of Providing Medical Care of the People of U. S. *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Show the relation of ill health in extent and cost to dependency and poverty.
2. Indicate the changes in the conceptions of the nature of disease and in the social measures for its treatment.
3. Indicate the history, growth, and limitations of the following institutions providing for treatment for the sick: hospitals; dispensaries and clinics; medical social service; health centers; convalescent and rest homes.
4. What is the drawback connected with free treatment in hospitals and dispensaries and how may it be overcome?
5. Show the importance of social service in medical treatment.
6. What are some of the consequences of the commercialization of the practice of medicine?
7. How could some of the evil consequences of commercialized medicine be obviated?
8. Suggest methods by which hospitals and practising physicians can participate in a preventive program.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DISABLED

THE problem of the cripple is not new, but the present approach to the problem is different. Both Labor and War have pushed the disabled into the foreground. Ever since war has been waged on a national scale and the industrial revolution began to gather men into factories with power-driven machinery, we have seen upon the streets, appealing to the charity of passers-by, the man with one arm or without a leg. But in the present generation labor statistics have brought the extent of the problem to our attention in a way never before possible.

DEFINITIONS

The cripple through accident often needs different treatment from the disabled through disease. The latter often suffers from a mental distortion consequent upon long illness and self-pity. He easily becomes dependent in spirit, since his physical rehabilitation may be slow or impossible.

In 1911 a committee which made a study of cripples in Birmingham, England, defined a cripple as "*a person whose (muscular) movements are so far restricted by accident, or disease, as to affect his capacity for support.*"¹ A survey in Massachusetts in 1931 defined a crippled child as "*one without the normal use of bones or muscles for education or work.*"² This is a better definition than the former, since it includes those handicapped educationally as well as those handicapped economically.

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

While the extent of the problem of the "disabled" is not as great as that due to sickness, the importance of the problem is indicated by the tendency of the physically handicapped to slump down into dependency under the attitude which society has hitherto taken towards them. Who has not seen the crippled beggar upon the streets appealing by his armless sleeve, or his

¹ Quoted in *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult: A Survey of All the Cripples of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1916*, New York, 1918, p. 12.

² Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare, *Final Report Relative to the Number and Care of Crippled Children*, House No. 401, December 31, Boston, 1932.

crutches, to the charity of his more fortunate fellows? How difficult his problem, no matter how stiff his resolution, to earn his bread by honest toil rather than to be supported by degrading charity! How we all teach him that it is easier to beg than to earn a living by the service yet possible to his mutilated body!

The United States Census has made no study of the disabled, except the deaf and dumb, and the blind. Nor have we any accurate statistics as to the number of disabled in the various countries of the world. For the present we must be content with estimates based upon intensive studies of the problem in certain communities.

Since the studies in Birmingham, England, and Cleveland, Ohio, were made, numerous other surveys in various parts of the United States have called attention to the problem.³

On the basis of a careful study of all the findings from the various studies, the subcommittee of the White House Conference decided that until more exact figures are scientifically established by actual enumeration, a ratio of 2.5 per 1000 of the general population was not far wrong as an estimate of the proportion of crippled individuals below the age of eighteen.

CAUSES OF DISABILITY

The joint subcommittee on Crippled Children of the White House Conference in 1930, basing its conclusions upon figures from hospital homes, from eight convalescent institutions, from fifty-seven public and private day-class teaching centers in forty-seven cities in fourteen states, gives the following table as to the causes of disablement among children:

³ Wright and Hamburger, *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult: A Survey of All the Cripples of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1916*, p. 21; Rubinow, *A Statistical Consideration of the Number of Men Crippled in War and Disabled in Industry*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, Series No. 4, New York, February 14, 1918, pp. 8, 17, *American Journal of Care for Cripples*, Vol. III, p. 267; New York State Commission for Survey on Crippled Children, *Report*, 1924-1925, pp. 15, 27, 28, 95-96, New Jersey Temporary Commission for Inquiry Relating to the Distribution and Condition of Crippled Children, *Report*, Jan. 31, 1928, pp. 7, 10, and 18; Pennsylvania Society for Crippled Children, *Report*, March 29, 1930; Committee on Survey of Cripples, *Survey of Cripples in New York City*, New York Committee on After-Care of Infantile Paralysis Cases, 1920, pp. 43, 46, 48, 50, 54; Stevenson, *A Community Trust Survey of Crippled Children in Chicago*, May-December, 1924, Community Trust, Chicago, 1925, p. 19, Wisconsin Association for the Disabled, *Care and Education of Crippled Children*, 1928, p. 20; Reeves, *The Care and Education of Crippled Children*, New York, 1914, pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 33, 56, 91, 135, 140, 205-235; Heck, *Special Schools and Classes in Cities of Over 10,000 Population*, Columbus, February, 1930; The White House Conference, *The Handicapped Child*, New York, 1933, Chapter, "The Crippled," pp. 119-136.

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Infantile Paralysis	30.1%
Bone Tuberculosis	8.5%
Spastic Paralysis	7.0%
Congenital	13.8%
Cardiac	2.5%
Accidents	17.4%
Others	20.0%
	<hr/>
	99.3%

The single outstanding cause of disablement among children is infantile paralysis. The Chicago study showed that 58 per cent of the cases included were disabled during the first five years of life.

Each year 398,000 persons in the United States, it is estimated, become permanently disabled through accident or disease. Of these 60,000 are injured in industry, 130,000 at home, 158,000 by public accident, and 50,000 through disease and congenital causes. Probably 80,000 of these might be prepared for employment through a plan of rehabilitation.⁴

DEVELOPMENT OF CARE OF THE DISABLED

Like the brutes primitive man was apathetic to the suffering of his fellows. He abandoned and sometimes expelled the crippled member of the group. Some tribes put to death their disabled and deformed members. In ancient times these unfortunates might be turned out to wander in the wilderness. In India they were sometimes cast into the Ganges. The Spartans flung them over a precipice. Deformed and weakly infants were exposed by others to the wild beasts. This harshness was the result of superstition or of economic stress.⁵ Any person who could not do his share was useless, therefore the sooner he perished the better for the group.

With the development of ethical ideas, however, this harsh attitude was modified. While in most places in antiquity the cripple was an outcast, he was permitted to beg. In Athens, after careful examination by the authorities, the Senate provided that enough from public funds should be given to the disabled for a bare existence.

The attitude of Jesus and His disciples was one of helpfulness. In previous chapters we have seen how inspired by pity the Christian Church developed the care of the infirm. Among these, of course, were helpless cripples. When

⁴ The White House Conference, *The Handicapped Child*, New York, 1933, p. 138; Rubinow, *A Statistical Consideration of the Number of Men Crippled in War and Disabled in Industry*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, New York, 1918, p. 8; *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, p. 415.

⁵ Leviticus 21 : 16-24.

no other provision was made for them and when able-bodied beggars were proceeded against, the "impotent beggars" were permitted to beg. In feudal times the disabled found a place of usefulness around the feudal castle. Often the king's fool was a hunchback, or cripple of some sort. Hand in hand, however, with this attitude of tolerant helpfulness goes the attitude of brutal harshness. Ridicule and exploitation as well as pity characterize the treatment of the cripple during the Middle Ages. Large numbers of them were accustomed to resort to shrines of the Saints for healing. In a word, the attitude toward the cripple was first extinction, then banishment, then permission to beg, then care in connection with monasteries or feudal castles, and attempts at healing.

Even before the development of modern medical and surgical treatment there grew up institutions for the care and education of cripples. The beginning of a new attitude is to be seen in the writings of the Catholic Vives in the sixteenth century already referred to in the chapter on the development of outdoor relief. He divided the poor into three classes: Those in hospitals and poorhouses, the public homeless beggars, and the poor at home. He proposed a census of all these classes for the purpose of ascertaining the causes of distress and planned a central organization for their relief under the municipal magistrates. Work was to be provided for the beggars, the cripples as well as the sturdy. In 1657 an asylum in which suitable work was provided for the infirm was established in France. After the Reformation this became the Salpêtrière. Many of the monasteries were taken over, as we have seen, for the use of the sick, the insane, and prisoners. Occasionally one was used as an asylum for the handicapped. In 1722 Count Luitgard of Baden established at Pforzheim a hospital for pauper invalids, which was later devoted exclusively to cripples.⁶

With the rise of modern orthopedics in the first part of the nineteenth century, institutions were founded at Munich, Vienna, Paris, Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, Leipzig, Lübeck, and Berlin. The first was that established at Munich in 1832, devoted especially to the care of crippled children. The next was founded in Copenhagen in 1872. Practically all of these institutions were for the treatment and care of children, to whom their chief attention is given even to this hour.

PRINCIPLES OF CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE DISABLED

The haphazard provisions for the crippled have been inadequate. They have often been without large vision, merely palliative, and without any

⁶ The Crippled Department was abolished in 1822 to make room for the insane.

thoroughgoing plan for the solution of the problem. Too often they have resulted only in confirming the hopelessness and dependency of their wards.

Purpose of Social Treatment. What objectives should we have in mind in treating the disabled? Summed up in two words the purpose should be, first, the happiness of the individual who has been denied the opportunities of the able-bodied, and second, the welfare of society. Certainly the cripple cannot enjoy such a sense of capacity and usefulness as the able-bodied. How often have we seen physical disability result in misanthropy! It is said that Lord Byron's sensitive nature became soured largely because of his crippled condition. Pope's disability without doubt contributed not a little to his unhappiness. Shakespeare attributes Richard III's malevolence to his resentment of society's attitude towards him on account of his deformity. Schiller's Franz Moor rebels at the trick nature played him in his physical make-up. Moreover, most men wish not only to be looked upon as physically well-formed, but to be independent of others for their support. If they possess the souls of men, they rebel at being objects of pity.

Furthermore, we should treat cripples in a constructive fashion in order to relieve the public of their support. Let society assist them to a place of usefulness in the world rather than keep them in idleness. It is cheaper in every way. If the disabled can learn to support himself, it is much better for him than to live in idleness, even though he has compensation from the company in whose employ he has received his injury. The whole purpose of the social treatment of cripples, then, is to get them to be as nearly self-supporting as possible in the shortest possible time.

The Problem of the Crippled Child. Crippled children and adults present slightly different problems. With the child most of his disabilities arise from disease which if taken in time can often be cured. With the adult, injuries are more often the result of accidents, and there is less possibility of cure. The child is growing, and if proper medical and surgical attention be given in time, he has a chance to grow out of the disability. This rarely occurs with adults, except in case an injury has resulted in functional disuse of an organ which can be functionally restored by therapeutical exercise, or in case of certain diseases like tuberculosis. Again, the child's disability raises the question of *education*, including vocational, while with the adult it is a question of *reëducation*.

In the first place, then, the disabled child should have *attention, medical and surgical*. The sooner such attention is given after the disability arises, the greater the chance of correction.

In the next place, we must see that the child does not miss a *general education*. Why should a child under a physical handicap suffer also an

educational handicap? Certainly, when he cannot enjoy the physical well-being of other children, there is all the more reason for careful attention to his education. At best his crippled condition sets him aside from his fellows. Moreover, he must have that socialization which is one of the best results of a common school education. If he can be provided with such education by the simple device of conveying him to and from the school, in which are special seats and such other simple arrangements as will enable him to share in the common school life, by all means he should have them. On the other hand, if he needs special attention in his education, special classes in the schools will provide him the opportunity. If he must live somewhat outside the common activities of life, why should he be denied the pleasures which come from acquaintance with the accumulated knowledge of the world and the treasures of literature and art?

Again, if his disability shuts him out of the usual avenues to self-support, he should have a *vocational education* fitting him in some degree for such special occupations as a cripple can successfully follow. He must be prepared so far as possible to compete with his fellows and deliver a service to the world for which society can pay him a good return without charity or condescension. Moreover, as a handicapped person he is entitled to such *vocational guidance* as will place at his disposal all the knowledge society possesses as to the occupations which are best suited to his condition and advice as to the one which fits best his particular disability.

Finally, when he is at last ready for it, *employment* must be found for him. The school can best judge of his limitations and should know best the place into which he can fit. It should not dismiss him as its problem until he has been properly placed in such a position. Cooperation with his family, of course, should mark every step in these processes.

The Problem of the Disabled Adult. The problem is, first, one of *physical treatment*. Lost power in the injured member must be restored as far as possible. In modern surgery and therapy great advances have been made in the restoration of lost functions. Massage, electrical treatments, persistence in trying to use the injured member through occupational therapy and similar measures have done wonders in restoring lost powers. Moreover, artificial limbs, trusses, braces and like devices have done much to remove industrial handicap.

Along with physical treatment goes the process of *strengthening morale*—the ambition and determination of the injured person to make the most serious efforts to overcome his disability. In this connection it has been found that social service after discharge can be of great value in helping the disabled man, so prone to become discouraged, to retain his determina-

tion to succeed. The social worker visits him frequently suggesting success and so rekindling his flagging zeal. The social worker can also educate the family or fellow workers to take an encouraging attitude.

After all has been done for the physical treatment of the disabled the next step is his vocational *reëducation*. If his disability has been of a nature which makes it impossible for him to follow his previous occupation, he must be trained for a job suited to his disability. Careful study of the man's capacity and of the occupations open to one with his handicap should precede the training. In such matters foreign countries have gone much farther than the United States. Even before the War England, France and Germany were beginning to reëducate their industrial cripples. Hence, they were not entirely unprepared when the War threw on their hands a great number of cripples. The War brought this problem to the attention of the United States. We have learned much in retraining injured soldiers. Such reëducation is no less necessary for the industrial cripple.

The state, however, should not stop with the cripple's reëducation. It should provide for his *replacement* in industry. If he is left to place himself, he will often become discouraged and give up his fight. He does not know as much about positions as the institution which is dealing with the problem. He has not the contact with industry as has the school which is training him. Our training institutions for non-cripples place their graduates; why not the institution which is reëducating the disabled? The experience of the vocational rehabilitation boards of the various states demonstrates the practicability of such a plan in the placement of the retrained handicapped.

Furthermore, *the placement bureau must keep in touch with the cripples*. They have many difficulties which must be solved at once or the work has been done in vain. The New York Bureau of the Red Cross Institute pioneered by following up these men very closely. It had a social worker who went out to the disabled in their homes and in the factories where they were working. Its office was open evenings so that the men could come in and tell their troubles. He must be followed up persistently, else he will slump down into dependency. In such cases hope is weak; ambition is easily impaired. New adjustments often are necessary at a time of life when readjustment is very difficult. Habits must be re-formed; frequently a new occupation must be found. He must have the backing of every helpful influence for a new career. That backing must be both sympathetic and wise. It must last until he has again made a place for himself in life, has learned self-confidence through successful effort, and is able to look the world manfully in the face because he is useful.

A much more difficult problem in the placement of the industrial cripple is that of getting the man to take *reëducation*, if he is a *compensable case*. If by reëducation he loses his disability even to a small degree, he fears that he will lose his compensation. As they now stand state compensation laws often place a premium on idleness for the compensable man. In states having compensation laws like that of Wisconsin, this difficulty does not arise. In that state the amount of compensation is based upon the nature of the injury and does not depend upon the wages he may be able to earn later. Good administration by the body charged with the administration of workmen's compensation should follow him up and see that every argument for reëducation and future usefulness be presented to him. If the law is such that he receives the compensation due him according to the disability received, then social service by the administrative body should follow him until he has been reëducated and replaced in a suitable position.

A further difficulty in the placement of the disabled is the attitude of some employers. Large employers often require physical examinations which bar the handicapped, although in some industries they will reemploy workers disabled in their plant, and a few large employers like Ford have made a point of employing handicapped people. Also the smaller employers in general are willing to take on disabled persons competent to do certain tasks in their factories. Group insurance often is also a barrier to the handicapped. The civil service rules of the states and of the Federal Government frequently discriminate against the handicapped. It is felt by those working with the disabled that these difficulties will yield to education and demonstration.

SYSTEMS OF CARE AND TRIATMENT OF THE DISABLED

At the present time there are three systems of caring for the disabled. (1) Private institutions chiefly for the care and treatment of crippled children and disabled men; (2) state systems for the rehabilitation of the crippled; (3) a Federal subsidy for states which provide rehabilitation for cripples.

Before the War Germany had made more provision for the care and reëducation of crippled men than any other nation. Doubtless her rapid industrial development had done something to stimulate the movement. She had fifty-eight homes for cripples under private auspices. In addition her employers' accident insurance companies had established a number of sanatoria and reëducational workshops for industrial cripples. Moreover, a considerable number of orthopedic hospitals were provided by the munic-

ipalities. Under various governmental authorities there had grown up numerous trade schools and employment bureaus.⁷

The other countries of Europe had done very little although there were some private organizations devoting their attention chiefly to crippled children. Likewise in the United States what had been done was chiefly in the interest of disabled children.⁸ Because of the large number of men injured during the War the rehabilitation of crippled adults assumed a new importance in all countries engaged in that War.

In the United States recently a number of important agencies in addition to those which had been in existence for some time before the War, took up with great enthusiasm the problem of the crippled child. The International Society for Crippled Children, founded in 1921, is a clearing house for interested public and private agencies. It publishes a bi-monthly magazine, *The Crippled Child*, occasional pamphlets and news bulletins, and carries on broadcasts. A number of the service groups, Rotary International, Kiwanis International, the International Association of Lions Clubs, Optimists International, Civitan, and others have undertaken to stimulate interest in the handicapped child. The Elks in a number of the states have shown an active interest. They have spent as much as \$250,000 a year on crippled children in their own and other institutions. The American Legion in some of our states has sponsored laws for state appropriations in aid of local programs. Some of these service groups have been active in organizing and operating clinics in some of the states. About 30 per cent of all Kiwanis Clubs participate in this type of service. The Shriners support fifteen hospitals, two of them in Canada, for crippled children from families unable to finance the proper treatment. In the United States they care for approximately 700 children at a time besides 20,000 children treated as out-patients. Furthermore, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Conference of Parents and Teachers, and the Association of the Junior Leagues of America, have special committees and programs intended to enlist the interest of large numbers of women, and to conduct diagnostic clinics. They also assist in the promotion of legislation and in securing appropriations for state programs.

Privately owned and operated hospitals for crippled children are not increasing. They have pioneered the way but the burden is gradually being shifted to the public agencies. However, recently a number of private

⁷ Underhill, *Provision for War Cripples in Germany*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, June 8, 1918, p. 3.

⁸ Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, Nos. 8, 12, 13, New York, 1918. *American Journal of Care of Cripples*, Vols. III, pp. 66-69, V, pp. 214, 217, 303.

foundations interested in crippled children have been established. One of these was the Weaver Fund established in 1930, providing about \$40,000 a year for the crippled children of Cincinnati. In 1931 Heinsheimer gave \$5,000,000 to the New York Foundation, of which \$1,500,000 was designated for country or convalescent branches of the Hospital for Deformities and Joint Diseases of New York City. The same year the Kellogg Foundation in Battle Creek, Michigan built and equipped the Ann J. Kellogg School for the Board of Education of that city for the special benefit of cripples and other handicapped children. In 1934 a movement began to raise large funds with which to increase the facilities for crippled children at Warm Springs, Georgia, in honor of President Roosevelt's birthday. The National Council for the Physically Handicapped was organized in 1933 with the aim to federate all national agencies interested in the physically handicapped, especially those working with the blind, deaf, crippled, and those suffering from heart diseases.⁹

It is increasingly recognized that the problem of the crippled child, while still demanding the attention of private associations and agencies, is one for the public authorities. In this country, so far as the disabled adult is concerned, public responsibility for his rehabilitation is generally recognized.

State Institutions. In 1917 there were 11 states which had provided for the treatment and education of crippled children; 7 by the establishment of special institutions; 2 by treatment in special departments of institutions for children, and 2 by treatment given in connection with the medical school of the state university.

The White House Conference found that by 1930 there were at least 44 orthopedic and 73 convalescent hospitals in the United States, with 3,364 and 3,664 beds respectively, for crippled children. There were also 18 custodial institutions with 700 beds, 35 children's hospitals with 1,346 orthopedic beds, 115 general hospitals, with 1,747 orthopedic beds, and 400 tuberculosis hospitals with 500 orthopedic beds.

In addition 95 cities and towns reported 9,704 pupils enrolled in 245 special day schools and classes for crippled children. In that same year there were 81 hospitals in which orthopedic classes for bedside teaching had been established with an attendance of 3,504 pupils and eleven private day schools with an attendance of 645. Moreover, these cities and towns reported 614 cripples, who could not be economically or safely transported, receiving instructions from teachers visiting their homes.

By 1930 8 States had established special hospitals for the care of crippled children. University hospitals in 9 states cared for orthopedic cases paid

⁹ White House Conference, *The Handicapped Child*, New York, 1933, pp 119-193.

for by state or local funds. In many others public funds, state or local, are given to private hospitals for the care of crippled children.¹⁰

State Rehabilitation of Civilian Cripples. Before the War no state, aside from Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa, had made special provisions for the treatment and education of crippled adults. The cripple got along as best he could, except as he was protected by the compensation laws. Although such laws represent a most constructive and far-reaching protection for industrial cripples, since they apply only to those injured in industry, not a few other cripples were entirely unprovided for in a constructive fashion.

The War obliged our country to face the problem of the disabled adult. Thousands of our boys returned from France so injured that they could not possibly follow their wonted occupations. Moreover, we were not inattentive to what the warring countries of Europe were doing with their disabled. Hence, we not only put into operation a most extensive system for the rehabilitation of war cripples, but a number of the states and finally the Federal Government undertook the rehabilitation of the man and woman disabled in civil life.¹¹

Seven of these states noticed only those injured in industry or who came under the provisions of the compensation laws.¹² The rest provided for any handicapped person. Two (New Jersey and Illinois) contemplated a state educational institution to carry out the provisions of the acts. A number limited the benefits to those who had lived a year within the state, while others limited them to those injured in the state. Maintenance while being trained was provided for beneficiaries in six.

The movement for the rehabilitation of disabled adults by the various states soon demonstrated the benefits to be derived from such a policy. The movement soon gained momentum enough to lead to the passage of the act providing Federal subsidies for this work.

Federal Aid. The experience of our country with men disabled in the War emphasized the importance of constructive treatment of disabled

¹⁰ White House Conference, *Organization of the Care of Handicapped Children*, New York, 1933, p. 37.

¹¹ This movement on the part of the states of the Union was started by Massachusetts, which passed its act May 28, 1918. Massachusetts was followed by Nevada on February 28, 1919. The third was North Dakota which passed her act March 5, 1919. Then followed New Jersey, April 10, 1919; Minnesota, April 23; Rhode Island the same date; California, May 5; Illinois, June 28; Pennsylvania, July 18; New York, March 18, 1920; Oregon, January 12, and Virginia, March 20. All these acts were passed before the passage of the Federal act, June 2, 1920.

¹² Massachusetts, California, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and Virginia.

civilians. It was seen that efforts to rehabilitate the injured soldier and sailor were economical; it raised the question, Why not also our civilians? Hence, as early as June 21, 1919, the Senate passed an act providing for cooperation with the States of the Union in the vocational rehabilitation of "any persons, who by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital, or acquired by accident, injury or disease, is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupations." The Senate bill was concurred in by the House and was approved by the President June 2, 1920.

Vocational rehabilitation is contemplated by the act for all persons disabled in any way whatsoever, whose disability interferes with remunerative occupation, and is not restricted, as in some state acts, to those who have been injured in industry. It includes both men and women. Its operation is limited only by the acceptance by the several states of its cooperative provisions, and by the definition of the persons who may be rehabilitated. The act provides for a subsidy to those states which accept by legislative enactment the dollar for dollar cooperation plan. That is, each state must provide as much money as will come from the Federal Government on the basis of population. Moreover, the plans of administration, courses and methods of instruction, qualifications of teachers, directors, etc., must receive the approval of the Federal Board of Vocational Education.¹³

This legislation of the United States for far-sighted wisdom and liberality has not been surpassed. It follows the same principles of cooperation with the states of the Union as obtains in agricultural and vocational education provided for in the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Acts. It contemplates that the *laissez faire* policy of the government concerning cripples shall be definitely abandoned, and a constructive effort made to place them on a self-supporting basis. Followed out, this law has shown such constructive results that 45 states in the Union have accepted it, and thus we have practically a nation-wide attempt to rehabilitate the injured person, rather than leave him to the mercies of a dole-giving public.¹⁴

In the face of all the new problems involved in this proposal, the results so far obtained have been very promising. The number rehabilitated has

¹³ *Monthly Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, June, 1920, pp. 186, 187; *The Vocational Summary*, Federal Board of Vocational Education, Washington, October, 1920, pp. 84, 85. On October 10, 1933 this work was transferred to the U. S. Office of Education.

¹⁴ It will be noticed, however, that it makes no provision for the medical or surgical treatment of the injured, or their maintenance charges while undergoing vocational rehabilitation as do the acts passed by several of the states. Doubtless, however, the effect of the law will be to stimulate such treatment by the states which wish to take advantage of its provisions.

risen very rapidly each year. Thus, in 1929, 4,612 individuals were vocationally rehabilitated. By 1935 the number had risen to 9,262. During the six years from 1929 to 1934 inclusive, 28,975 different disabled individuals have been rehabilitated. That this number is only a small part of the number of disabled needing rehabilitation is indicated by the fact that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, there were 40,397 cases of all types, eligible and in processes of training or placement, contacted by the rehabilitation agencies. During that year 9,262 cases of all types were rehabilitated and placed. Of these 2,323 or 25% were industrial accident cases rehabilitated and placed in jobs. For the same fiscal year the Federal Government appropriated to the states for rehabilitation purposes \$1,089,858.52. Only a slightly smaller amount, \$1,086,122.05 was expended by the states. Of this amount spent by the states for this purpose \$840,000 came from Federal Emergency Funds.¹⁵

One of the difficulties in this National-State program is that of placement. The Wagner-Peyser Act, aimed at aiding and stimulating the states to provide scientific employment services, requires that the state receiving Federal assistance shall have "a plan of cooperation with the State Rehabilitation Department."¹⁶

Originally the rehabilitation of disabled veterans was under the control of the Veterans' Bureau. Since 1926 all vocational rehabilitation has been civilian in character. While the service men have available additional cooperating agencies, they are now vocationally rehabilitated through the same channels as are the civilian. So far as the Federal Government is concerned, the whole matter is handled by the Office of Education.

In 1929 an important change of policy was inaugurated by extending vocational rehabilitation to those disabled by tuberculosis. This Federal-State rehabilitation program within the 45 states now cooperating with the Federal Government, in most cases is conducted as a division of the State Board of Vocational Education. Headquarters are usually located in the state capital, but in fourteen states district offices are also maintained. Usually a state director or supervisor is in charge, assisted by a staff of field agents who do the case work on those who qualify for rehabilitation. Often the state supervisor makes cooperative arrangements with public or private agencies in the localities, such as educational departments, placement bureaus, and private case-working agencies. Some of these are aided by Federal and state funds, the work being supervised by the State Department under con-

¹⁵ *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1936, p. 311.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, June, 1935, p. 1530.

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tractual agreement. If such arrangements are made the local units have a case worker or workers to operate in that particular locality.

While private agencies pioneered the movement for the rehabilitation of the disabled, and still make important contributions to the program, the trend today is for the Government to accept this as one of its functions. It has been estimated that if all phases of the work are included, private agencies bear about 25 per cent of the total cost. They are still doing pioneering work in experimenting on the problem, a function rather difficult for the public agencies.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE STATE-FEDERAL PROGRAM

Since the Federal authorities have ruled that only specified parts of the rehabilitation process may be financed out of the joint funds, all costs for surgical treatment and for living expenses during the entire rehabilitation process including the periods of vocational training, physical restoration, and placement, must be borne by local or state funds aside from those matching the Federal appropriation. In 5 or 6 states the workmen's compensation laws provide for these expenses. In the rest these necessary expenses must be provided in some other way. Fundamentally, there is no sound reason for this ruling. If the purpose of the Act is to provide rehabilitation, the expenses necessary to that program should be provided by public funds. It is all the more reasonable since the average cost of vocational rehabilitation for an individual from both Federal and state funds is less than \$300.00. If the complete cost including physical restoration and subsistence were added, the total would average from \$450.00 to \$550.00. The average wage of rehabilitated persons in this country is about \$20.00 a week. The average cost of maintaining a dependent person at public expense is from \$300.00 to \$500.00 a year. Hence, it is clear that this added expense to enable many to take rehabilitation who are now unable to do so on account of the expense of maintenance and surgical appliances, would be more than justified.¹⁷

The present Federal Act and the Acts of most of the states relating to rehabilitation of the disabled do not include the blind, deaf and the cardiac cases. In a few of the states special provision has been made for the rehabilitation of the tuberculous and the cardiacs, in cooperation with local agencies and sanatoria. There is no reason in the nature of things why these classes should not be included in a Federal-State rehabilitation program for the disabled.

¹⁷ *Social Work Year Book, 1935, New York, 1935.*

THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT AND THE DISABLED

One part of the National Security Act provides additional funds to states for medical care and other services for crippled children. This is on a dollar for dollar basis to be matched by the state. For the year ending June 30, 1936, an appropriation of \$1,187,000 was made by Congress, of which \$20,000 was to be allotted to each state with the balance allocated to the states on the basis of need, taking into consideration the number of crippled children in need of such services and the cost of furnishing the service.¹⁸ This provision will greatly aid the states accepting in more adequately meeting the problem of crippled children.

With these various provisions and the interest they stimulate in the disabled, probably we shall see in the future a great diminution of crippled beggars by reason of the constructive program contemplated by the various rehabilitation acts. Let us hope that out of it will grow, on the basis of experience, such improvement in the handling of this class that what hitherto has been a considerable class of dependents will no longer appear upon our horizon.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Care and Treatment of Crippled Children in the United States. Reeves, *Care and Education of Crippled Children*, New York, 1914.
2. Survey of the Treatment of Crippled Soldiers and Sailors in Foreign Countries. McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier*, New York, 1919.
3. What Was Found in a Survey of Cripples in Cleveland, Ohio. Wright and Hamburger, *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adults*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men. Series II, No. 3 (October 15, 1918).
4. Activities of your State in the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Cripples.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define "the disabled." What is the extent of this class of dependents?
2. What have been the various attitudes towards the cripple? Describe the early attempts at healing.
3. What should be our purpose in treating the disabled?
4. What treatment should the disabled child receive? The disabled adult?
5. Describe the present three systems of caring for the disabled.
6. What are the chief shortcomings of the Federal-State rehabilitations for the disabled?

¹⁸ Public—No. 271—74th Congress, H. R. 7260, Sections 511-515.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE UNEMPLOYED

UNEMPLOYED and homeless men, in part the victims of our industrial system, and in part the result of their inherent incapacity, demand attention because some of them are the recipients of charitable relief and because unemployment often starts a man or family on the downward road to poverty and pauperism.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM IN ITS BEARING UPON POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Unemployment *directly* produces poverty. In every period of unemployment the work of public and private relief organizations is greatly increased. When there is lack of work many an independent family suffers, exhausts its savings and then becomes dependent. Hence, in the chain of causes producing poverty and pauperism unemployment is of prime importance.

Equally great, too, is the *indirect* influence of unemployment. Unemployment and irregular employment very seriously impair the moral fiber of individuals. The loss of a job in itself is a disheartening experience. The feeling of helplessness and uncertainty which comes over the man out of work is demoralizing. If unemployment is frequent or long, ambition is destroyed. Intermittent involuntary idleness often produces restlessness and incapacity to hold a steady job. Idleness may come to be desired more than honest labor. The sense of family responsibility may be weakened or destroyed. Pessimism takes the place of hope and finally utter demoralization of the wage-earner and his family ensues.

EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that during the twenty years ending in 1918, the average loss from unemployment each year by every wage-earner in the United States was sixty days. Thirty days of this was complete unemployment, and the other half was lost on account of part-time work while on the payroll. In other words, one-fifth of the possible working time of our entire working population was unused, an equivalent

in twenty years of four years' work of perhaps fifteen million people, or sixty million years of work lost in this country in that fifth of a century.¹

The Russell Sage Foundation, in a more recent study of public employment office, said: "A conservative estimate as to the amount of this continuous unemployment, taking it year in and year out, over a long period of time and excluding extraordinary disturbances like war and depression caused by war, puts the amount at from five per cent in good years to upwards of twenty per cent in bad years. To conclude that, averaging good and bad years, from ten to twelve per cent of all workers are idle all of the time is probably an understatement of the situation."²

During the depression beginning in November, 1929, the number of unemployed reached totals never hitherto known in this country. By March, 1935, one out of every six persons in the population of the United States was on relief. Probably many more were unemployed but able to get along somehow without going on relief. No one in the Government or outside could say exactly how many unemployed there were at that time.³ However, in the spring of 1933, at the depth of the depression it was estimated that from twelve to fifteen millions were entirely out of work, 30-35 per cent of the 40,000,000 workers in the United States.

CLASSES OF THE UNEMPLOYED

For purposes of treatment the unemployed may be divided into two large groups with five subdivisions: The employable; and the unemployable.

1. **The Employable.** There are three classes of the unemployed who are employable: those irregularly employed, those under-employed, and the unemployed. (a) Those *irregularly employed* are subdivided into: first, those for whose labor there is an irregular demand; second, those who even in the face of steady demand do not work regularly, either on account of sickness or on account of their own irregular habits. (b) The *under-employed* include: first, those who for one reason or another are frequently without a job; second, those who have a steady job but who because of the irregularities in demand are not able to work more than part time; third, those who because of irregular habits do not work every day.⁴ (c) By *the unemployed* we mean those who are definitely out of a job because their labor contract

¹ Bradford, *Industrial Unemployment*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 310.

² Harrison, et al., *Public Employment Offices*, New York, 1924, pp. 8, 9.

³ Rubinow, *The Quest for Security*, New York, 1934, pp. 306, 307, 324; *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration*, May 1st through May 31st, 1935, p. 90.

⁴ Lescobier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1919, p. 69.

has been terminated either by their employer or by themselves. It may include also those who have been laid off for a certain length of time but have not been absolutely discharged. Often such a condition arises in periods of industrial disturbances such as a depression or a disaster such as a fire or explosion.

2. **The Unemployable.** Of these there are two subdivisions: (a) Those who are permanently unemployed and unemployable. They comprise the tramps and hobos who, as Dr. Washington Gladden said, "make their living by seeking a job and by succeeding in never finding one." Many of these are men from Class 1 who have finally become confirmed in idleness. (b) Those who are permanently unemployed and are viciously or incorrigibly unwilling to work. These are the confirmed victims of personal defect and of social conditions. Oftentimes they make their living by committing petty crimes or by begging.

The problem for each of these classes is quite different. Each of these classes requires special treatment, by charitable agencies, by criminal institutions, or by legislation. As stated by Commons and Andrews, "How to provide satisfactory means of caring for the shiftless and the criminal is primarily a problem of charity and correction, but the prevention of unemployment is a problem of industrial organization."⁵

CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment varies with local, national and international industrial activity; with the seasons; and with organization of industry and employment agencies.

The classification of the causes of unemployment here proposed is for the purpose of making clear the factors with which remedial and preventive measures may deal. We discriminate causes (1) due to conditions within industry itself, (2) personal causes, (3) social causes, —causes arising from social changes and social motives outside of industry, and (4) natural causes, —events which result from the forces of physical nature. If we know the agencies responsible for the conditions which lead to unemployment, we may perhaps change conditions by working directly upon these agencies, or by unemployment compensation or insurance we may spread out the damage so that it will not fall so directly upon a single individual or a class.

CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

There are two general conditions in industry which affect employment: first, there is the fluctuation in demand for labor; and, second, there are the labor policies of industries.

⁵ Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, p. 289.

Fluctuations in Demand for Labor. Fluctuations in demand for labor are due to a number of causes. The following are cited as examples:

1. *The Labor Reserve and a Disorganized Labor Market.* Employers like to have at hand a surplus of labor so that they may always be certain of a sufficient number of laborers to take care of their utmost demands. They also find it profitable to have a surplus of labor because the competition from the employer's point of view has a good effect upon the rate of wages. Some of our large industries locate at least one of their factories at a place where there is certain to be at most times a considerable surplus of workers. For example, a few years ago it was the policy of a certain sugar company to make its refinery in a certain city a safety valve for the industry. At times of lively demand for sugar this plant would be open, while at other times when the demand was slack it would be shut down. That city had a sufficient number of laborers not steadily working to serve the purposes of the company.

Often advertisements for laborers are placed in newspapers for the purpose of accumulating local labor reserves.⁶ In addition, however, to the labor reserve thus artificially provided the conditions of the labor market in America makes inevitable a surplus supply of labor even in the busiest seasons of industry. Some of this is due to the fact that men happen to be at places where there is no demand for their particular abilities.

Moreover, at seasons when their service is not needed the migratory laborers constitute a labor reserve. The situation is all the more serious by reason of the fact that this surplus of labor may be scattered all over the country without any mechanism whereby the men can know where there is work for which they are fitted, and whereby the employers may ascertain where there are men adapted to the need. The difficulty lies in the lack of organization in the labor market. The recent development of Federal-State employment agencies is a movement to lessen such disorganization.

2. *Seasonal Fluctuations.* While these are due to natural causes rather than to the organization of the labor market, it has been found possible for some industries to overcome the seasonal fluctuation. In the northern United States many trades, such as building and construction work, are largely summer occupations. Clothing industries vary with the season. In winter there is a demand for commodities like coal and for entertainment and recreation furnished by theaters, concerts, etc., which gives occupation to those engaged in these industries. Logging flourishes in the winter months. Ice cannot be packed in summer time. Workers in electric light plants are more numerous in winter than in summer.

3. *Fluctuations Due to Business Cycles.* In periods of the liveliest indus-

⁶ Lescohier, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

trial activity, such as we saw during the last years of the War, every available man is at work. Even those of the lowest industrial efficiency are employed. While the labor turnover is enormous in such periods, it is due largely to the defects of the man himself rather than to deficiencies in the industrial organization. On the other hand, when a business depression comes, like that beginning in 1929, large numbers are discharged,—first, of course, the least efficient workers.

We have as yet done very little to stabilize industry and thus steady the demand for labor. Hence at some seasons of the year certain industries take on practically all of the labor they can hire; at other seasons they discharge most of these men. In certain months business is going forward with feverish activity; at others industry is dull and men are laid off by the thousand. The coal mining industry is a good illustration; during the spring and early summer the demand for coal lessens on account of the warmer season. Storage facilities have not been developed so that the miners can go ahead providing coal for the coming winter. Consequently many of them are either unemployed or under-employed.

The business system under the driving force of the necessity of paying interest on bonds and profits upon the stock finds it cheaper to lay off the men than to pay storage charges and insurance in order to keep the men steadily employed. Certain industries in this country, however, have found it possible so to arrange their businesses as to make them pay and at the same time iron out the inequalities of demand. Thus, the Dennison Company of Massachusetts is one among a number in this country which have been able so to diversify their products and so arrange the working force that they are able to keep the same force steadily at work the year round, and lessen seasonal fluctuations. Not all industries can make such arrangements. Furthermore if seasonal fluctuations could be eliminated we should still have the cyclical fluctuations which occur with somewhat monotonous regularity.

4. *Fluctuations Due to Maladjustments in Business Organization.* In addition to the unemployment caused by the fluctuations in demand for labor just cited there is the unemployment due to inter-industrial relations which cause one industry to shut down because another does not supply material or service. For example, factories sometimes have to shut down on account of lack of coal. The shortage of coal may be due either to the breakdown of the transportation system or a shutdown in the coal industry due to strikes or other causes. A strike of the miners in the ore regions of Michigan and Wisconsin may throw thousands of men out of employment at Cleveland and Pittsburgh. This may so affect construction gangs working

either on railroads or buildings that thousands of other men are laid off. Hence, these maladjustments in organization of industry very often affect employment both directly and indirectly.

5. *Fluctuations Within an Industry.* Within an industry itself there are changes in demand. The industry may be undergoing transformation. Invention of new machinery may lessen the demand for men. A new process may be invented requiring men of different capacities. Business failures may occur, shutting up the plant and throwing hundreds or thousands of men out of employment. A large corporation may be formed controlling hitherto competing plants and thus cause large numbers of plants to be absolutely closed.

6. *Changes in Buying Capacity.* These and other influences already cited affect the buying capacity of the country. Frequently every country experiences a crisis resulting in a lessened capacity to buy goods. In response to dull conditions in industry, wages are readjusted. This in turn cuts down the purchasing power of the laboring classes. Since the wage-earners are so numerous in the country, industry feels the effect and the shutting down of production goes on apace. Thus, unemployment breeds unemployment.

7. *Changes in Popular Demand for Articles Consumed.* Constantly industrial changes are going on by reason of changes in taste and fashion. For example, the invention of the motor car diminished the demand for bicycles. Those employed in bicycle factories and shops had to seek other positions. Many men who could not adjust themselves to new lines of work were for a time out of employment. When buying capacity decreases, bicycles again are in demand.

Fashions and vogues have a similar effect. A novelty will appear which becomes the style. Large numbers are employed in making the article. The fashion dies or is displaced by another with the result that workmen are dislodged, some of whom may remain unemployed. These changes are more serious to the old for the older the worker the less adaptable he is to a new job.

Labor Policies of Industries. Policies in the hiring and firing of men have a very direct effect upon the matter of employment. Some of these policies are inevitable with an unorganized labor market and some seem to be the result of purpose on the part of employment managers. The processes of modern industry have become so specialized and the division of labor so minute that employers have, without considering the cost, often pursued the policy of hiring a new man rather than of spending any efforts carefully to select and train men who by natural capacity and personal characteristics would be adapted to the task and remain with the firm. The result has

been an enormous labor turnover which has greatly contributed to irregularity of employment. The decay of the apprenticeship system has accompanied the minute division of labor, and has increased labor turnover.

Another policy incident to the increasing size of industries has psychological results of the greatest importance for unemployment. Industrial organizations have become so large that the labor force is regimented; personal relationships between the boss and the worker which once obtained no longer exists. The inefficiency of the worker has made cynical the employer or employment manager; the worker is sought for when he is needed and discharged in slack periods without a thought for his welfare. The heartlessness of the owner stirs resentment in the workers. Absentee ownership and hired managers under pressure to produce profits have destroyed the former partnership between the employer and the employee. The policy of keeping a larger labor force than is necessary by means of part-time employment also irritates the men. The result is a disgust, leading men to quit employment at the least provocation. On the other hand, the management, exasperated by the seeming lack of interest on the part of the employees, fires men without the least concern for what will become of them. All of these factors have widened the breach between the management and the men.

Recently, however, a new spirit has begun to appear in labor management which may bring about more cooperation between employer and employee, and in the end may lessen the labor turnover and the demoralization of the worker from frequent changes in occupation.⁷

PERSONAL CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Many are unemployed because they are unemployable. A disabled man labors under a handicap in competition with able-bodied workers. A mental defective is at a serious disadvantage. These physical or mental deficiencies range all the way from lack of physical strength to a crippled condition; from the listless, unambitious loafer to the feeble-minded person or the epileptic, insane and psychopathic. How many there are of these defective persons in the industrial world we do not know.

The medical examinations of the men drafted for the War for the first time since the Civil War gave the United States an approximation to a picture of the physical and mental condition of the population.

Out of 2,510,000 men examined at local draft boards 29.1 per cent were found so physically defective that they were rejected.⁸ Of the 278,537 appli-

⁷ For a detailed discussion of many of these points see Lescobier, *op. cit.*, Chaps. I-IV.

⁸ *World Almanac*, 1920, p. 612.

cants for enlistment in the army 77.3 per cent were rejected for like cause.⁹ Among the drafted men the ailments standing out most prominently were tuberculosis, mental deficiency, under-weight, *otitis media* and epilepsy, with over-weight, *dementia præcox* and chronic alcoholism playing lesser rôles. The rejections at the camps showed flat-foot as the most important defect, with social diseases standing next. Then followed throat diseases, heart diseases, tuberculosis, mental deficiency, under-weight, defective physical development, *dementia præcox* and drug addiction.¹⁰

The amount of physical and mental deficiency varied greatly for different classes and parts of the country. The number of men with physical deficiency from tuberculosis varied from 22 per thousand in Arkansas to 1.16 in Pennsylvania; from epilepsy from 5.25 per thousand in Louisiana to negligible fractions in Utah and South Dakota; from mental deficiency from 10.93 in North Carolina to 0.44 in Utah and 0.54 in Vermont and Pennsylvania. Similar variations were found in the incidence of other defects.

Moreover, between city and country there were great differences. Tuberculosis was commoner in the cities than in the country, while mental deficiency was twice as common in the rural districts as in the cities, and more than twice as common in the city of average size as in the largest cities like New York and Chicago. Defects of vision were more frequent in urban than in rural communities and were especially common in the large cities.¹¹

The bearing of these facts upon unemployment is obvious. The deficient are the first to suffer from industrial depression, drift from job to job, suffer from long periods of unemployment, and have to pick up casual jobs to eke out an existence.

That mental defect accounts for a large number of the unemployable is apparent from every study made of this class. For example, Bonhöffer in his study of German tramps found 12 per cent were so insane that Section 51 of the Penal Code of Germany applied to them, while "much larger, as would naturally follow, was the number of those who, from a psychiatric point of view, would be classified as having 'decreased responsibility.' If we should include all those with slighter acquired or congenital psychic defects, all imbeciles, epileptics, inebriates, senile individuals, and those that were pathologically irritable, the number would exceed 75 per cent of the whole."¹² Alice Solenberger found that of 1,000 homeless men in

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 614.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 612, 613.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 612, 613.

¹² Cited in Aschaffenburg, *Crime and Its Repression*, Boston, 1913, pp. 191, 192.

Chicago 81 were dependent because of mental unfitness. Of these 52 were or had been recently insane; 19 were feeble-minded; and 18 epileptic.¹³

No matter what the causes of these conditions the worker goes to his work without that physical capacity and mental alertness so essential to efficient production; unstable tempers and non-social traits which make them impossible to get along with. They are forever "flying up," showing insubordination, quarreling with their fellows or the boss, and ultimately they lose their jobs.

SOCIAL CAUSES

By social causes of unemployment I mean those which inhere in social organization or result from social ideals.

War. The first great social cause of industrial disturbance is war. As now organized it means the drawing of enormous numbers of workers into the army and navy. The first result is to disorganize the regular course of industry. Its next consequence is to create a shortage of labor, with the result that women and children and the less efficient are employed. Consequently, at the beginning, and usually throughout a period of military activity there is to be found very little unemployment. Even the least efficient workers can get a job.

Moreover, during a war industry adapts itself to the production of the materials of war. When peace comes, the whole industrial organization has to be readjusted to peace-time demands. While this is going on there is an increase of unemployment. Then, too, demobilization floods the labor market. The most inefficient are now discharged. Often women and young people drawn into industry during the war are retained because they are more amenable to discipline or are better workers, or cost the employer less. Former workers fail to get employment.

Furthermore, after catching up with civilian demands for manufactured products a period of lessened production ensues. The nation has borrowed great sums to prosecute the war and now endeavors to retrench. Furthermore, deflation of the expanded currency usually becomes a part of public policy. If the war has been extensive, the burden of taxation is great, buying power both at home and abroad is limited. Hence there is a lessened demand for products. Industry slows down, unemployment increases.

Many of the ex-soldiers and even the civilians become possessed by a restlessness which prompts them for a time to drift from job to job.

An Uncontrolled Labor Supply. Another social cause of unemployment-

¹³ *One Thousand Homeless Men*, New York, 1914, Chap. VI.

ment is an uncontrolled labor supply. Until the passage of the quota-laws by Congress after the War the most important element in this over-supply was immigration.¹⁴

Since the passage of these restrictive laws applying chiefly to immigrants from Europe and the Orient, the chief source of immigrant laborers to this country is Mexico. Many come also from the Philippines. It has been urged that the quota law be applied also to Mexico in order to control the influx of large numbers of common laborers.¹⁵

It must not be forgotten that an uncontrolled labor supply is not one of immigration merely. It concerns the relationship of the total number of people in a given population to the technological organization by which the resources of the country are exploited in connection with human labor. Every year millions of young people come of working age, while other millions pass beyond the working age and so are taken out of the labor market. If technological changes come about in industry requiring smaller numbers of individuals to produce the same amount of products, then the relationship between the human and the machine element in production becomes disturbed. Moreover, unless paying occupations can be found for those displaced by technology and unless the incomes of those who work are sufficient to enable them to absorb the products of the industrial process, again the equilibrium is disturbed and unemployment is increased.

Lack of Public Organization of Education and Direction for Industrial Careers. Besides the physical and mental deficiencies there are those who are personally inefficient from lack of education and proper industrial training. Their education has been so limited that they are unable to hold the position they get, or they must take the blind-alley jobs which offer themselves when they quit school. Messenger boys cannot be messenger boys forever. Consequently, when they have grown up they are discharged with nothing in sight for them but casual labor. Lack of industrial training has often the same result as lack of any education. With his natural capacities undeveloped, the range of vocations open to the individual is so limited that he is likely to be dislodged in a time of industrial crisis.

We have failed to take the necessary social measures to provide our workers with an education fitting them for industrial careers. Still less have we provided guidance to young people in their choice of a vocation. The consequence is the blind-alley job with the resulting low standard of living and finally the loss of a job and unemployment. The worker untrained for

¹⁴ See Lescohier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1910, Chap. I.

¹⁵ Gillin, Dittmer and Colbert, *Social Problems*, New York, 1932, pp. 194-199.

anything in particular drifts from job to job and frequently becomes a casual or a tramp.

NATURAL CAUSES

Certain natural disturbances cause unemployment. A fire burns down a factory; until it is rebuilt the employees must find work elsewhere or be unemployed. Floods devastate a valley, driving workers from their homes, sometimes destroying factories or the raw materials for workers in industry. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions disrupt the industry of whole communities.

Crop failures, and bad seasons in such industries as fishing, not only affect those directly employed in these industries but also those who are engaged in working up these raw materials into finished products. A poor catch of fish on the banks of Newfoundland affects large numbers of people who never see the sea. Disease among the oysters will throw out of employment people in plants where the oysters are prepared for shipping. Storms which sometimes destroy crops and frequently interfere with transportation or sweep away factories also contribute their share to the problem of unemployment.

All of these natural phenomena are very little affected by the efforts of man. While man has conquered nature at many points, he is able to affect nature's processes very little, if at all. He can, however, spread out over the whole of society, through insurance, the damage inflicted. As yet, however, we have just started in this country social insurance against the effects of these natural causes in unemployment.¹⁴

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The results of unemployment, including irregular employment and underemployment, are of utmost importance to individual and social welfare. Some of these effects are:

1. **Lessened Income.** Since upon income depends the maintenance of a decent standard of life, income should be adequate and as regular as possible. Unless a man is steadily employed, he must either have considerable savings or the scale of living for his family and himself will inevitably be lowered.

Unsteady employment affects wages in three ways: "It reduces the

¹⁴ For details on this whole discussion, consult Lescohier, *op cit.*, Chaps I-IV; Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, Chap. VI; Hill and Lubin, *The British Attack on Unemployment*, Washington, 1934; Burns, *Toward Social Security*, New York, 1936, Chap. IV.

amount of the workman's earnings; it causes irregularity of income; and it decreases his efficiency."¹⁷ Whether unemployment is as important as sickness in causing the breakdown of family independence is a disputed question; nevertheless, it plays a great rôle in family demoralization.

The table given near the end of Chapter IX indicates that before the War in the private relief agencies unemployment stood second to sickness in bringing clients to the agency. During periods of depression unemployment probably surpasses sickness in the immediate cause of dependency.¹⁸ While therefore unemployment may not be the most important factor in destroying family independence it certainly stands next to sickness and possibly stands first.

Lescohier states that "financially considered, it (unemployment) probably reduces the actual earnings of the American workers more than any other type of misfortune to which they are exposed." Investigations reveal the decided influence of unemployment upon yearly earnings. Thus Lescohier cites an investigation in Connecticut which showed that the actual earnings of employees in different industries fell from 13 per cent to 18 per cent below full-time earnings. In New York 62.1 per cent of the paper-box workers and 63.4 per cent of the confectionery workers fell more than 10 per cent below full-time earnings. The New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in 1911 estimated that 70 per cent of its applicants would not need outside aid if the work could be regular and the wages adequate; and investigation in Massachusetts showed that, while 72.8 per cent of the workers in the women's clothing industry were supposed to earn \$6 a week or over, only half of them actually did so.¹⁹ Thus, every study establishes the importance of the workers having regular employment.

2. Destruction of the Worker's Morale. As Lescohier has so well said of the worker, unemployment "undermines his physique, deadens his mind, weakens his ambition, destroys his capacity for continuous consistent endeavor; induces a liking for idleness and self-indulgence; saps self-respect and the sense of responsibility; impairs technical skill; weakens nerve and will-power; creates a tendency to blame others for his failures; saps his courage; prevents thrift and hope of family advancement; destroys a workman's feeling that he is taking good care of his family; sends him to work worried and underfed; plunges him into debt."²⁰

With the loss of a job and the impossibility of securing another in spite

¹⁷ Lescohier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1918, p. 102.

¹⁸ For earlier findings see Devine, *Misery and its Causes*, New York, 1909, pp. 54, 117; Lescohier, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁹ Lescohier, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

of every honest effort to do so, comes a growing sense of individual insecurity, of anxiety, and often a let-down of morale. The loss of employment with consequent reduction of income requires not only a change in habits along with lowered standards of living, but also a loss of status among one's fellowmen. Self-respect is injured. Any feeling of personal inadequacy is aggravated. The individual comes to feel that in some way he must be in part to blame himself. How the individual will react to this particular situation depends upon his temperament or the pattern of behavior which he has formed by his previous experiences. He may refuse to be beaten, take an aggressive attitude and refuse to allow his morale to be broken, or he may become bitter at the hopelessness of his fight, and may develop an anti-social attitude towards society. On the other hand, he may admit defeat in the face of frustration and may become content to lapse into a childish state of dependency, leaning emotionally as well as financially on his family, his relatives, or the community. Since a certain percentage of grown men and woman are in the emotionally undeveloped group which finds refuge from defeat in dependence upon others, the frustrations of unemployment may constitute one of the very serious mental hygiene problems in a period of unemployment.

As the result of experiences during times of unemployment some human beings may take still another way out of the situation. That way is through excessive day-dreaming. They dwell fruitlessly on the good times of the past. They take up readily with plans of reorganizing society, either Bolshevism or Fascism. In other words they tend to shut out the unpleasant experiences of the present either by refusing to admit the reality of the present situation, or by trying to forget its harshness by concentrating on the pleasures and triumphs of by-gone days. Often these unemployed resort to alcohol as a device for escaping from reality, or to narcotic drugs, gambling, or increased sexual activity. Some become so demoralized that they commit suicide. Others develop an extreme irritability, sensitiveness to fancied slights, to discrimination or criticism; still others bitterness, sullenness, and a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude. Still others relapse into a condition of apathy, indifference, resignation, or hopelessness. Each of these attitudes shows the breaking down of individual morale due to unemployment.²¹

Another class of the unemployed whose mental stability is seriously threatened by unemployment is made up of middle-class individuals and professional men. When the professional man must give up his professional

²¹ Pratt, *Morale: The Mental Hygiene of Unemployment*, New York, 1933, Chapter I; "My Brother Commits Suicide," *The New Republic*, May 6, 1931, p. 322.

career, and accept almost any kind of work, not only is there a violent threat to his security, but there is the additional problem of how to adjust to the loss of prestige and ego-satisfaction that every professional man has come rightfully to enjoy.²²

3. *Effects on the Family.* In addition to the attack on financial resources of the family and the impairment of the efficiency of the workman, unemployment also strikes at every tie which makes for wholesome family life. It forces the mother out of the home to supplement the earnings of the man; it takes children from school at the earliest possible moment and places them in industry. By taking the mother away from home it prevents her giving that care to the children which lies at the foundation not only of good health but of good morals. It forces the family to move into poorer quarters; it compels them to reduce the scale of expenditure not only for those things that contribute to the spiritual development of the family but even those things which are basic necessities for health and vigor. Thus in every way unemployment destroys the very fabric of social life if at all frequent and long-continued. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that measures be taken to reduce unemployment and irregular employment to a minimum.

The following case, from a study made by the Children's Bureau during the depression of 1921-22, shows the inevitable lowering of the standard of living by families when unemployment exists.

One family consists of American-born parents—about 30 years of age—and three children, 4, 9, and 11 years old. The father, a welder, for an implement works, lost his job a year ago. Since then he has worked three weeks for the city and has had irregular employment at his former place, earning a total of \$505 during the year. An aunt came to live with the family during the summer. For four weeks she paid \$2.50 a week and the fifth week \$4. Then she lost her job and has paid nothing since.

The family has not yet been obliged to ask for charitable aid, but the struggle to keep from it has been hard. When the father was laid off they were living in a nine-room house, for which they paid \$35 a month. Realizing they could not keep up this rent they moved into a six-room flat at \$20. After four months they felt they must retrench even more, so they moved across the street into their present flat of four rooms, at \$15 a month. It is heated by a stove and has few of the conveniences they had in the other houses. There are no sidewalks and the street is unpaved.

The father had to drop his own \$2,000 insurance policy and also smaller policies for his wife and children. The mother has cut the food down to the minimum. She tries to give the children milk once a day now instead of every meal, as she

²² Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

did when the father was working. They have run up a \$200 grocery bill, owe \$29 for clothing, \$6.50 for gas and electricity, and have borrowed about \$400 from friends. In addition, they owe \$9.50 for coal to the factory where the father was formerly employed and \$160 for groceries obtained through the commissary.²³

As a consequence of this reduction in economic status frequently social maladjustment appears among the unemployed. Often because of the father's acknowledged leadership in earning a living for the family, there appears a tendency in the other members of the family to blame him for the dilemma in which they find themselves. He may react to this attitude in different ways. He may accept the blame and adopt a meek and hang-dog air. Sometimes he develops symptoms of apparent physical disease for which the most careful medical examination fails to disclose any adequate physical cause. Thus he adopts the neurotic way of dealing with his family's attitude. On the other hand, he may fight back, become belligerent, fault-finding and may even desert the family. Since his unemployment leaves him more time at home and causes him to be irritable and to feel a threat to his dominant position, he may become over-bearing and thus disrupt the family harmony. Out of this situation during periods of unemployment frequently there develops a hostile attitude between the members of the family. Often unconsciously they seek to punish each other for the deprivations and injuries to their self-esteem consequent upon their difficult situation. Irritation between brothers and sisters in the family may increase. The threat of insecurity which they all share frays their tempers and provokes bickering. Out of this situation frequently develops the tendency of the adolescent boy and girl to leave the family and join the crowd of those who travel about seeking work and adventure.²⁴

4. Industrial and Political Unrest. When a considerable number of

²³ Lundberg, *Unemployment and Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 125, Washington, 1923, pp. 30, 40.

²⁴ Pratt, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3; Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*, New York, 1934; Breckinridge, "Children and the Depression," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1932, pp. 126-135; Thomas, "Effect of the Present Depression upon the World's Children," *Proceedings, National Conference of Parents and Teachers*, 1932, pp. 34-39; Troyer and Clapp, "Mental Relief for the Unemployed," *Journal of Adult Education*, January, 1933, pp. 63-67; Clifton, "Unemployment Situation and Children's Work—The Effect on Family Life," *Bulletin, Child Welfare League of America*, May, 1932, pp. 6-8; Elderton, "Unemployment Consequences in the Home," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1931, pp. 58-64; Elderton, *Case Studies of Unemployment*, Philadelphia, 1931; Lovejoy, "America's Wandering Boys," *Current History*, February, 1933; McMillan, "An Army of Boys on the Loose; Young Fellows Bum their Way West—To What?" *Survey*, September 1, 1932, pp. 389-393; Murphy, "America on the March," *Survey Graphic*, March, 1933, pp. 147-150; Calkins, *Some Folks Won't Work*, New York, 1930.

men are unemployed they feel that they have a just cause of grievance. This is especially true of men who are very willing to work but are unable to find it. The unemployed man feels that in unemployment he has one more cause of complaint against the industrial order. In the involuntarily idle the agitator may find fertile soil for the seeds of revolution. I do not mean to imply that unemployment is the sole cause for industrial unrest. It is, however, important enough to challenge the attention of those who are solicitous in allaying the unrest so characteristic of our day.

5. **Social Demoralization.** Every season of unemployment sees a great increase of drunkenness, theft and crimes of violence. The moral standards of the unemployed man are impaired by spells of idleness; time lies heavy upon his hands; constantly seeking work without finding it discourages him; and unless employment is found in the course of time even the good workman may become desperate enough to steal and to commit crimes of violence. The unsteady workers are even more likely to fall into crime than the steady workers. Usually they have no savings to tide them over. Their characters are already weakened. A period of unemployment pushes them over the line into criminality. These and the unemployable are the reservoir from which comes the flood of criminals which springs up in every period of hard times.²⁵

METHODS OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The *simplest method* of obtaining employment is for the man to go from factory to factory. This method, however, is no solution of the problem. There may be no openings for the man in the community in which he lives. As has been said, "the haphazard method of tramping the streets in search of work is no method at all. It is sure of success neither to the idle worker in search for his work, nor to the employer in his search for workers. On the contrary, by its very lack of system it needlessly swells the tide of unemployment and through the foot-weary, discouraging tramping which it necessitates often leads to vagrancy and to crime."²⁶

Another method largely used at the present time is advertisement in the newspapers. It is estimated that the newspaper advertisement costs about \$5 for every worker thus obtained. Say Commons and Andrews: "If the money spent brought commensurate results there would be less grounds for complaint, but at the present an employer advertises for help in several papers because not all workers read the same paper. The employee lists the positions advertised and then starts on the day's tramp. At one gate 50 or

²⁵ *American Labor Legislation Review*, November, 1915, p. 491, cited in Warner, *American Charities*, New York, 1918, p. 232.

²⁶ Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, p. 291.

100 men may be waiting for a single job, while in other places 100 employers may be waiting, each for a single employee. Unnecessary duplication of work and expense by both parties is evident."²⁷ Moreover, newspaper advertising provides possibilities of fraud, in spite of the efforts of papers to prevent misrepresentations.

Such methods are failing to solve the problem. In spite of them, thousands of men every year degenerate from steady workers into the unsteady class. Those irregularly employed are not anchored, and the army of the unemployable is increased except in times of unusual demand for labor. Unemployment therefore must be attacked in much more radical and constructive ways than these haphazard methods.

Private Employment Offices. Because of this gap between the worker and the job, individuals desiring to make a living have established private commercial employment agencies. About the only successful private employment agencies are those organized to furnish laborers to large construction projects like railways. In addition to such agencies, various organizations like philanthropic societies, charity organization societies, Y. M. C. A.'s and chambers of commerce have established private employment bureaus which usually charge no fees. Moreover, many trade unions and employers' associations have set up employment bureaus to supply workers to particular occupations. The bureaus established by private organizations, especially the philanthropic organizations, have as their task chiefly the supplying of employment to casual laborers. Their aim is to obviate the giving of relief and to do constructive work with the near unemployables. They do, however, also provide work for families under their care which are the victims of sickness or disaster.

The private commercial agencies—between 3,000 and 5,000 in number in 1930²⁸—have been subject to certain abuses and limitations which have interfered with their success. They have been charged with misrepresentation of wages and conditions of work, with sending women clients to immoral resorts, with sending applicants to places where they knew there was no work, and with making arrangements with foremen for frequent discharges and then splitting with them the fee they received. Every investigation of private employment agencies has disclosed such serious evils that now 41 states are regulating them. Usually under this restrictive legislation they have to secure a license from the state, and deposit a bond varying in amount from \$100 to \$5,000.

In some states the license fee for these private agencies is almost prohibi-

²⁷ Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, p. 291.

²⁸ *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. V, p. 521.

tive. The law may require detailed information concerning the employer, prohibit the location of agencies in saloons, lodging houses, and in restaurants, fix a maximum charge for their services and provide that a part of all of the fee must be returned if the workman does not soon receive a job or if he is discharged within a certain length of time after employment.²⁹ In spite, however, of all these regulations, those who have studied the question consider them inadequate to rid the private employment agencies of abuses. Moreover, such regulations cannot do much with those agencies which do an interstate business.

In New York they are required to furnish to the Commissioner of Labor the same information as that supplied by the State Employment Offices. Ontario, Canada, provides that a private agency may not receive a fee from an applicant unless it has in hand a written and dated order from an employer for such a position. So strong has been the feeling that the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada in its meeting in 1913, and the American Association of Public Employment Offices in its convention in 1914, recommended the abolition of private employment bureaus. Since 1933 private employment agencies have been decreasing in importance due to the increase of the public ones, but it is estimated there are still about 3,000 in the country.³⁰

Public Employment Offices. Consciousness of the defects and abuses of private employment agencies and the growing realization of the evils of unemployment and of irregular employment first led to the development of public employment offices under the various auspices,—Federal, state and local. Ohio was the first American state to provide for public employment offices in 1890. Montana followed in 1895 and New York in 1896. Montana's and New York's original laws were later repealed.³¹ When Ohio established her five public employment offices she was a pioneer. Public sentiment made very little demand for them. They were favored by organized labor but there was little interest on the part of employers. In 1933 about half the states were operating public employment offices.³²

²⁹ Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 293, 294. A 1928 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court (*Ribnick v McBride*, 227 U S 350) made fee-fixing illegal in any State.

³⁰ *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, New York, 1935, p. 124.

³¹ Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

³² *Public Employment Offices in United States*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 241, Washington, 1918, pp 12, 13. For details as to dates of establishment of various public employment offices, see this bulletin. In 15 of them the controlling authority was a city; in 2, the county and city; in 60 the state; in 11 the state and city; in 1 the state, county and city; and in 7 cases the federal government shared in the work, in 2 of the 7 cooperating with the state and city where located; in 2 cases with the state alone and in 2 others with the city only; and in 1 with the state, county, and city. *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, p. 124.

The public employment offices in the United States are not nearly so widely distributed as in several European countries. For example, under the British Labor Exchange Act passed in 1909 an employment office was set up within five miles of every laborer in England. Without these agencies the state unemployment insurance scheme would not have operated so successfully.

These state employment offices were a godsend when the country was drawn into the World War in 1917, and the business of the country was forced onto a war basis. Ohio of all the states showed best what can be done with an efficiently managed public employment system. At its outbreak there were 7 city-state employment offices operating rather efficiently in the industrial cities of Ohio. They were turned over to the State Council of Defense. This body divided the State into 21 districts, with a local office in each district. The central office through which each of these cleared was at Columbus. So skilfully were these offices managed that when announcement was made that at Chillicothe a great soldiers' encampment on a short-time contract was to be built, the director made arrangements to supply all the labor, 20,000 men, and within 12 weeks the state employment offices had supplied to the contractors 17,000 men, feeding them into Chillicothe as rapidly as they were required. It saved the contractors money, it secured the men as they were needed, it did not send men who were not prepared for the work to be done, the labor turnover was reduced, and no surplus supply was attracted to the city for the charities to support.²³ During the War Ohio also attacked with great success the problem of supplying farm labor. Some of the other states with employment offices also did good work during the War.

Following the War the public unemployment service, largely because of the failure of Congress to appropriate money, fell into a bad state. The Federal Government demobilized most of its offices and cut down to a minimum the subsidies to the states having state unemployment offices. As late as the early part of 1933 the United States Employment Service had only 129 offices, of which 30 rendered service exclusively to the veterans. There was little coordination between this Federal service and the state and local unemployment offices. The standards of service in most of the state offices and in the United States Employment Service were rather low. From 1919 to June 6, 1933, the efforts to coordinate Federal, state, and local unemployment services had failed. A new era began with the passage of the Wagner-Peyser Act on June 6, 1933. This Act abolished the old Federal Employ-

²³ For details, See Leiserson, "The Labor Shortage and the Organization of the Labor Market," *The Survey*, April 20, 1918, pp. 65-68

ment Service and created a new separate bureau of the United States Department of Labor. This Act provided that the United States Employment Service perform the following functions: (a) Promote and develop the national unemployment offices by cooperating with the states in establishing such offices. (b) Maintain a Veterans' Placement Service, a Farm Placement Service, and a Public Employment Service for the District of Columbia.

This bureau has the authority to prescribe minimum standards of efficiency to promote uniformity in administration and in statistical reports, to publish information on employment opportunities, and to maintain a system of clearing labor between the states.

This Act provided for liberal appropriations with which to carry out the provisions of the Act. Three-fourths of all the money appropriated must be apportioned to the states on the basis of population. The Act provided that state employment service, in order to receive its share of the Federal appropriation, must meet certain minimum requirements, among them acceptance of the provisions of the Wagner-Peyser Act, appropriations from state or local funds in an amount equal to the amount of Federal funds given to the states, approval by the United States Employment Service of the plan of operation of the state employment bureau, and conformity to the standards of the United States Employment Service as to personnel, premises, procedure and standards of work. As a part of the administrative structure, in order to stimulate local interest and to assure impartial administration, advisory councils composed of employers, employees, and the public were appointed. Up to August, 1934, nineteen states with 168 employment offices in 139 cities had met the requirements and become affiliated with the United States Employment Service. As a part of this joint employment service two groups are specially provided for—the Veterans and the physically handicapped.⁸⁴

Public employment offices to succeed must (1) have local branches in industrial localities; (2) have a central clearing office in which information concerning the situation as to unemployment and chances for employment is gathered from the local offices; (3) have provision for informing applicants for employment of the fact that there is a strike on at a plant which has made application for workers; (4) not refuse to try to find employment for a worker who refuses to take a position as a strike-breaker, or who refuses to take a position for which the compensation is less than obtains in the district for the same work; (5) make careful registration of all applicants. Moreover, (6) the public employment offices should have power to compel private employment offices to provide information on request, (7) should have a

* ⁸⁴ *Social Work Yearbook, 1935*, pp. 124-127.

working arrangement with the school placement bureaus for the placement of juveniles, and (8) should have at its disposal a fund by which to send men who lack the funds to places where there is a job waiting. (9) Further, they should be manned by competent men, not by political job-hunters.³⁵

The problem of unemployment calls not simply for relieving the necessities of those who by reason of lack of a job come to want, but for constructive efforts to check the demoralization which unemployment generally brings in its wake, to restore the fighting spirit of the man and his family who through unemployment have lost hope and courage, and often have forfeited that last anchor of manhood, an independent spirit, and for preventing so far as possible the economic and social conditions which result in unemployment. The first three of these belong to philanthropy; the last to legislation and industrial adjustments. However, the problem of charity and correction is much more than that of merely caring for those who become shiftless and criminal through unemployment or personal deficiencies. It is in far greater measure that of rehabilitating the weak or broken spirit by personal service in helping to restore the social props which hold us all to the straight and narrow path of endeavor for self-support, and that of joining hands with every agency in the community, public or private, to prevent the train of economic circumstances which lead to demoralization.³⁶

In dealing with unemployment the problem is complicated by the different classes already discussed. At one extreme we have the temporarily unemployed workers who have lost a steady job and are really seeking another; at the other we have the "work-shy." The former need only to be provided with work which they are prepared to do. The latter are problems for relief and correction. By reason, however, of our inability to distinguish between the two when a stranger presents himself for relief, we must devise methods for their temporary care while we are testing them. Moreover, these methods must be of such a nature that no industrious man will be allowed to suffer.

The Transient Unemployed. About four different methods have been used in the United States in dealing with those who have wandered into the community and asked for relief on the ground that they are out of a job. First, we have provided indiscriminate relief either at the back doors of our homes, or at bread lines of missions. We have admitted them to the police station to sleep, or we have started a free lodging house, providing them a poor meal to keep them from starving. Second, we have treated them all as

³⁵ For details see Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-307, Lescovich, *op. cit.*, Chaps. VI-IX. See also for recent discussion, Harrison, *et al.*, *Public Employment Offices*, New York, 1924.

³⁶ Pratt, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

vagabonds and have sent them to jail. Third, we have passed them on to our neighbors either by having the police warn them out of town or by paying their way to the next town. Fourth, we have provided them with lodging houses with a work test, sometimes with an offer to help them find a job.

All of these methods have failed not only to solve the problem in any thorough way, but also to strike at the causes. The first method gives us as many tramps as we are willing to support. The second outrages our sympathies by reason of the fact that there is no discrimination between the honest man hunting work and the hobo. The third is an outrage upon our neighbors and is injustice to the man. The fourth method is expensive and, while the best as a palliative measure, usually results in the city fathers refusing the appropriations necessary to carry it through successfully.

A properly managed lodging house with skilled social workers in attendance to diagnose the cases and provide the treatment appropriate to each one, with close relations with a good employment agency, in ordinary times, is a necessity, if communities are to deal with these men in a manner satisfactory both to the men and the community. Alone, however, it is sure to fail. Unless it is connected with a state farm and state institutions for the care of the mentally incompetent, with hospitals to which the men who need treatment can be sent forcibly, and with skilled employment service which will not only find men jobs, but jobs suited to their capacities, and with the skilled social service in each case necessary to see that a change in the man's condition is worked out, it will be a disappointing experiment. Careful case-work in the placement of the transient unemployed is very necessary if the workers are not to come back again and again for placement or lose out.³⁷

As the depression beginning in November, 1929, deepened, the number of transient homeless individuals increased. It soon became apparent that the missions, the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, police lockups, and the old methods of passing on, were utterly inadequate to handle the situation. It also became clear that with the character of the transients upon the road so radically changed by the depression, more decent care should be given those who had been uprooted from their homes and places of residence by the economic cataclysm. During the first two years of the depression, in addition to the private agencies already mentioned, new bureaus for registration and service were opened and some lodgings of the better type developed in some of the cities. In 1932, however, the Family Welfare Association of America and the National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient

³⁷ Odencrantz, "Placing Women Through Public Employment Offices," *The Survey*, September 18, 1915, pp. 560-562; Johnson, "Unemployment From the Angle of Case Work," *The Survey*, November 13, 1915, pp. 162-163.

Service brought to the attention of the National Conference of Social Work the inadequacy of existing programs. A national group called the Committee on Care of Transients and the Homeless was organized, which brought to the Congress of the United States the results of its survey as to the extent of the problem. This group urged upon Congress that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration take in charge this matter of the transient and homeless. It found that 1332 agencies in 809 communities in January, 1933, during a three-day census discovered 370,403 persons on the road or in lodgings—16,538 boys and 2,783 girls under twenty-one, 14,482 women, and 304,169 men. As a consequence the Act creating the Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided for a division of transient activities later called the Transient Division. In cooperation with the states the Federal Government organized 340 centers usually in the larger cities, and 200 camps to which those who did not have a settlement in the community or for one reason or another could not be returned to their places of settlement, could be sent for more or less permanent care until a job could be found. A large part of the expense of these homeless persons was borne by the Federal Government.

Fine work was done by these various agencies. For the first time a unified program covering the whole United States attempted to deal with the transient unemployed in a constructive fashion. Unfortunately, however, as a result of the President's determination to get out of the business of relief and to turn back as much as possible of the problem of "the unemployable" to the states and localities, the Federal transient program was junked in November, 1935, and what promised to be a real step forward in the handling of the transient unemployed was demobilized.²⁸

Unemployment Relief. Up to the industrial depression of 1914 every emergency had been met by emergency measures to provide employment and relief to men out of work. Usually, when large masses of workers were out of work the community either provided special funds for bread-lines, soup-kitchens, or emergency work to take the place of relief, and advertised a centralized agency to which the men could apply. The result was such congestion of applications that good placement work and carefully administered relief were impossible. Result: a good deal of pauperism through indiscrim-

²⁸ Potter, "Transients and Homeless Persons," *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, pp. 496-502; Reed, *Federal Transient Program, an Evaluative Survey*, the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless Men, (no date), New York; Wilson, *Community Planning for Homeless Men and Boys*, New York, 1931; Wilson, *Individualized Service for Transients*, New York, 1934; Wilson and de la Pole, *Group Treatment for Transients*, New York, 1934; Anderson, "Lodging Houses," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, 1933; Goodhue, "Report of the Committee on Uniform Settlement Laws in the Transfer of Dependents," *Social Service Review*, September, 1931.

inate relief and misplacement of men. In 1914 an attempt was made in some of the large cities to organize the relief in a more constructive way. Instead of a centralized headquarters the attempt was made to distribute the burden of caring for the unemployed through a great number of agencies scattered over a large city, with registration of the cases at a central office to which inquiry was made to discover whether any other agency had dealt with the case before. Instead of large funds being placed at the disposal of a special committee knowing little about placement and relief methods, steps were taken to induce citizens and private corporations to anticipate their construction needs and thus provide real work, instead of made work, for the unemployed. Employers were persuaded to keep as many men as possible on half time instead of a fewer number on full time. Emergency public works on a small scale was tried. For example, in New York City the Bronx Park Commissioners were persuaded to allow unemployed men to clear the rough land in that park which would have to be done later and now could be done at less cost and at the same time give the unemployed work. In the crisis beginning in 1929, for the first time in the United States, unemployment relief became a function of the states and of the Federal Government.³⁰

Emergency Public Works. Emergency public works to lessen unemployment at best is only a makeshift. There should be worked out a thoroughgoing program by which public works will be dovetailed into seasons and into periods of unemployment. This is not always possible but much more of it is possible than is done at present. If the city, state and Federal authorities will plan their development work years ahead, they can provide a sinking fund to be used in times of industrial depression. Thus will be ironed out the demands for labor in times of great industrial activity and for employment in times of depression.

In the depression beginning in 1929 a new method of attacking the problem of unemployment was attempted. As the number of unemployed increased, the methods used in previous depressions were resorted to, but without success. Large funds raised by private committees were soon found to be inadequate to provide relief. Employers were urged by Mr. Hoover to spread their work and thus keep more men employed. Local public authorities were exhorted to do their utmost to meet the situation. None of these measures were adequate.

³⁰ For details of this and other early examples, see Matthews, "Wages from Relief Funds," *The Survey*, June 12, 1915, pp. 245-247; "Unemployment Problems and Relief Efforts in Seventeen Cities," *The Survey*, January 2, 1915, pp. 348, 349. The later measures were described in Chapter XIII *ante*. See also Lescotier and Brandeis, *History of Labor in the United States*, Vol. III, New York, 1935, "Working Conditions," Chapters, 11, 12, by Florence Peterson.

With the inauguration of Mr. Roosevelt as President, an entirely new attack upon the problem was made. Leaving aside the measures which were adopted for relief and the N.R.A., intended to spread the work by private employers in order to employ more people, mention should be made here only of those measures intended to supply employment through relief on public works. The F.E.R.A. established on May 12, 1933, gradually developed what was called "work relief." This provided a mere subsistence wage for work done upon work projects set up by the local relief units under that Administration.

As a special means to put people at work, the C.W.A. (Civil Works Administration) was set up on November 8, 1933, with the object of removing two million men from the relief roll by December 1st, and to put at work two million more taken from the register of the United States Employment Service. Civil works under this act were defined as local improvement projects with a public interest. Typical undertakings were park improvement, sewer extensions, street paving, feeder highways, and things of that sort. C.W.A. was demobilized in the spring of 1934, the people in urban communities needing relief, who were able and willing to work, being transferred to projects conducted by newly created work divisions of the state and local relief administrations. In rural areas work projects were provided as a means of affording work in exchange either for advances in food or other consumable items or for domestic live stock, poultry, tools, etc., furnished for self-subsistence purposes. In the autumn of 1935 the F.E.R.A. was liquidated, the unemployable being transferred to the states and to the local communities where they lived. The employables were to be registered with the United States Employment Service. If there could not be found work with private employers, they were to be transferred to the Works Progress Administration where they were to be paid an amount necessary to meet their necessities up to a limit which was known as the subsistence wage. This was really a public works project to take the place of C.W.A. and to employ people on public works of a smaller nature than that authorized under the Public Works Administration.

In order to provide work for the members of the building trades, P.W.A. H.D. (Public Works Administration Housing Division), organized under the Public Works Administration, but incorporated under the laws of Delaware, October 28, 1933, was an attempt to employ the unemployed upon low cost housing. P.W.E.H.C. (Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation) was organized as an arm of the Housing Division of the P.W.A. These various housing operations have not been a great success.

The F.H.A. (Federal Housing Administration) was set up under the Na-

tional Housing Act of June 24, 1934. Its objectives were to return unemployed men to gainful occupations. This organization was intended to assist people who wished to repair their houses.

What promised at first to be the most important public works project was the F.E.A.P.W. (Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works) set up by Congress June 16, 1933, and extended later to June 30, 1937. Under the administration of Mr. Ickes, the attempt was made to reduce unemployment and to aid in the restoration of purchasing power through the construction of useful public works of a large nature. It provided allotment of funds for road building, naval construction, rivers and harbors work, army housing, public buildings, forest conservation, irrigation, power development, water works, sewer systems, electric light plants, streets and highways, bridges, schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, railroad improvement, slum clearance, low cost housing, and other worthy projects. Unfortunately, it took longer than was expected for the program of the P.W.A. to get into operation. Consequently, while much of the money allotted to P.W.A. has been earmarked for large scale public improvements, it did not solve the problem of emergency unemployment.

While all of these emergency measures of the New Deal have failed to solve the problem of unemployment in this severe depression, they have helped. The major part of three and one-half million persons employed under the work program of the F.E.R.A. was taken over by the Works Progress Administration. P.W.A. has absorbed some of the unemployed. Nevertheless, great numbers are still seeking work, (summer 1936) and the end of the depression is not yet in sight. On the basis of the experience gained from these efforts, it should be possible to lay plans for future depressions more adequate to meet the situation.

Stabilization of Industry. Before the problem of unemployment can be finally solved under our system of private ownership similar far-reaching plans must be made by the managers of industry. This is a more difficult problem, yet something of that sort can be done. Every movement for the stabilization of industry will help. Certain seasonal trades can be regularized or spread through a larger part of the year.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the problem from the employers' point of view, and some possible solutions, see Lewisohn, Draper, Commons and Lescquier, *Can Business Prevent Unemployment?* New York, 1925; "Economic and Industrial Review of the Year", *Information Service*, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York, June 30, 1933; Hunt, "America's Increasing Economic Stability", *Current History*, August, 1929; "All-Year Work for Every Year", *Literary Digest*, August 18, 1923, p. 16; Rowntree, "The Future of Industry", *The Survey*, December 3, 1921, p. 362; "Report and Recommendations of New York Committee on the Stabilization of Industry", *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 1931, p. 61.

Unemployment Insurance. All of the efforts so far described will not solve the problem of the unemployed. They need to be supplemented. The experience of foreign countries offers a promising supplement in the form of unemployment insurance. This does not eliminate unemployment, but it spreads over a larger part of society the burden now borne by workers involuntarily idle. Unemployment insurance will not solve the problem of the loafer, the disabled and the inefficient idle. It will, however, keep from destitution the man who is temporarily thrown out of work, and thereby avert individual and family demoralization. As a preventive measure intended to cope with idleness due to social causes, its cost should be borne not only by the man himself and his family, but by the employer and by the government.

Unemployment insurance grew up in Europe as out-of-work benefits provided by labor organizations, friendly societies and fraternal organizations from contributions by the members themselves. Also in a few countries certain employers have established funds to provide out-of-work payments for their own employees. A few firms in the United States have introduced a dismissal wage.⁴¹ A number have unemployment benefit plans.⁴²

In the United States in April, 1931, there were only 79 unemployment-benefit or employment-guaranty plans in existence among private employers. The number of employees potentially affected by these plans was about 226,000. Fifteen of these were company plans, 16 were joint-agreement plans between trade unions and employers, and 48 were trade union plans maintained solely by labor organizations either national or local. The 15 company plans covered about 50,000 out of 116,000 employees. The 16 joint-agreement plans covered approximately 65,000 workers, and the 48 trade union plans covered about 45,000 persons. It can readily be seen that these voluntary unemployment-benefit plans cover only a very small proportion of the working population of the country.⁴³ Other studies by the Bureau of Labor Statistics covering the early part of the period of the depression up to 1934, show that many of these plans of voluntary unemployment-compensation have been abandoned. It is the estimate of the Bureau that a smaller number of people are covered than in 1931.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XV, p. 153.

⁴² *Unemployment Benefit Plans in the United States and Unemployment Insurance in Foreign Countries*, Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States, Washington, Bulletin No. 544.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July, 1931.

⁴⁴ Whitney, "Operation of Unemployment-Benefit Plans in the United States up to 1934: Part I", *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1934, p. 1288. Part II, *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1934, p. 1.

Public unemployment insurance is much more recent than voluntary unemployment insurance. The movement began in Europe in a tentative way in 1904 in the canton of St. Gall, Switzerland. In 1931 public unemployment insurance had been established by legislation in 18 foreign countries. In 2 of them at that time—Luxemburg and Spain—while the legislation had been passed, the systems were not yet in operation. In 16 countries, however, unemployment insurance was in active operation. In Russia where an unemployment insurance system had been in force, the law was suspended in October, 1930, because the shortage of labor made it no longer necessary.

These foreign systems fall into two main groups usually distinguished by the terms "voluntary" and "compulsory." Voluntary systems are those in which unemployment insurance through private organizations is recognized, encouraged, and even subsidized by the state. The compulsory systems are those in which unemployment insurance is made obligatory for certain designated classes of workers under conditions prescribed by law. In 9 of the 18 countries the insurance is compulsory in character, in 8 voluntary, while in Switzerland it varies according to the law in each canton, some having the compulsory feature and others the voluntary. Of these states providing for unemployment compensation only two had enacted these laws before the World War. Consequently, the present laws are largely of an experimental nature. The plans vary from country to country and cannot be summarized in any brief statement.⁴⁵

By 1934 two new unemployment insurance laws had been enacted, one in Sweden becoming effective January 1st, 1935, and one in Finland replacing the inoperative law passed in 1917. Both of these were voluntary in character.⁴⁶

In the United States it was not until the depression of 1921 that serious proposals were made for legislation setting up public schemes of protection of the unemployed worker. As early as February, 1919, Professor Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, had argued for a dismissal wage.⁴⁷ Professor

⁴⁵ *Unemployment-Benefit Plans in the United States and Unemployment Insurance in Foreign Countries*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 544, Washington, July, 1931, p. 177.

⁴⁶ "Operation of Unemployment Insurance Systems in the United States and in Foreign Countries, 1931-1934", *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1934, p. 273, September, 1934, p. 571.

⁴⁷ *LaFollette's Magazine*, February, 1919. For later discussion of the dismissal wage see Draper, "A State Dismissal Wage Act", *The Survey*, January 15, 1931, p. 426; Hawkins, "The Dismissal Compensation Movement", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1933; Schwenning, "Continental Europe Dismissal Wage Plans", *Social Forces*, December, 1933; Schwenning, "British Dismissal Gratuities", *Social Forces*, March, 1935; Hawkins, "Dismissal Compensation in Foreign

Commons, of the same University, who had been instrumental in getting through the Legislature the Workman's Compensation Act, had been thinking about applying the same principle to unemployment. Hence, in the Legislature in 1921 Professor Commons' bill was introduced by Senator Huber. A similar bill, with certain modifications, was introduced in each succeeding Legislature of Wisconsin only to be defeated, until the Groves Unemployment Reserve Bill was passed by the Legislature in 1932. Thus, Wisconsin was the first state to pass an unemployment insurance act in this country.⁴⁸

The serious economic disorganization and the unemployment following demobilization in 1919, called attention to the seriousness of unemployment in this country. This depression, however, did not last long and once more people were lulled to sleep during the prosperous period of the late twenties. With the onset of the depression beginning in 1929, and especially with the deepening of unemployment in the following years, public interest once more awoke to the importance of grappling with the problem of unemployment in a more radical and constructive fashion. Wisconsin was the first State to enact such a law. Groups in various states were studying the problem. A bill on a different plan from that followed in Wisconsin was introduced in Ohio. Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, was the first prominent political leader to advocate unemployment insurance. In the summer of 1930 at a conference of governors at Salt Lake City, he called attention to the matter. In January, 1931, he called together the governors of seven Eastern states for the consideration of a joint program. During that year bills were introduced in the legislative sessions in a number of states. Most of them followed the example set by the Wisconsin law. The Socialist Party, the Association for Labor Legislation, and the American Federation of Labor came out for unemployment insurance. In 1932 an unemployment insurance bill was passed by one house of seven states. Finally, in February, 1934, Senator Wagner, of New York, and Representative Lewis, of Maryland, jointly introduced a bill in Congress which had been drafted by the United States Department of Labor. The purpose of this bill was to speed up the process of getting the states to enact unemployment insurance laws. While the Wagner-Lewis bill did not pass Congress, President Roosevelt indicated his interest in the subject and later appointed a committee on economic security to study the question and bring in a bill covering not only unemployment but other hazards to economic security. As a result of the Committee's report, *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1935. It was reported in October, 1931, that the National Industrial Conference Board stated that fifty-three companies in the United States had adopted the policy of paying dismissal wages when the discharge of employees is unavoidable. *The World Tomorrow*, October, 1931.

⁴⁸ Ewing, *Job Insurance*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1933, Chapter 2.

work of the Committee on Economic Security, on January 17, 1935, a bill was introduced by Senator Wagner in the Senate and by Representatives Lewis and Doughton in the House, providing for a Federal-State system of unemployment compensation.

As a result of this movement in the United States for unemployment insurance, on August 17, 1936, 15 states and the District of Columbia had laws providing for either unemployment insurance or unemployment reserves. In addition, North Carolina had signified its desire to cooperate in the Federal Social Security Program by an Act giving the Governor and Council the power to designate a commission, or department, to administer a system of unemployment insurance in the event of the enactment of an unemployment insurance law by the United States Congress. Eight of these states provide for state-pool funds following the Ohio system, while Utah and Wisconsin have the unemployment reserve fund system originally enacted in Wisconsin.⁴⁹

Unemployment Compensation in the United States Social Security Act. The provisions of the Social Security Act are quite simple, although more complex than a forthright Federal Unemployment Compensation Act. All the Federal Government does is to lay down the method and the amount of the tax which must be levied to provide compensation, to invest the funds thus provided, and to supervise to a relatively small degree the administration of the Act in the several States. It is essentially a law to promote the formation of unemployment compensation systems by the different states. It does this by providing that 10 per cent of the funds collected under the Federal tax shall be used by the United States Government to assist each state, which has an unemployment compensation law conforming to the provisions laid down by this Act of Congress, in the administration of the state law.

A payroll tax amounting to 1 per cent of the payroll in 1936, 2 per cent in 1937, and 3 per cent in 1938 and thereafter, is levied on all employers of eight or more persons for twenty weeks, or more, per year. Agricultural labor, domestic service in private homes, certain maritime employment, service in the employ of the United States Government, or of the state governments, or their instrumentalities or political subdivisions, service performed for certain very close relatives, for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, and educational institutions of a non-profit nature, are exempted.

⁴⁹ Public—No. 271—74th Congress (H. R. 7260) Title 3; "State Unemployment Insurance Legislation as of January 1, 1936", *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1936, p. 319; Douglas, *Social Security in the United States*, New York, 1936, Chapters IV and V; Burns, *Toward Social Security*, New York, 1936, Chapter IV.

Each employer may credit against this tax 90 per cent of his contributions to a state unemployment compensation fund established in accordance with the state unemployment compensation law approved by the Social Security Board. The state must remit to the United States Treasury the 90 per cent of the tax paid by the employer into the state unemployment compensation fund. The employer transmits directly to the Federal Treasury the remaining 10 per cent of the tax due. The 90 per cent transferred from the state treasury to the United States Treasury may be drawn upon by the state for the payment of unemployment compensation under its law. The 10 per cent collected by the United States Government directly from the employer is to be given back to the state proportionately to population and need, to pay for the administration of the state law. It is this latter feature which it is hoped will lead all the states to enact an unemployment compensation act, for only those states will receive funds from the Federal Government for administrative expenses who have such a law, but the employers in all states, whether they have a law or not, must pay the tax provided for in the Social Security Act.⁵⁰ Since the employer in every state, whether it has an unemployment compensation act or not, must pay the payroll tax, it is clear that the Social Security Act provides a very powerful economic incentive for the enactment of such a state law, since no employment compensation will be paid to the commercial or industrial worker in a state which has not an approved law.

This Act departs radically from the laws passed in the various countries of Europe. There, almost universally, the compulsory act provides for contributions from the worker, from the employer, and often from the state. In the Federal Social Security Act the tax is paid by the employer only.

The benefits paid by the various states operating in conformity with this Act, will vary according to the laws of each state.

If one studies carefully the actuarial calculations made by experts employed by the President's Committee on Economic Security, and the experience of the unemployment insurance systems in Europe, he can readily see that unemployment insurance or compensation is no solution of the problem of unemployment; it is only a first line of defense for the worker. In any great depression, after a few months the unemployed worker's right to benefits will be exhausted. Hence, in connection with unemployment compensation, schemes of unemployment relief in any deep depression like the present will be necessary. Out of the experiences of the present depression in this

⁵⁰ For constitutional reasons the bill does not state that the purpose of this 10 per cent of the tax levied is to force the States to adopt unemployment compensation laws. In the Act itself, Title 3 and Title 9, which cover unemployment compensation, were carefully separated in the hope that the Act will stand the test of constitutionality before the Supreme Court.

country and abroad, wiser plans for unemployment relief than have characterized the past should be made, and all preliminary plans possible worked out in order that when the next great depression occurs, the country will not be as unprepared, as it was in 1929, to meet the situation.

Provisions for the Inefficient and Unemployable. These unemployment insurance schemes are intended for those who are involuntarily unemployed. They do not touch the problem of those who cannot hold a job because of inefficiency or those who are voluntarily idle.

Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland tried a number of years ago the plan of labor colonies for the unemployed. They were found to be of no value for the independent, self-supporting unemployed. From 50 to 90 per cent of the colonists were ex-convicts, tramps and chronic drinkers. They turned out to be "only doss-houses in which good men were brought down to the level of tramps and wastrels, and became chargeable to the parish." They were avoided by unemployed men of character.⁵¹ They have, however, been found to be of value in caring for the "down-and-outers." The experiments of Belgium at Merxplas and of Switzerland at Witzwil show that for that unemployable who is partly a charitable and partly a correctional problem such places are of great value.⁵² In these colonies the able-bodied are forced to work, and they are kept from wandering over the country. Some of them are thus taught trades, and when so taught are sometimes released and find positions at which they support themselves. However, it is admitted by the men at the head of them, they are custodial rather than reformatory in their effects.⁵³

Massachusetts was the first state in the Union to establish such a state farm for the employment of those convicted of vagrancy. This institution, however, cares for other classes as well as vagrants.⁵⁴ New York followed in 1912 when it chose a site for such a colony of 821 acres about 20 miles from Poughkeepsie. Later Indiana established a farm-colony to which vagrants may be sent, if they are sentenced for longer than 30 days. The district of Columbia, Cleveland, Ohio, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, provide examples of smaller political units having work farms for vagrants. Such institutions, however, care only for those who are on or over the borderland of crime.

⁵¹ John Burns, "Uselessness of Labor Colonies for Unemployment", in *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, New York, 1908, pp. 1246, 1247.

⁵² For details, see Fetter, "Witzwil, a Successful Penal Farm", *The Survey*, Vol. 25, pp. 761-766; Von Schelle, "A Self-Supporting Penal Labor Colony", *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1910; Carlisle, *The Continental Outcast*, London, 1906; Gillin, *Taming the Criminal*, New York, 1931, pp. 201-211.

⁵³ *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, New York, 1908, p. 679.

⁵⁴ *Fortieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, 1918*, p. 31.

For those unemployed because of inefficiency due to mental or physical causes, or because of having never been taught a trade, there is little hope after they have become wanderers. If each state had a state farm and industrial colony to which they could be sent and when possible taught a trade, some of them might be rehabilitated. Many of them, however, are broken down physically, many are diseased and need treatment, some are mentally defective and need care in a colony for such. For most of such unemployables a custodial farm where they can be made to work is their only hope of usefulness. For the others in such a colony something could be done by a good manager, by teaching them how to work on a farm and placing them with agriculturists.

Prevention of Unemployment. In the treatment of unemployment our survey has indicated that the most hopeful plans are those which prevent unemployment. The problem must be attacked at its source through the stabilization of industry, the dovetailing of one seasonal industry with another of a different season, a widespread and carefully managed system of employment exchanges, carefully guarded from the sinister influence of politics, manned by experts in labor placement, and closely connected with charitable agencies of the best sort to weed out and properly care for the unemployable. The labor exchanges must be closely tied up with a system of unemployment insurance to tide over those who are desirous of working, and to prevent that personal and family demoralization which inevitably follows inability to find work. For serious depressions carefully planned unemployment relief schemes should be formulated before the depression is felt. To prevent the unemployment due to inefficiency the proper training of youth is necessary so that they shall have the skill necessary to enable them to make a good living at a steady job, and guidance in their choice of an occupation so that they may not find themselves at the end of a blind alley too late in life to change. For the unemployable the state should provide institutions for their care and custody, to teach such of them as are teachable a trade so that they may be rehabilitated, to protect society from the criminal among them, and to provide a place where those who cannot make a living at large may work for their keep under the custody of men who are able to make the most of poor abilities. For cyclical unemployment present knowledge provides no solution.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Unemployment and Dependency. Lescoghier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1919, Chap. III.
2. Suggestions of a Plan for Lessening Unemployment Leiserson, "A Federal

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- Labor Reserve Board," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1916, p. 161.
3. Unemployment Insurance. Lescoghier and Brandeis, *History of Labor in the United States*, Vol. III, New York, 1935, pp. 259-269; 616-624; Douglas, *Social Security in the United States*, New York, 1936.
 4. What Business Can Do to Prevent Unemployment. Lewisohn, Draper, Commons and Lescoghier, *Can Business Prevent Unemployment?* New York, 1925.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the classes of the unemployed?
2. Classify the causes of unemployment with their principal subheads.
3. Discuss fluctuations in the demand for labor as a cause of unemployment.
4. What bearing have the labor policies of industries on the problem?
5. Indicate the outstanding characteristics of the physically and mentally unfit which render them unemployable. To what extent does mental defect enter in here? What other personal inefficiencies need also to be considered in this connection?
6. Discuss the social causes of unemployment.
7. What are some of the natural causes?
8. What are the chief social effects of unemployment?
9. Discuss in detail the seven outstanding methods of dealing with the problem of the unemployed, indicating the difficulties and advantages in each method
10. What should an adequate social policy for the prevention of unemployment involve?
11. What can industrial establishments do to prevent unemployment?
12. Outline the chief features of the unemployment compensation features of the U. S. Social Security Act.

PART V
PREVENTIVE AGENCIES AND METHODS



INTRODUCTION TO PART V

WE HAVE now studied the extent, the causes, the historic institutions and methods of dealing with the dependent, and the special classes of dependents. Attention has been given primarily to the methods of treatment, only incidental reference being made to preventive measures. This emphasis was to enable the student to understand and evaluate present methods. No engineer would think of trying to improve a machine, still less invent a substitute without first understanding its nature, and learning its merits and defects. So, we must understand, if we would perfect our social machinery. We must know its history, study the way in which it works, appreciate its good points, ascertain its defects and the reasons for them. Up to this point the only assumption made in our study is that in the light of experience effective should supplant ineffective methods of dealing with dependents. We have had clearly in mind, however, that prevention is better than cure; formation than re-formation. With the historical background and the lessons of experience now before us the next step is to study methods of preventing poverty and dependency. Here, too, we shall try constantly to take counsel of experience, but must not forget that in some matters we are in the realm of untried theory or of experiments in process. Would that it were as easy to formulate an effective preventive program as it is to state its desirability! While in the following rime the contrast between relief and prevention is too sharp, the emphasis on prevention is forceful.

The Fence or the Ambulance

'T was a dangerous cliff, as they freely confessed,
Though to walk near its crest was so pleasant.
But over its terrible edge there had slipped
A duke and full many a peasant.
So the people said something would have to be done,
But their projects did not at all tally,
Some said, "Put a fence 'round the edge of the cliff";
Some, "An ambulance down in the valley."

But the cry for the ambulance carried the day,
For it spread through the neighboring city;
A fence may be useful or not, it is true,

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But each heart was brimful of pity
 For those who slipped over that dangerous cliff;
 And the dwellers in highway and valley
 Gave pound or gave pence, not to put up a fence,
 But an ambulance down in the valley.

"For the cliff is all right if you're careful," they said,
 "And if folks even slip or are dropping,
 It isn't the slipping that hurts them so much
 As the shock down below when they're stopping."
 Then an old sage remarked, "It's a marvel to me
 That people give far more attention
 To repairing results than to stopping the cause,
 When they'd much better aim at prevention.

"Let us stop at its source all this mischief," cried he,
 "Come, neighbors and friends, let us rally,
 If the cliff we will fence we might almost dispense
 With the ambulance down in the valley."
 "Oh, he's a fanatic," the others rejoined.
 "Dispense with the ambulance? Never!
 He'd dispense with all charities, too, if he could;
 But no! We'll protect them forever;
 Aren't we picking folks up just as fast as they fall?
 And shall this man dictate to us? Shall he?
 Why should people of sense stop to put up a fence
 While their ambulance works in the valley?"

But a sensible few who are practical, too,
 Will not bear with such nonsense much longer,
 They believe that prevention is better than cure
 And their party will soon be the stronger.
 Encourage them, then, with your purse, voice and pen.
 And (while other philanthropists dally)
 They will scorn all pretense and put up a stout fence
 On the cliff that hangs over the valley.

In the next few chapters we shall have occasion to use quite often the word "socialized." It will be well for the reader to know just what the term means. The writer does not mean "socialistic," for while he sympathizes with the socialists' indictment of "purely palliative" measures, he agrees with them neither in their economic concepts, nor in their theory that the collective ownership of all the instruments of production would prevent poverty and dependency. He does believe that public ownership of certain service

activities like water-supply, postal service, health-protection, education, etc., are legitimate public enterprises. He stands with those who believe that, with our history and with present conditions, private property in the instruments of production properly controlled in the interest of all the people, is much more promising than state socialism. That position, however, does not prevent his holding to the belief that the state should undertake such activities as the care of the dependent, including the special classes, that the state should exercise more control over private agencies, and that the state must undertake to control in the public interest economic and social relations, in order that much of the present poverty and pauperism may be prevented. His social philosophy makes him differ with some of his fellows as to how far the public should supplant private agencies. He is not blind to the failure of public poor relief, for example, but he believes that in view of the limitations of private relief, it is better that public outdoor relief be done on principles which the private relief agencies have worked out and established. His faith in the betterment of society under its present economic organization, and in the growing part that the state must play both in treatment of the dependent classes and in the prevention of poverty and pauperism, does not claim to be justified in every respect by experience. But the same is true of the opposing social philosophy. In the meantime, he takes it that it is our business to make every effort to improve the machinery we now have and to labor to initiate and perfect a better one on the basis of what we have. Social workers are like engineers building a bridge on the site of an old one while the traffic goes on. Relief must go on. The ambulance and the hospital at the bottom of the precipice must continue to function as long as people are still falling over. Neither can stop until people see that a fence is built around the top. Broken lives must be adjusted, lost ambition revived, suffering humanity relieved, but those who man the ambulance and the hospital are not opposed to the building of the preventive fence. On the contrary, they are in the forefront of the fight for such a fence. Like the lawyer and physician they should not be afraid to put themselves out of business.

In his use of the term "socialized," therefore, the writer means such adjustment of present agencies and methods, both economic and social, as will reduce the maladjustment and secure greater justice to the classes which are now at a disadvantage in the struggle for a decent life. That means that more of a purpose of helpfulness to one's fellows shall inspire our laws and customs, through the stimulation of a spirit of service. He believes that men live by their ideals, and that most of our trouble arises from the dominance of the ideals of self-interest rather than the ideals of justice and helpfulness.

The following chapters are intended to suggest ways in which self- and class-interest shall be subordinated to consideration for the welfare of all. The old *laissez faire* philosophy is breaking at many points. It has broken down in government, in education, in philanthropy, and in economics. In its place is coming a philosophy inspired by concern for every member of the community, the nation and the world, eventuating in the effort to see that justice is done to every man. It is coming to be seen that only as such adjustments are made as insure to each individual a fair chance, can we have a society bound together in unity and harmony rather than split into warring classes. That philosophy means regulation by society and self-control under the dominance of a social spirit.

In the remaining chapters we shall suggest where the preventive fences should be built. Some of these fences, such as labor legislation and educational measures, belong to other workers. For the sake, however, of a well-rounded presentation it is necessary to refer to them briefly here because they have an important bearing on the problem under discussion.

Poverty is a result of social maladjustment somewhere. Only in part do the factors which produce it inhere in human nature. As we suggested in Part II, much of it is due to our social arrangements. Perhaps much of what we call human nature itself is produced by the circumstances about us. Certainly some of the human nature which accounts for inefficiency and dependency is the result of social neglect. When the maladjustments are corrected, we hope that much of the poverty and pauperism characteristic of our complex civilization will cease to be.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why is prevention better than cure? Cite illustrations.
2. Is it probable that measures of prevention will entirely eliminate the necessity for efforts at reconstruction? Why?
3. Do you think that doctors, nurses and social workers are trying to remove causes or would be glad to see causes of dependency removed, or do they wish to continue their jobs?
4. What is the difference between the term "socialized" as used in this book and "socialistic"?

CHAPTER XXVIII

SOCIALIZED RELIEF

THE demands of group life have partially tamed the tiger in mankind and have developed kindness and helpfulness. Kropotkin has pointed out how natural selection established "mutual aid" among the animals. In man group life has engendered sympathy for the suffering—at first for those of his own kin; later for an ever-widening circle. However, selfishness and altruism still struggle for dominance in individuals, groups and nations.

Sympathy with misery often has not been organized. Hence, the kindly individual who met a needy person did what he could to relieve him. As long as the want was that of his neighbor whom he knew, there could be only praise for his act. When, however, misery is distant from us, or when society becomes so complex that we do not know the applicant for help, we must organize in order to help wisely. Temptation arises for the degraded in spirit to play upon our humanity and to secure aid he does not need. Moreover, in order not to defeat our generous impulses, since service must ever accompany relief, our neighborly good-will must be organized so that our gift may really help. "The gift without the giver is bare" expresses the general principle. In a complex society each giver must play his part in the team work of service. Team work implies organization.

Organized charity is an attempt to give expression to our sympathy for the suffering and our good-will toward the unfortunate without defeating our purposes. It is a principle of human nature that in the absence of a spirit of independence which finds satisfaction in self-support, people tend to seek help from others. Since, however, self-support as well as mutual aid in distress is a group ideal, the socially demoralized personality pretends compliance with the ideal of self-support, but really relies on abusing the ideal of mutual aid. Unorganized aid ignorantly lends aid and comfort to this pseudo-social spirit and further demoralizes the personality. Organized aid substitutes for the ancient familiarity with our neighbor's circumstances and spirit careful investigation of his condition and personality, an attempt to aid him in such a way as to preserve his self-dependent personality if it has not been corrupted, or to rehabilitate the demoralized. These two functions—(1) investigation of personality and circumstances, and (2) treatment in

the light of the knowledge thus gained for the purpose of preserving or reconstituting the personality—is *social case work*. Case work is the method of organized or socialized relief.

WHAT IS SOCIALIZED RELIEF?

What are the essential principles of socialized charity? Organized charity is the result of the observation of the evil results of unorganized charity. As we have seen, poverty and pauperism were increased rather than diminished by unorganized relief. While its votaries do not always live up to its ideals, the principles generally recognized are as follows:

1. **Socialized Relief Is Intelligent Relief.** It does not depend merely upon what one can observe or the appeal made to one's sympathy, but it investigates. It tries to learn all the circumstances which have led up to the crisis in the life of this personality or family. It endeavors to find out whether the person is disabled and therefore unable to earn self-support. It tries to find out what part sickness has played; whether there is mental defect or disease in the family; whether there is family disharmony, and what attitude the persons in the family take to their situation. This investigation must be thorough and painstaking else the treatment will be bungling.

In the second place, the results of the investigation must be carefully recorded. No investigator is assured of immortality and may suddenly die. If she has no records of her findings all the work will have to be done over again to the detriment of the family and at great expense. These records must contain all of the information obtained upon the investigation and the steps taken in the treatment. Experience has shown that without such records all efforts at socialized relief is bound to be a failure in the end.

2. **It is Cooperative Relief.** Too long the various social agencies in any given community have gone their own individual ways without reference to what each other has been doing. The results: working at cross purposes, and demoralization of the family or person. Cooperation means in the first place registration of the clients of any given agency with a central registration bureau so that any agency to which this family or person applies can learn by telephoning to the central exchange or bureau just what other agency has been in contact with this family and can then confer with the workers in that agency to learn what has been done, save time and expense of investigation that has already been made, and have the benefit in further work of the experience of the agency that has already dealt with the family.

Furthermore, cooperation means after conference, referring that particular case to the agency specially equipped to handle it. Thus, the family welfare agency will refer to the mental hygiene society a mental case for certain

things. It will not attempt to do the work of the specialized agency itself. Again, it will see that the resources of the community, medical, social, economic, etc., are used to help to do a good job in the treatment of the family or person.

3. **It Is Relief Administered by Skilled Workers.** We have seen the havoc wrought by unskilled workers in the charitable field for centuries. By the skilled worker I mean one who is trained in the technique of investigation and treatment and one who has the proper personality to do successful work with people and homes in distress. Experience has shown that training must be careful and rather long continued. The technique of organized charity cannot be learned in a day.

4. **It Is Adequate Relief.** Experience has shown without the shadow of a doubt that when it is necessary to administer charity in a case, that the necessities of life which are put into that family must be adequate for decent self-respect and to help accomplish the purpose in view. Inadequate relief is a waste and demoralizes the family. It sends them to other agencies for what the agency administering the relief does not do.

Moreover, since the biggest part of socialized charity is the service necessary to change the conditions in the personality concerned, the time and energy necessary to effect the purpose in mind must be invested. Haphazard and partial work is wasted. Not only the necessities of life but also the personal service must be adequate. The agent of relief, overburdened with too many cases, cannot give proper attention to each case. Consequently, if the attempt is made to deal with the case at all, adequate service must be rendered to accomplish the hoped-for results.

5. **It is Reconstructive Relief.** Socialized charity is not satisfied merely with groceries, fuel, housing, and clothing. These are mere incidents in the plan of service. True, they are part, and a necessary part of the service, but only a part. Socialized charity does not forget that it deals with personalities and social conditions. Social personalities are made and unmade by their experiences. All of us come into the world endowed with certain characteristics and traits. These, under the influence of life experiences, develop certain kind of personalities. The social worker remembers these two factors in the result that he sees before him; therefore, all of his efforts are directed to reconstructing the personalities which have become demoralized. If social conditions have played their part in demoralizing the family or the person, the attempt is made to change those conditions. The whole purpose is to regenerate a social personality.

6. **Socialized Relief Is Preventive.** By this term is meant that the whole purpose is to prevent further demoralization of the personality. Seeing

the conditions which have produced the demoralized family, socialized charity attempts to change those conditions and throw about the person such circumstances as will regenerate his point of view and his habits.

Furthermore, socialized charity keeps in mind the children of these people who come to them as clients. It sees clearly that if the same conditions surround the children that surrounded the parents they may arrive at the same condition. Therefore, it tries to arrange matters so that the children will not find themselves in the same condition as their parents. It tries to throw about them ennobling influences and stimulating personalities that will help them to become personalities adjusted to their social world. For example, if tuberculosis has brought the family to distress and need, care is taken that the children do not become infected.

7. It Is Scientific Relief. Socialized charity tries to look objectively at all the facts in the case. It is moved by sympathy, but not by sympathy alone. It understands perfectly that its real helpfulness will depend, not only upon sympathy, but also upon frank facing of the facts as they have been revealed by a careful study of the case.

Moreover, it brings under contribution the results of every science which will aid it in its task. Medicine, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, economics—all are considered by the worker in his endeavor to render aid in distress. These results throw light upon his diagnosis; he uses them as aids in his treatment.

8. It Is Sympathetic Relief. Finally, socialized charity is sympathetic in the deepest and fullest sense with the distressed personality. Occasionally one finds a social worker, as one finds a doctor, who seems to be more interested in the case as an objective thing than as a human being, but the ideals of socialized charity keep clearly in mind that we are dealing with the bodies and souls of men, women, and children. They are our neighbors, our brothers, our sisters. They are in trouble, they have lost their spirit of independence, they have become calloused, cunning, and wily. Nevertheless, they are a part of our common humanity. The social worker sees this and feels it and devotes herself with the utmost abandon and self-sacrifice to restore them to their lost Eden. It is sympathy tempered with science, but never forgetful of the social vision which beckons to the great task of reconstructing men and women for good citizenship and independent happy existence.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED CHARITY

Relation to Private Relief Societies. As we have seen in a previous chapter, unorganized relief had led to pauperization. At the close of the

eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century the great transformations in industry and commerce had greatly disturbed social organization and thrown thousands of people into misery in every land which the industrial revolution had touched. Churches, benevolent individuals, and private relief societies had attempted to solve this problem in the large cities, chiefly by relief and without that element of personal service necessary to prevent relief having a pauperizing effect. We have already noticed that in the early part of the nineteenth century both public and private relief had become so chaotic that thinking individuals in Hamburg and Elberfeld, Germany, had inaugurated a new system of municipal relief.

Origin of Organized Charity in Great Britain. Dr. Chalmers at his parish in St. Johns, Glasgow, in which there were about 10,000 people in the poorest part of the city, became convinced that indiscriminate almsgiving did more harm than good. He persuaded the civic authorities to forbid all such almsgiving and to allow him to institute a system of friendly visiting among the needy by a corps of workers. They gave relief only in cases of extreme necessity and tried to help the poor to help themselves. Results: suffering was very much diminished, the amount of money necessary to relieve need decreased, and there was a great reduction of pauperism.

About the same time in London relief societies multiplied. Some of them introduced visiting among their beneficiaries. These visitors, however, usually gave relief, so that the relationship between the visitor and the poor was not that of neighbors but that of giver and receiver. Thus visiting failed to do the good it might have done.

Mr. J. R. Green describes the situation in East London thus: "The greater number of the East End clergy converted themselves into relieving officers. Sums of enormous magnitude are annually collected and dispensed by them either personally or through district visitors, nine-tenths of whom are women, and the bulk silly and ignorant women. A hundred different agencies for the relief of distress are at work over the same ground, without concert or cooperation or the slightest information as to each other's exertions, and the result is an unparalleled growth of imposition, mendicancy and sheer, shameless pauperism."¹

The Origin of Organized Charities. Step by step some in the societies came to see that rather radical changes would have to be made in charitable procedure if the pauperization of the poor was to cease. Moreover, it became apparent that the service to the poor was more important than mere relief giving.

About 1868 Edward Denison went to live in the East End of London to

¹ Quoted in Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1860-1912*, London, 1914, p. 12.

acquaint himself with conditions among the poor. He reached practically the same conclusions as had Dr. Chalmers half a century earlier in Glasgow. Said he, "Build school houses, pay teachers, give prizes, form workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains, but give them no money except what you sink in such undertakings." The same thoughts were stirring in other minds and so in 1869 a number of those who had been studying the problem organized a society called The London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity. The situation giving rise to the society is stated by Mrs. Bosanquet. She says:

On the one hand, a confused mass of poverty, crime and mendicancy, living side by side with the independent wage-earners under conditions of overcrowding and insanitation, and baffling all the efforts of authority and benevolence. "The magistrates of the Metropolis, one after another, express despair and hopelessness in the presence of the clamorous crowds that beset their offices from day to day." On the other hand, a Poor Law administered so as to aggravate evil, and a host of philanthropic societies and individuals confused and helpless before the magnitude of the demands made upon them. Those actually engaged in relief work were unable "to see the wood for the trees"; absorbed in the importunate claims upon their own time and resources, they knew and cared little for what others were doing; and while a united effort might have checked the rising tide of pauperism and mendicancy there was no one to marshal their forces and bring order into their campaign. To those who were studying the question the need was clear; the means of meeting it less obvious. The associations before which they expressed their convictions had not the organization which would have enabled them to give effect to their ideas; they were not in touch with the thousand and one agencies to be influenced, they had no standing in the poorer quarters where, if at all, the evils must be met and overcome. Some new agency was needed to bring together the thinkers and the workers, to show how principles might be applied in action, to give effect to theories and to turn schemes into working plans.²

Not all of the principles finally worked out were clear to those who organized the association. Many years were spent in the endeavor to provide a plan which would overcome the difficulties found in the work of the numerous private organizations for the relief of distress in London. The various relief societies were jealous of this central organization fearing that their prerogatives would be interfered with. An attempt to get legislation from Parliament to force the London charities to organize for concerted action failed. Representatives from the various London charities and the Charity Organization Society finally by resolution approved an official register of all

² Bosanquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

applicants for relief in the metropolitan district for the purpose of preventing imposture and securing sufficient relief of distress. The resolution also provided for an effort to obtain an act of Parliament for the general registration of the charitable societies, for the audit of their accounts and the publication of their balance sheets on a prescribed plan. In actual practice this was later modified to the appointment of an officer in each parish to investigate and register all needy cases and also to serve as a means of communication between the charitable societies and the public board of Guardians. Moreover, they established an official body for the voluntary registration of the charitable cases and for the audit of the accounts of the charitable organizations. The societies did not take very kindly to the plan but gradually cooperation between them and the Charity Organization Society became established. The organization also set up district committees so that by 1873 the metropolitan area of London was fairly well covered by such committees.

There were difficulties also between the district committees and the central organization, but finally the latter was able, through representatives from the district committees, to secure a measure of control as to policies, and to provide for conferences through which education in methods was brought about. In some of the districts a great deal of dole-giving still took place but the machinery was now organized by which this could be reduced. Case work was almost unknown in the early days of the society. Very early in the history of the movement in England, loan funds were established to take the place of material relief, the migration of unemployed laborers was promoted in connection with employment offices established by some of the districts. Certain districts soon began to secure relief for each special case as it arose, either from individuals or charitable societies. While the attempt was made in these early years to make the Charity Organization Society a relief society, finally the view prevailed that if this were done its real function would be destroyed.

Furthermore, from the earliest days of the society's history it endeavored to enlist volunteer visitors for those in need of assistance. Any material relief given was accompanied by friendly visitation. Case work in sporadic instances was introduced in 1877. Thus was established an agency having for its purposes the coordination of the work of the various charitable bodies in London in order to prevent duplication of work and thwart imposters; insistence upon charitable organizations knowing what others were doing through a central organization; provision of a bureau for the registration of the cases; emphasis upon personal service in order to promote independence

of spirit rather than mere relief; and promotion of measures which would prevent pauperization through the education of charitable individuals and associations in methods of constructive relief-giving.³

Origin of Organized Charity in the United States. American travelers had studied the London Society, and returned to America determined to see the same plan tried here. In both countries relief societies were failing to reduce pauperism. The policy of giving relief without service, and of making visitors almoners for the relief society, was bankrupt.

In the fifties large numbers of charitable relief societies, usually known as Associations for Improving the Condition of the Poor, had been organized. There were also other relief societies making even less pretense of raising the poor to independence, to make investigations before giving aid, and to repress imposture. Says Mr. Kellogg, "Rarely they employed the Friendly Visitor, and made employment the basis of relief. But, as they were invariably distributors of material aid this function submerged all others and they sank into the sea of common almsgiving, appealing to their patrons for support on the ground that the money given to them would enable them to enlarge the number of their beneficiaries or increase the amount of their gifts, and attracting the needy to their doors with the hope of loaves and fishes."⁴ Private relief, "profuse and chaotic" but not adequate to the demands made upon it, was given in miserable doles quite ineffectual for real relief of need, and was handed out indiscriminately to those who were most insistent.⁵

No less hopeless at that time was the situation in public relief. In New York City the relief was meager, being limited to fuel distribution, help for the adult blind and appropriations for medicine at the City Hospital. In some other places, such as Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Buffalo, the appropriations were large, and were suspected of corrupt and political perversion. Everywhere there was lack of adequate investigation before relief and of tests of destitution, while the amount disbursed was shamefully inadequate.

Several approaches to charity organization in this country preceded the inauguration of the first one. In 1875 a Cooperative Society of Visitors among the poor was formed in the north end of Boston, based upon the scheme proposed by Octavia Hill for London, a modification of the Elberfeld system in Germany. Each visitor was to have not more than four cases. The society held weekly conferences of the visitors and representatives from other charitable societies and opened a workroom in Chardon Street Charity Building.

³ Bosanquet, *op cit.*, Chaps. I-IV

⁴ *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54.

In 1874 Reverend Ames, on the basis of the London model, attempted to form in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia, an association which employed friendly visitors to visit the needy who applied for aid. The association itself did not provide relief but used existing soup-kitchens, fuel societies, churches and outdoor municipal relief to secure what was needed and used its own resources only to supplement what was available from existing associations. By this plan it was able to unite the charities of Germantown, to repress imposture and to diminish the pauperization consequent upon the uncoordinated work of the various societies. It had a good effect upon the administration of municipal outdoor relief and gained the confidence of the people of the community. A few years later it led to the formation of the Charity Organization Society in Philadelphia.

In New York City in 1874 a bureau of charities was formed to register persons receiving outdoor relief. The plan, however, was wrecked by the refusal of the largest relief-giving society to cooperate.

Reverend Gurteen, an English clergyman who had been active in the London society and who was then assistant minister in St. Paul's Church in Buffalo, previous to 1877 had so systematized the work of his parish relief society that every applicant for assistance was promptly investigated. In 1877 he proposed the creation of a clearing house to which the charitable societies of Buffalo should send daily reports. He gave a series of lectures which attracted considerable attention. At the same time a conference of citizens who were endeavoring to reform municipal outdoor relief and who had failed to secure legislation in Albany, created a commission for the control of outdoor relief, and secured an ordinance from the city requiring all applications for relief to be investigated by the police. Out of these two movements at a public meeting held December 11, 1877, grew the Charity Organization Society, the first in the United States based upon the principles worked out in London. It was established on the principle of coordinating the existing relief organizations and giving relief from its own resources only in emergencies.

Growth of the Movement. The movement then spread rapidly to other cities. Philadelphia organized in 1878, New Haven, Newport, Cincinnati, and Brooklyn in 1879, and New York in 1882. Many other smaller cities soon followed.

Among those established early in this country there were two types (1) those which combined relief with their methods of investigation, registration, friendly visiting, and (2) those which gave no relief from their own funds.

This form of organizing charity in the larger places so commended itself to agencies that in five years there were 22 cities which had organized on the

basis worked out in Buffalo. The growth has been steady up to the beginning of the depression in 1929. By 1935 there were 250 of these societies which had standards admitting them to membership in the Family Welfare Association of America.⁶

The War gave a great impetus to the growth of organized charity. As never before the importance of the principles on which organized charity rests was emphasized. The American Red Cross in its Home Service work for the families of men in the service adopted the charity organization principles. Its army of field workers and its many institutes training secretaries of home service and volunteers to look after the dependents of service men gave unprecedented popularity to charity organization ideas. All its principles—careful investigation, cooperation between social agencies dealing with disadvantaged individuals and families, adequate relief when relief was necessary, and service as the foundation of its efforts to reestablish a broken down family—were borrowed directly from the charity organization movement. Covering some 15,000 communities, only 300 of which had any general family social agency, and enlisting some 30,000 people to whom the ideals of constructive family work were presented either by word of mouth or by printed page, the movement introduced a large number of people to the ideals of constructive social work. Consequently, a large number of the chapters which carried on this work among the dependents of service men asked the national organization to permit them to carry on similar work for the civilians in their communities.⁷ This request was granted by those in authority at that time, with certain restrictions. The change was soon after made in the executive officers of the organization at Washington. These new officers had little sympathy with the extension of the work of the Red Cross to civilians. The consequence was that what was a project of great promise was no longer emphasized, and large numbers of chapters which had undertaken this work became discouraged without the support of the headquarters at Washington, and gave up that kind of Red Cross activity. The impetus given to family case work, however, in certain parts of the country where societies for this work had not existed, has been of some value. In 1934, 599 of the chapters were still continuing family welfare work, chiefly in rural communities, where no family welfare society existed, and others have been the nucleus out of which has grown such a society.⁸

Changes in Methods and Activities. Early in 1933 it became appar-

⁶ *Social Work Year Book, 1935*, New York, 1935, p. 142.

⁷ Deacon, "The Future of Home Service," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1910, pp. 365-371.

⁸ *Social Work Year Book, 1935*, New York, 1935, p. 41.

ent that the private societies dealing with the needy were incapable of meeting the flood which the depression had poured in upon them. Likewise the outdoor relief departments of the counties, cities, and townships of the country found themselves swamped with the flood of the needy unemployed. These public agencies had long been disdained for their inefficiency in rendering relief to the needy by the private organizations which had worked out standards of case-work. They were utterly unprepared to cope with the people in any intelligent manner when the state and the National governments finally decided they had to come into the picture with finance and organization. As the local units were organized to take care of the millions of unemployed throughout the country, the private charity organization societies contributed their trained workers to the staffs of these local public agencies and performed a real service in introducing some of the methods worked out in the forge of private charity to the public relief agencies. This was a significant contribution of organized charity to public relief. On the other hand, the organization by the Nation and by the states of an emergency relief organization took the impossible load of the unemployed off the private agencies and thus enabled the latter once more to return from relief-giving in the emergency to constructive case-work with a select group of clients. Thus the fine standards which had been worked out by the organized charities in fifty years of experience were saved from complete destruction by the public emergency relief organization.

In the course of fifty years any organization changes its activities and its methods. The movement as a whole has shown development in many ways. The problems facing the Charity Organization Society of London are not exactly the same as the problems which face the Family Welfare Societies today. The first report of the London Charity Organization Society showed that its leaders were cognizant of the importance of sanitary conditions, of emigration, education, of some kind of provident societies for the clients, and of housing. In this country the movement faced certain other problems as well as those which the parent organization in London considered. The societies soon saw that in addition to dealing with the circumstances in the community which conditioned the lives of individuals with whom the organization dealt, they had to deal in a constructive fashion with the individual client. Out of this situation grew what has come to be known as case work. Emphasis upon case work grew as time went on, sometimes to the neglect of legislation and the stimulation of municipal and other enterprises bearing upon those conditions which affect the individual's reaction to life. In this country and in Great Britain the Societies soon felt the need of some kind of a publication which would spread abroad the fundamental principles of the

organization. Research concerning conditions in the community demanded attention. In the early history of the movement both in Great Britain and the United States one of the important purposes of the organization was to repress begging. Today the emphasis is not on repression of begging so much as on methods by which begging may be made unnecessary. In place of palliative measures preventive measures have come to be emphasized. Child labor has demanded the attention of these organizations. The importance of public employment agencies has been recognized. Early in the history of the movement, because of the inadequate standards of the public outdoor relief authorities, the charity organization movement attempted to secure the abolition of public outdoor relief. Recently these organizations have taken a different attitude because they have seen that public relief organizations cannot be abolished but that they should be inspired by the methods which have made the charity organization movement a success.

Throughout its history, however, the charity organization movement has stood like a rock for careful investigation, for the registration of cases, for cooperation between relief agencies, for friendly visiting, for trained personal service, and for adequate relief. Instead of the more or less rigid classification of causes of dependency, the charity organization society has taken counsel of the newer knowledge in psychology, psychiatry, and sociology, and its case work is now giving attention to the more subtle factors in the emotional life of the individual and to his experiences which have conditioned his reactions to life. Therefore it is able to do a better job in the adjustment of the individual to his circumstances. Taking into account the newer knowledge as to the relationship of social groups to the conditioning of the individual's reaction to life, it is endeavoring to change the conditions which have brought an individual to dependency or to personal demoralization. Furthermore, in the course of its history socialized relief has promoted the organization of other groups to deal with specific problems and thus has narrowed its field. The depression has forced the social workers to reconsider some of their long established techniques; to ask whether they cannot shorten the processes in short-contact cases, as in work with transients, the unemployed in a depression and in certain other types of cases.

SOME OUTGROWTHS OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION MOVEMENT

The direct result of this movement upon relief principles and methods no one can measure. Like a new evangel in religion, at first it was misunderstood and abused. It was charged with selfishness, with inhumanity towards the poor, with substituting for the kindness of charity, hardness of heart and coldness of spirit.

These principles have been in large part, if not altogether, adopted by almost every case-working agency in every field of social work in the United States—child placing societies, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, some juvenile courts, juvenile protective associations, medical and psychiatric social work, and some mothers' pension administrations. In short, agencies which attempt to adjust social relationships by dealing with individuals and families recognize that the principles and methods worked out by organized charities must be applied if they are really to accomplish the objects for which they exist. Its principle of friendly visiting is a means of bringing together the fortunate and the distressed to their mutual advantage. As Mr. Kellogg pointed out in 1893, "It is the means by which the higher resources of society, its hope, discipline, thrift and kindness of heart, are diffused among the depressed and those who have fallen by the way; it is the means of contact with poverty of mind and purse; it is the vital agency in evoking the capacities of the poor for self-maintenance."⁹

Effect upon Private Relief Societies. While at first private relief societies sometimes resented the effort of organized charity to temper relief by common sense and skilful work with the poor, an increasing number now have adopted the principle. One can scarcely find a society which does not at least profess that it investigates, cooperates, sends friendly visitors into the homes where it gives relief, and gives adequately. There is still doubt among some of them as to the necessity of registering cases, on the specious ground that their families are not the riffraff of society, and therefore should not be exposed to the humiliation of the supposed publicity of a confidential exchange. Often, it is true, the professions are more honored in the breach than in the observance, yet more and more these organizations are appreciating the value of these principles in their work. Whatever advance has been made in the application of sound principles of relief by private societies is due to the publicity given them by organized charity.

Modification of Public Outdoor Relief. Outdoor relief officials have been slower than the officials of private relief societies to profit by the experience of organized charities. The officials have been unusually old men, friends of county or city officials. They have not attended meetings where the problems of relief-giving were discussed, nor have they been spurred to consideration of the results of their work by an enlightened public opinion. They have been dole-givers rather than social workers, and so have not been forced to see the results of haphazard methods. For the most part they have had to deal with the most hopeless classes of the destitute. Moreover, until recently the advocates of a better method have treated them with contempt

⁹ *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1893*, pp. 67, 68.

because they were the agents of a public authority supposedly dominated by corrupt politics.

However, the last few years, especially since the depression, have seen a decided change on the part of certain social workers. The champions of organized charity have awakened to the fact that their previous attitude was one of despair of democracy. Consequently, both in public addresses and in private practice, a number of social workers have shown that there is no inherent reason why public outdoor relief cannot be redeemed from its low estate. Experience has shown that, given leaders of the right ideals and sufficient tact and tenacity of purpose, high-grade public poor relief is by no means impossible. Too often when such an experiment has failed it has been due to lack of real leadership. Such leaders must educate the public to back them up; they must know how to reach legislators, state and municipal; they must have patience and wisdom; they must see their hopes dashed to the ground, and yet not be discouraged; they must be willing to fail and yet from that failure learn the lessons failure taught, so as to succeed at the next attempt. Who has not seen the attempt to establish the principles of sound relief in a private society frustrated from lack of such leadership?

Despite all the failures both in private societies and in public relief, there is evidence that the principles of organized charity are establishing themselves in the minds of an increasing number of people, that many public officials are interested in their application to public relief, and that some officials are demonstrating that they can be applied to public relief with gratifying results.¹⁰

¹⁰ For detailed discussion of early experiments in the application of the principles of organized charity to public outdoor relief, see Blackmar & Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1915, pp. 470-472; *The Development of Public Charities and Correction in the State of Indiana*, 1792-1910, Indianapolis, 1910, pp. 118-130; *Social Service in the Small Town*, Grinnell, Iowa, 1913; Gillin, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa City, 1914, pp. 332, 333; Almy, *The Survey*, April 10, 1920, p. 82. For the later attitude of social workers toward public relief agencies see Breckinridge "Report of the Committee on Personnel Standards in Public Social Work", *The Compass*, June, 1932; Lindeman, "Public Welfare", *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 12; *American Association of Social Workers*, "The Conference on Governmental Objectives for Social Work", *The Compass*, March, 1934; Wood, "Proceedings, American Public Welfare Association", *Social Service Review*, September, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934; Davies, "The Need of Trained Personnel in Public Service. Working Towards One Professional Standard—Public and Private", *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1932, p. 427; Lurie, "The Role of Professional Standards in Public Social Work", *The Social Service Review*, December, 1929; Dexter, "Has Case Work a Place in the Administration of Public Relief", *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1935, p. 155; Millsbaugh, *Public Welfare Organization*, Washington, 1935, p. 99; Odum, "Public Welfare Activities", Chapter 24, *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933; Walker, "Privately Supported Social Work", *Ibid.*, Chapter 23.

A striking illustration of the application of modern principles of social work to a public agency early in the century was that furnished by the Department of Charities and Correction of Westchester County, New York, under the leadership of Mr. V. Everit Macy.¹¹

Public Welfare Departments. A recent effort to apply the principles of organized charity to public relief is the movement to organize public welfare departments in connection with city, county and state governments. The movement began with Mr. L. A. Halbert in Kansas City, Mo. In 1911 was organized the National Public Welfare Association for the purpose of agitating for the formation of state, municipal and county public welfare departments. This movement has grown and spread until in 1932 twenty-six states had a single public welfare department in which most of the activities dealing with what we call social welfare, were organized. By the same year eighteen states had passed laws providing for the organization of public welfare activities in the counties as the local unit of welfare work. Most of the large cities have set up public welfare departments to deal with these problems.¹²

This movement has led to the dominance of the public welfare agencies in relief service to families partly through the outdoor poor relief work, partly through mothers' pensions, and other phases of the local department's work. By 1929 the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation showed that three-fourths of the cost of home relief in eighty-one representative cities was covered by the public agencies. By 1934, due largely to the entrance of the Federal Government into the field, nine-tenths of the family relief work was public in its nature.

Along with this movement to develop local units on the basis of the city or the county under public authorities in the outdoor relief field, has gone at the same time the organization of public agencies for the care of special classes. Forty-six states, for example, provide mothers' pensions, 23 states special relief to the blind, 28 states give old age pensions, and 23 states special provision for veterans. It is likely that under the Social Security Act a great increase in the number of such local public agencies will occur and that the increased funds available will make possible better work.¹³

Promoting Supplementary Organizations. From the very beginning organized charity saw that even the best case work, if limited to the individual and family, would not solve the problems of poverty and pauperism.

¹¹ For details, see *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Charities and Correction of Westchester County*, New York, 1917.

¹² "Public Welfare Activities", *Modern Social Trends*, New York, 1933, Chapter 24.

¹³ *Social Work Year Book: 1935*, New York, 1935, p. 388.

However efficiently the social workers did their immediate task of relieving and rehabilitating the poor, conditions were driving down with irresistible force very many more than they could deliver from dependency. These social engineers saw that they must prevent pauperism and poverty by removing their causes. Legislation and public administration must be improved. Sometimes organized charity has formed committees and departments to do some of the things needed, while at other times they have been instrumental in stimulating the formation of independent organizations devoted to such purposes. Not only have they furnished advice in household management, removed families from unsanitary quarters, and provided fresh air funds for mothers and children, but they have promoted legislation on housing and sanitation, marriage-law reforms, workmen's compensation, child-labor, minimum wage, and other economic measures; they have promoted clinics, desertion bureaus, societies to fight tuberculosis, venereal disease, to develop thrift, to provide legal aid, and to secure recreational facilities for the poor. More recently they have instigated the formation of central councils of social agencies, and federations of organizations for raising a joint budget.

The workers from charity organization societies have done their part in developing state conferences and the National Conference of Social Work—conferences in which are discussed the various social problems and in which were born some of the most far-reaching social programs. The *Proceedings of the National Conference* are a library of the most important discussions of social problems in the country. A number of the state conferences have employed full-time, trained social workers to promote the organization of social work, and to advise communities in the state on social organization and legislation.

From its early days in London the charity organization movement stimulated publications on the important phases of its work. In this country the leading magazine dealing with social problems, *The Survey* (formerly *The Charities and Commons*) was sponsored by the New York Charity Organization Society. *Lend a Hand*, a publication founded by Dr. Edward Everett Hale of Boston, was the result of his great interest in the problem of the poor. Moreover, so important had the problems of charity organization become when the Russell Sage Foundation was organized that a department was established therein called The Charity Organization Department, which has been the source of a great literature upon the subject of socialized relief and service.

Strange as it may seem, the charity organization movement, which antedates all the other modern social movements in the United States, was the

last to achieve national organization. In 1911 the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, now the Family Welfare Association of America, was founded, which publishes its own magazine, *The Family*. The Association has a field staff which constantly travels about the country assisting communities better to organize their relief and service work for the poor, and stimulates them by surveys and reports to better methods.

Training Schools for Social Workers. With the development of the charity organization movement the need of trained workers became apparent. For a long time each society trained its own workers by taking promising people upon the staff as workers-in-training, and having some staff member give them training by instruction and supervision of their work. The New York Charity Organization Society finally decided that, since it was so frequently called upon by other communities for workers, it would attempt the experiment of establishing a school of training, which would enable it to train its own workers and at the same time provide a training center for those who wished to prepare themselves for social work as a profession. In 1904 it opened its school as a professional training school demanding the full time of its students throughout the academic year.¹⁴ Since then a number of similar schools have sprung up in various parts of the country. At the present time over thirty of these schools are organized into the American Association of Schools of Social Work. In addition a number of non-association schools or departments, a number of institutes, special courses, conference classes, and other less formal organizations train social workers.

Social Research. Inherent in the movement for the organization of charity is the demand for knowledge of conditions affecting the poor and of the work done by each agency in the community. As we have seen, duplication of work and overlapping of fields generated the demand for organization. Agencies had to be convinced by facts carefully gathered concerning the conditions. Neither could the benevolent public be convinced of the necessity of a coordinating agency unless very specific facts were placed before it. Hence, in order to justify the principles on which it was established, charity organizations had to engage in social research. Moreover, the wider problems of prevention of distress could be revealed in a way to challenge attention only by a study of social maladjustments.

Hence, charity organization societies enjoying the confidence of their communities have promoted research. Since one of its principles is registration of facts concerning its cases, in its records each society has available for

¹⁴ *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York*, 1905, p. 91

study a mass of facts. In the endeavor to get behind surface conditions good case work demands a study of all the factors which affect the individual or family. In no other way can a good diagnosis of the case be made, and only so can treatment be adequate. Moreover, only as a society studies the results of its work can it determine whether the methods it uses are adapted to its purposes. Out of these conditions, therefore, have grown studies which have given a scientific basis to applied sociology. The results of the first studies of the causes of pauperism and poverty in this country are to be found in reports made by charity workers in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*. Without doubt the research now carried on by great organizations such as the Russell Sage Foundation, owe something to the charity organization societies.

Central Councils of Social Agencies. Another development in co-operation in social work is the central council of social agencies. In the words of Mr. McLean, central councils are "delegate bodies representing the social agencies of the city, these agencies still maintaining independence of action in all fields and being bound together by cooperative rather than contractual relationships."¹⁶ These councils are neither city conferences of social agencies nor financial federations, one of which preceded the development of the central council and the other of which followed.

Some of the more recent councils have concentrated on developing standards for its various agencies. In order to establish such standards the councils have been forced to formulate plans for a self-survey of all private and some public agencies. Perhaps the movement can be better understood by outlining the methods followed by the St. Louis Council. As a result of a survey of the work of the social agencies in this city extending over a number of years, overlapping societies have been discovered, gaps in the requisite number of agencies have been revealed and systematic programs for social development have been made possible. These councils have no administrative functions but serve five purposes:

1. To develop better understanding and cooperation among existing agencies.
2. To further new activities whenever required by inciting the proper organization or group to undertake the work.
3. To provide means for united action in carrying on any educational or agitational campaigns for governmental action in the administrative or legislative field.
4. To develop constantly improving standards of work among existing organizations.

¹⁶ "Central Councils and Community Planning," *The Survey*, June 2, 1917, pp. 217-219.

5. To work out and carry out, through its influence on the proper groups, a systematic program for social development.¹⁶

No machinery yet devised has been as successful as these councils in promoting good work among the various social agencies and in developing a social program to meet all of the needs of the community and the state. Since the only force they can exert is the moral force which comes from the presentation of facts, central councils are a mighty agency for the education both of social agencies and the community. There is no doubt that these councils have justified themselves in the work which they have been able to do.¹⁷ With the development of the financial federations or community chests frequently the functions of the Central Council of Social Agencies have been taken over by this organization as a division of its work.

Federations and Community Unions. Somewhat similar to central councils but having quite another objective, at least in their beginning, are the federations of charities, later called Community Funds, or Chests. These federations are chiefly for the purpose of doing away with the separate drives for financial support for various social agencies of a community. Numerous drives had become a source of vexation to the business men of Cleveland. In May, 1900, the Committee on Benevolent Associations of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce was formed in order to be of service to the organizations desiring public support. Its duties were "to protect the giving-public against solicitations for unworthy purposes and thus assist worthy and efficient institutions whose income had become adversely affected by the existence of much fraudulent solicitation." The committee was to investigate carefully all charity institutions and issue a card of endorsement to such as complied with a certain standard of excellence. The committee pursued a constructive policy endeavoring to bring societies up to better standards, studying the needs of the community, working for the consolidation of such agencies as overlapped or limiting the field of each to certain activities or certain parts of the city, and endeavoring to promote new organizations to fill gaps in the city's agencies. In short, in this respect it performed the function of a Central Council of Social Agencies. After twelve years of this work the committee decided that it must go further and provide for a united drive for funds. Some of the most reliable charitable organizations of the city had been unable to raise sufficient money to do efficient work, while some which placed more emphasis on money raising than

¹⁶ McLean, "Central Councils and Community Planning," *The Survey*, June 2, 1917, pp. 216-219.

¹⁷ For a discussion of certain recent tendencies in these Councils, see "Central Councils of Social Agencies," *The Survey*, February 4, 1922 pp. 724-726

upon service got more than their share. Moreover, the demands had continually increased until a certain class of contributors were unduly burdened. Consequently after making a study of the charitable budgets in 1907 and learning that the charities were supported by a comparatively small number of people, the suggestion was made for a united drive. The plan, however, was not put into operation and a study was again made in 1910. As a result of this study a federation of the agencies was proposed in the hope that the excessive cost of collection would be decreased, that the public would be more widely interested, that business men could be relieved of the excessive amount of time they gave to seeing solicitors and that there would result increased contributions. As a result, the Cleveland Federation was formed for a united drive, providing for ten members to be elected by the organizations in the federation, 10 members to be elected by patrons contributing to the federation and 10 members appointed by the Chamber of Commerce. Under this plan any person may contribute to a particular organization, if he so desires. The undesignated gifts are to be divided among the various constituent agencies according to their needs as determined by the federation, giving due consideration to the amounts used by them in previous years.

After three years of operation under this plan the results showed increased contributions from previous contributors; an increase of \$100,000 over the combined contributions of the previous year at a cost of only 8 per cent for collection as compared with a cost of from 12 to 14 per cent before the federation; a better cooperation between the agencies concerned, and the education of the public through a highly organized publicity.

In 1914 the Cleveland Welfare Council was started as an advisory body to the new City Department of Public Welfare. In January of 1917 this was merged with the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy and the new organization was named the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. About 21 civic and social organizations in the Welfare Council were added as cooperating members who did not participate in raising funds to the 61 agencies in the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy. The plan of organization was changed so that the general board of this Welfare Federation consisted of two representatives from each of the constituent bodies, one of which must be a paid worker. This board met quarterly; it elected a board of trustees which usually met fortnightly and carried on the business of the organization. A central finance committee directed the money raising. The endorsement committee was organized along the same lines as that of the Chamber of Commerce. The Welfare Federation then extended its work to a study

of wider problems.¹⁸ The Federation did not stop with its financial purpose. It now serves as a means of studying the methods of the different agencies assisting them in coordinating their work more closely with other agencies and planning for the development of social work throughout the entire city.¹⁹

A somewhat different organization devised a little later was the so-called Community Union established in Cincinnati and Detroit. In Cincinnati and Detroit the Union, under the director, Mr. William J. Norton, endeavored not only to coordinate the work of the various social agencies, unify the financial drives and standardize methods, but also to decrease the waste in purchasing supplies, maintaining separate offices and staffs when they can be combined, and planning for the development of social work in the entire city.²⁰

The movement has spread very rapidly in many of our large cities. In 1934, 414 had adopted the Community Chest. Taking the country as a whole, 61 per cent of the city dwelling population is in a chest city. The movement is much more prevalent in the Central West and in the Pacific states than in other parts of the country.

In 1918 was formed the Association of Community Chests and Councils of which two-thirds of the active chests in the United States are members. That the Community Chest is more economical in collecting the money necessary to finance the social agencies of the community than the methods used by the agencies themselves before the rise of the Chest-movement is shown by the fact that before its organization the agencies were spending on an average of from 15 to 25 per cent of their income in raising the funds

¹⁸ Kingsley, "Principles and Opinions of Federations or Councils of Social Agencies," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, pp. 514-521.

¹⁹ *The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy as Proposed by the Committee on Benevolent Associations of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce*, January 7, 1913; C. W. Williams, "Cleveland's Group Plan," *The Survey*, February 1, 1913; "Some Questions About Charity Federation," *The Survey*, June 17, 1916, "Putting Cooperation on the Map," *The Survey*, December 25, 1915, "Three Years of Charity Federation," *The Survey*, October 28, 1916; "The Human Problems and Resources of Cleveland," "The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy," *The Social Year Book*, Cleveland, December, 1913; Williams, "The Essentials in Cleveland's Experiment in 'Creative Benevolence,'" *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1913, pp. 111-115.

²⁰ William J. Norton, "City Planning in Social Work," *The Survey*, September 9, 1916; Norton, "Workers of Financial Federation," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, pp. 503-507; Johnson, "Ideals of Financial Federation," *Ibid.*, pp. 507-510; Norton, "War and the Federation Movement," *Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 589-595; Bookman, "The Community Chest Movement—An Interpretation," *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 19.

needed.²¹ At the present time the Community Chest is under discussion, pro and con. Its opponents charge it with being a charity trust, with trying to tell workers how to do their work, and with an overbearing attitude. Its advocates reply that it is only trying to bring unity, harmony and cooperation into social work, hitching up the contributors with the workers in scientific charity. The significance of the movement is that it is an attempt to unify the various social agencies in a community and to bring more of the laymen into active service in the various social agencies in that community. The child of socialized social work, the Community Federation, or Chest, is one more effort to make effective the efforts of interested men and women in their fellowmen, originally expressed through organized charity. The Federation itself does not do social work; it finances it and tries to bring about more effective cooperation among the agencies, and more intelligent support on the part of the members of the community. The Community Chest has succeeded pretty largely in doing what organized charity had as an early ideal, but which it failed to realize—to coordinate all the social resources of a given community.

Such are the fundamental principles at the basis of "organized charity." How wide has been the reach of its influence! Beginning with the attempt to suppress begging and to prevent pauperism by doing away with duplication and indiscriminate giving, it has awakened in people quite remote from it a passion for facts concerning social methods and conditions, and has stimulated a desire to prevent social evils by striking at their roots. It has not only revolutionized charity, but it has inspired the hope that, through legislation and trained administration, private and public agencies working together may prevent maladjustments out of which social evils grow. Its principles have passed beyond the field of charity. They have been adopted in correctional work, and are influencing every line of work which deals with individuals or families. Now we hear the term "case work" applied even to groups. It has enlarged our vision of social work. In the endeavor to apply scientific principles we have come to see that all social problems are inextricably interwoven. One cannot be solved without the simultaneous endeavor to perfect all of our social machinery so that individuals and families will not be crushed in the social process. Socialized relief must go hand in hand with social service and social legislation.

²¹ Walker, "Privately Supported Social Work," *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, Chapter 23; Todd, "Financing of Social Work in Chicago," *Social Service Year Book*, 1933, pp. 72-80; King, "Trends in Philanthropy," *National Bureau of Economic Research*, Publication No. 12, New York, 1928; William and Croxton, "Corporation Contributions to Organized Community Welfare Services," *National Bureau of Economic Research*, Publication No. 16, New York, 1930.

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3. Development of Charitable Work in the United States. Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, New York, 1922.
4. The Welfare Federation of Cleveland. Kingsley, "Should Everybody Care?" *The Survey*, January 15, 1921, p. 564.
5. Community Foundations. Hollingshead, "The Community Foundations," *The Survey*, January 2, 1921, p. 639.
6. The Community Chest Movement. In addition to the articles cited in footnotes in this chapter, see also articles on financial federation by Norton in *The Survey* for 1921 and 1922, articles by Devine on federations, and look through the index of the volumes of *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work* for 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, and 1926, under the titles "Community Chest," "Financial Federation."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the essential principles of the Charity Organization movement?
2. What was the origin of organized charity in England? When and under what conditions was organized the first association? What difficulties did it encounter? What was finally effected? When was case work introduced?
3. What were some early attempts at organized charity in the United States? What two types were established? How many societies exist in the United States?
4. Indicate the variety of activities of a modern Charity Organization Society.
5. What developments in policy may be noted?
6. What are its fundamental principles?
7. What has been its effect in general upon private relief societies? On public outdoor relief?
8. What are public welfare departments?
9. What work has organized charity accomplished?
10. What cooperative social agencies have been developed?
11. What are the functions and purposes of the central councils of social agencies? Of the Federations, Community Unions, and Community Chests?

CHAPTER XXIX

SOCIALIZED NEIGHBORLINESS

NEIGHBORLINESS is not simply proximity. That classic figure of neighborliness, the Good Samaritan,¹ has never been excelled. The neighbor was not he who lived near to the man beset by robbers on the Jericho road, but the one who succored him in his need. Neighborliness is not limited by race, creed, or social class; nor by riches, poverty, education, or ignorance. Need, on the one hand, and opportunity and ability, on the other, constitute the conditions of neighborliness.

In the vast complexity of our modern social life, with the development of social classes, not only divided from each other sharply by difference of immediate interests, but also residing apart from each other, the members of one class find it difficult to know the needs of the others. Neighborly goodwill becomes vicarious. The rich and educated find it easy to give money rather than to know and to help their neighbors. The poor find it hard even to conceive that they have something which the rich need. Moreover, contacts being more difficult, interests become specialized. We spend what leisure we have with those of our own class. The conditions of our neighbors are not flaunted before our very eyes. The amount of human kindness is perhaps as great as ever, but it is atrophied by reason of our separation from its immediate presence. We see it only by proxy. Moreover, specialized in our business and social interests, we often, like the priest and Levite in the parable, pass by on the other side. Social settlements are an attempt to socialize neighborly good-will.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT IDEA

Like charity organizations the settlement was an outgrowth of the humanitarian movement in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The writings of Carlyle had shaken the classical political economy and had rudely invaded the smug complacency of the upper classes, especially the educated. At Oxford, John Ruskin was not only attacking the *laissez faire* social philosophy of the time, but urging with fervor the responsibility of

¹ Luke 10 : 30-37.

the favored classes for the gulf between them and the unfortunate. Frederick Maurice in 1860 had established the Workingmen's College. In 1866 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge, where he exerted considerable influence with the students, and where he published his *Social Morality* in 1869. Charles Kingsley was teaching history at Cambridge and devoting a great deal of time to the cause of the poor in London. Thomas Hill Green was also at Oxford instilling into the minds of the students the idea of the brotherhood of man. John Richard Green, the historian of the English people, vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney, was in contact with some of the men at the universities, and was revealing to them the conditions he found in his parish. Out of that atmosphere at the universities sprang the settlement idea. Perhaps these men are a sufficient explanation of the growth of a feeling among the students at the two great universities that they should devote some of their energies and time to learning by actual contact the life of the poor of London.

TOYNBIE HALL, THE FIRST SOCIAL SETTLEMENT

The idea of a settlement developed gradually. Elements of the idea were contributed by many minds. The results of the Industrial Revolution were becoming apparent not only in the increased wealth of England, but also in the growing squalor of large sections of workers. Rich West London contrasted with poor East London more plainly than ever before. The first result of the consciousness that the introduction of machinery and large scale production had emphasized the poverty of the poor were attempts to improve the poor laws in 1834 and again in 1867, and to introduce better methods of relieving the wants of the poor through the Charity Organization Society of London, described in the previous chapter, or, as Canon Barnett put it, to do something "by law and by societies." The next was to get men in the universities to ask "What can I do?"² University men were declaring that "the great work of our time is to connect the centers of learning with centers of industry," and were urging students to "find their friends among the poor." In answer to these exhortations Maurice had established in London the Workingmen's College, referred to above, and, pleading for teachers, had found a response among the young men of the universities. Seven years later Denison had gone to live among the parishioners of Green in London. He died soon, but not before he had learned how hard was the struggle of the poor—a lesson he has left recorded in his letters. He was followed by Edmund Hollond. Mr. Barnett, an Oxford graduate, was curate at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London. Holland heard that Barnett

² Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, pp. 96, 97.

wished to get into the East End. At that time (1872) the living of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, in the great East End, fell vacant. Hollond wrote to the bishop of London and asked him to offer it to Mr. Barnett. The bishop did so. The bishop described it in his letter to Barnett as "the worst parish in my diocese, inhabited mainly by a criminal population, and one which has, I fear, been much corrupted by doles." Barnett and his fiancée went to look it over and so Barnett accepted the work and just before Christmas, 1872, became vicar. After three years the Barnetts went to Oxford for a short visit with friends, and to tell about the conditions they found in their part of the city. Mrs. Barnett has described vividly that eventful visit, on which they got their first chance to present the claims of the poor to Oxford students, among whom were Arnold Toynbee and others who later found their way to St. Jude's and its vicinity. Each undergraduate was asked to come down and see things for himself. They came during the vacations and took lodgings in East London and, as Mrs. Barnett says, "felt all the fascination of its strong pulse of life, hearing, as those who listen always may, the hushed, unceasing moans underlying the cry which ever and anon makes itself heard by an unheeding public."³ Many other visits were made to Oxford and Cambridge in which the Barnetts had the opportunity to urge "the duty of the cultured to the poor and degraded." The students came, but there was no organization. The men attached themselves to the Charity Organization District Committees and other existing agencies there.

Among those who came to the neighborhood of St. Jude's was Arnold Toynbee. The summer vacation of 1875 he spent in Whitechapel. This practice he followed for several years. He graduated in 1878, was married in 1879, but his poor health made it necessary for him to be away from England a large part of the time during the summers. Often he lectured to workingmen on economic subjects (he died in 1883), and showed his practical interest in the poor.

Toynbee's interest had been shown also by his work among the youth of Oxford, "where with a subtle force of personality he attracted original or earnest minds of all degrees, and turned their thoughts or faces toward the East End and its problems." He induced many men to work with the Barnetts.

In 1883 Barnett wrote a paper which he read at a meeting at St. John's College, Oxford, on "Settlements of University Men in Great Towns." As a result of this stirring paper, which Mrs. Barnett has preserved for us, a committee was formed, money was raised and a head sought to make the ideal a reality. In 1884 Barnett was asked to preach in Balliol Chapel, Ox-

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

ford, on the anniversary of Toynbee's death. During the sermon the suggestion came to both Mrs. Barnett and Bolton King, the honorary secretary of the committee, that the proposed settlement, which was to be established nearby St. Jude's, where they had spent 11 years of their lives, should be called Toynbee Hall. Thus began the first university settlement in the world.⁴

THE MOTIVES OF THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT

The philosophy back of the movement at first was not clearly defined. It has been suggested that a passion for the democracy inherent in Christianity and felt by those Oxford and Cambridge men who had been inspired by the teachers and writers at the two universities, had much to do with the movement. However, if we may judge from its first expressions, that feeling was not always consciously religious. It was rather humanitarian and social. With some, as for example Barnett himself, it is probable that the religious motive lay back of the movement. Even in his case, however, the philosophy was religious only in that broad ethical sense inspired by Christianity. In that sense, in many cases, if not all, religion has remained a motive. In the strict sense settlements have never been religious in the same way as missions to the poor in great cities. As time has gone on, however, settlement workers have had to define the motives and outline a philosophy. As long ago as 1893 Jane Addams, one of the pioneers in the United States, and perhaps the most brilliant expositor of the ideals of settlements, said that the "subjective" motives which urge towards settlements are three: (1) "The desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression;" (2) "to share the race life, and to bring as much as possible of social energy and the accumulation of civilization to those portions of the race which have little;" and (3) to bring about a "renaissance of Christianity, a movement toward its early humanitarian aspects."⁵ Surveying the whole history of settlements, and endeavoring to sum up the motives which lie at their base, it may be said that settlements have been and are motivated by three ideals:

1. **The Desire for Knowledge.** With the growth of cities and the division of the population by occupation, by social status and by residence classes, contacts between the classes for the most part are few. Ignorance leads to misunderstanding and the growth of prejudices. Class interests drive men apart. Unless there is knowledge of the conditions under which other classes are working and living, class interests become dominant and

⁴ Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, pp. 96, 117.

⁵ *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, p. 2.

class conflict results. Such conflict can be overcome only by appreciation of the point of view of others. Some members of each class must get into contact with as large a number as possible in other classes, and then report their findings to members in their own class in order that there may be that understanding and cooperation which makes a healthy social order.

Moreover, appreciation of the *personalities* in other classes comes through contact. How often the members of one class are blind to the excellencies of the members of another class until by living and working with them the fine qualities are recognized! How frequently one misunderstands others, when he does not see them struggling with the difficulties of their position! On the other hand, how frequently has it happened that in the settlement one schooled in an entirely different social atmosphere from that of the slums has come to see how, in spite of the untoward circumstances of life, some of the finest qualities of human personality are manifested by the poor!

Moreover, settlement residents desire not only the personal knowledge of *conditions* which they gather from residence in the slums, but they desire to ascertain from careful objective study the extent and character of the problems of the poor. How many model studies of social conditions have been made in connection with settlements! Studies in the administration of poor relief in London were made in the early days by Toynbee Hall.

Such study was the objective in the establishment of Andover House, which has become the South End House of Boston. Professor Tucker, in 1891, proposed that there should be established in one of the more crowded districts of Boston a house "designed to stand for the single idea of resident study and work." Says Mr. Woods, the former head resident, "The singleness of this idea has ever since been the guiding principle of the settlement which came of that initial effort."⁶ The South End House studies concerning conditions in Boston were made by Robert A. Woods and his fellow-residents in South End House, Boston. Hull House "Maps and Papers" are the result of this same motive in Hull House, Chicago.

2. **Democracy.** In the United States the word "democracy" is often on our lips. How one-sided was our conception of the term is shown by the long fight necessary to secure women's suffrage. In social democracy we have not achieved as important results as in political. Says Jane Addams, "We have refused to move beyond the position of its (democracy's) eighteenth century leaders who believed that political equality alone would secure all good to all men. We conscientiously followed the gift of the ballot hard upon the gift of freedom to the negro, but we are quite unmoved by the fact that he lives among us in a practically social ostracism. We hasten to

⁶ Woods, *The City Wilderness*, Boston, 1899, Preface.

give the franchise to the immigrant from a sense of justice, from a tradition that he ought to have it, while we dub him with epithets, deriding his past life or present occupation, and feel no duty to invite him to our house. . . . We have almost given it up as our ideal in social intercourse."⁷

For the achievement of this social democracy the settlement was founded. Its residents are neighbors in the real sense to all the people round about it. Its house is as open to them as their houses are to its residents. Moreover, it endeavors to bring together in its work the cultured and the rich on the one hand and the poor on the other. Here is realized the Biblical statement, "The rich and the poor meet together; Jehovah is the maker of them all."⁸

Furthermore, in its *study* of working conditions and in providing a forum for frank *discussion* of problems affecting the poor in their work, the settlement is in line with its democratic motive. How often the unorganized and exploited workers in the region of the House on Henry Street in New York City, in Hull House in Chicago have found an attentive ear, a meeting-place for the discussion of their questions, and a voice for their protests! Sympathy and advocacy of their claims by settlement house workers are visible in the books of all the settlement workers.⁹

The settlements extend democracy to education. On the formal side elementary education has been fairly well achieved in the great cities of America. Nevertheless, in many of the crowded districts even the elementary educational facilities are not adequate. The necessity of going to work prevents many children from securing a suitable training for life. The settlements have ever been prominent in advocating better school facilities. When these were not to be had from the public school, settlements have organized classes to realize their ideal of democracy in education. Likewise, in the extension of education the settlements have been leaders. Classes for adults denied educational advantages have been formed until the public school system could take over the work.

A corollary of the motive of democracy is that of *sharing with the disadvantaged the heritage of culture and opportunity*. Our forefathers founded here a nation in which the political privileges of the few would become the privileges of all. Implicit in their doctrines was a wider and deeper democracy. Time has shown that political democracy cannot stand alone; hence, the emphasis upon the public school for all. But an elementary education does not give a proper share in our culture; hence, our development of higher

⁷ *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, pp. 2, 3

⁸ Proverbs 22. 2.

⁹ Wald, *The House on Henry Street*, New York, 1915, Chap. II; Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, New York, 1910

institutions of learning with provision for nominal tuition and scholarships, so that the poorest youth may share more fully in our intellectual achievements. Democracy also implies opportunity for vocational and technical education, university extension, public art galleries and cultural lectures for all who wish them. Settlements have started many of these movements.

Culture is not communicated only by formal instruction; it comes to us chiefly by contact with the cultured. It is the teacher who makes the school. Too often after school days the poorer children lack opportunity to be in cultured society. The settlement, by bringing cultured and uncultivated together, furnish the opportunity. On the other hand, frequently the rich and educated have a narrow and selfish culture. The settlement gave them a chance to broaden their outlook, enlarge their sympathies and discover undreamed-of refinements among the unprivileged. Immigrants often bring with them elements of culture lacking in our Anglo-Saxon civilization. Why should these people, any more than the poor, be denied opportunity for the widest culture? There is no air of superiority or subserviency in a settlement; the rich and educated there have no more rights than the poor and the foreigner. There is no "uplifting" attitude tolerated. It is recognized that the poor do as much for the rich there as the rich for the poor. They work together for the attainment of a common end. They share with each other their special social endowments, points of view, opinions and culture.¹⁰ Hence, the settlements reiterate that they provide the facilities whereby the poor and the rich alike may help themselves to a nobler and more generous attitude by contact with each other. Barnett presented this ideal when he spoke of these young university men who would come to the settlement, "taking up such work as was possible, touching with their lives the lives of the poor, and learning for themselves facts which would revolutionize their minds."¹¹ Only by living with the disadvantaged and sharing their lives can such understanding and sympathy be engendered in human hearts, and that wisdom learned which makes it possible to share the riches of one's life without degradation to either the giver or the recipient. Destroying condescension on the one hand and preventing resentment on the other, the settlement provides an exchange of service and culture on the basis of mutual friendship and respect.

It also breaks down undemocratic cleavage between the classes. Said Barnett in 1883, "The needs of East London are often urged, but they are little understood. . . . It is impossible but that misunderstandings should follow ignorance. . . . The want of that knowledge which comes only from

¹⁰ Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, p. 9.

¹¹ *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, p. 99.

the sight of others' daily life, and from sympathy with 'the joys and sorrows in widest commonalty spread,' is the source of the mistaken charity which has done much to increase the hardness of life of the poor."¹² There set forth in the *magna charta* of the movement is the method of bridging the chasm between the classes. The settlements have kept the faith.

Another ideal implicit in the democratic motive of the settlement is that of *improving our civic institutions*. Politics in America has registered its greatest failure in city government. Therefore, in this country settlements take an active interest in efforts to cleanse city politics of the graft that battens on the poor. Where has there been a settlement which has not been a conscience to the aldermen, the policemen, and the health officers of its city? Set among the people whom bad city government strikes first and hurts most, the settlements have challenged the betrayal of the people's rights by false leaders. They have firmly stood for good government—for decency in the public institutions through which democracy expresses itself.

3. **Opportunity for Self-Expression.** A third motive in settlements is to give opportunity for self-expression. How few means there were when settlements began for children to play, for the social intercourse of youth, for families to mingle with others, and for the discussion of the common problems of a community.

Children must express themselves in play-activities. Recent studies have shown that carefully guarded play is necessary for the wholesome development of mankind.¹³ How deadly is the lack of playgrounds in the congested districts of great cities! Without a place to play, children cannot develop their native capacities. The settlements have been leaders in establishing playgrounds for the neighborhood children and have led the campaign for public playgrounds. The fresh-air outings were a movement of the same sort. Jacob Riis has told of the little girl who was sent to the country for a few weeks by a "fresh-air charity," who wrote back to her mother that she was living in a house surrounded "by Christmas trees," and that the farmer did not get his milk out of a can, but "pulled it out of a cow." Their rides on the hay, on old Dobbin, their swim in the brook or lake and their freedom to roam about the country gathering flowers and watching the pigs have given new opportunities for self-expression. The settlements led in their development.

As with the children, so with city youths. Living in a family in small and crowded rooms, where shall they receive their friends where do their

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

¹³ Gillin, *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918; Thurston, *Delinquency and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918.

courting, where have their parties and dances? The saloon and low dance hall often was all that offered itself to their starved longing for a place for their social gatherings. The settlement provided halls in which they could hold their gatherings, where they could give plays and musicals, hold club meetings, and have parties.¹⁴

WHAT IS A SOCIAL SETTLEMENT?

This sketch of the development of the social settlement prepares us for a definition. Jane Addams says that it is "an effort to add the social function to democracy." She adds, "The settlement then is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern condition of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of the city. It is an attempt to relieve at the same time the over-accumulation at the one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this over-accumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in the things that pertain to social and educational advantages."¹⁵ In brief, we may define the settlement as a *center in which men and women of education, sometimes of wealth and leisure, may meet on terms of neighborly friendliness the less fortunate citizens of their community, where each may learn from the other and through friendship render service to each other, resulting in enlargement of vision, development of personality, and united action for social betterment.* It is not a place where rich condescend to the poor, and where the poor receive subserviently the gifts of the rich and educated. It is a place where in the spirit of democracy, men and women of all classes, all races, all religions, work together for the common end of personal and social improvement.

In the attempt to organize neighborliness, no formal procedure is followed. Residents live there, so that they may become acquainted with the conditions of the people of the neighborhood. They welcome to their homes the neighbors who wish to come. In the friendship of that home they learn the neighbors' point of view, and the neighbors in turn learn their point of view. The residents do not do something for their neighbors. They work with them. The only reason for organization is that neighbors may work together in the solution of common problems. Classes and clubs are formed only that neighbors and residents may together improve themselves and the conditions under which they have to live.

¹⁴ Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*; Wald, *The House on Henry Street*, New York, 1915; *The Survey*, December 1, 1917, pp. 244-247.

¹⁵ *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, pp. 1, 22.

The organization of the settlement is extremely simple. At the head is a head resident or warden, who selects his associates, and organizes and directs the work. Usually the support of the institution is secured in large part from friends of the head resident. Usually he is a university man, who has connections with people who are glad to invest their money and often their spare time in the settlement. As the work develops, however, many of the clubs and other activities of the settlement become self-supporting. It has been the hope of some of the settlement workers that ultimately the neighborhood would support the movement entirely—a hope not yet realized. Some of the workers are not residents, and others report at certain periods to lead clubs, to carry on research, and to participate in various other activities.

All kinds of activities which promise to develop neighborliness between the settlement residents, their friends, and the people in the neighborhood are inaugurated. The Henry Street Settlement in New York began by organizing visiting nursing. The Chicago Commons has made the family central in its program. Kindergarten classes, boys' and girls' clubs, housekeeping clubs, manual training work, gymnasium, discussion groups, study clubs of various kinds, the organization of leagues to better conditions in that part of the city—these and many other projects are to be found. Settlements vary in characteristics. Some few have religious connections. Most of them, however, are without ecclesiastical affiliations. Among them there are several music settlements and a few nurses' settlements. Almost always, however, in response to the demands of the neighborhood, a settlement started along a particular line, like nursing or music, enlarges its activities.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

Beginning with the establishment of Toynbee Hall, dedicated in 1885, the movement found its first expression in America in a neighborhood gild established by Dr. Stanton Coit in 1887, in the East Side of New York.

The movement made such an impression upon thoughtful people that it spread into most of the larger cities of the country. In 1934 the National Federation of Settlements was made up of 150 such organizations with 48 other houses affiliated through the individual membership of staff workers—a total of 206 such houses scattered throughout the country. In 1930 a survey covering 160 of these houses showed that they had on their staff 1,500 members and 7,500 volunteers. Enrolled in the activities of 136 of these houses were 153,268 people in 3,518 clubs and 6,192 organized classes. Served in all the activities of these centers was a total of 973,418 people,

80 per cent of whom were under eighteen years and 20 per cent adults.¹⁶ Throughout the world 700 settlements have been founded in 150 cities.

INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

It is difficult to study in terms of definite measurable achievement the results of the social settlement. Their work is largely social in nature; they are not a relief organization. They exist to organize the people of the community to help themselves. They have formed rather the center from which have gone forth influences both directly and indirectly affecting relationships between people—relationships difficult to tabulate.

On Industrial Relations. Frequently the settlement house becomes the focus for the discussion of evil conditions in industry. They have been meeting-places for the organization of underpaid, overworked and otherwise exploited workers. Residents have endeavored first to get the facts concerning the conditions of the working people. On the basis of these facts, they have proceeded to cooperate with their neighbors in the endeavor to better conditions. For example, when the shirtwaist strikers in New York City were in difficulty because of efforts used to break their strike, the residents of the Henry Street Settlement paid their fines when arrested. Many of the settlement's wealthy friends found satisfaction in picketing side by side with the working girls.¹⁷ Hull House has frequently been the center to which workers suffering from evil conditions came either to protest or to organize.¹⁸

Inasmuch as the settlements have known by first-hand contact the difficulties of the poorly paid workers of the tenements, and have ascertained patiently the facts as to the hours of labor resulting in sickness and the wreck of homes, their words have been heard by unprejudiced people in legislative and executive circles.¹⁹

On Recreation. The settlements were the originators of the small park playground for children in their congested districts. Living among the people who were denied places for the children to play, and observing the results of lack of play, the settlements have secured small places and fitted them up as playground centers for children in their immediate vicinity, as a demonstration.²⁰ Settlements pioneered in summer fresh-air excursions and camps for the children and their mothers. How much the great recreation movement now popularly accepted throughout the country owes to the in-

¹⁶ Ross, *What Is America?* New York, 1910, p. 93.

¹⁷ Wald, *The House on Henry Street*, New York, 1915, pp. 200, 210.

¹⁸ Addams, "The Objective Value of the Social Settlement," *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, pp. 50, 51.

¹⁹ Woods and Kennedy, *The Settlement Horizon*, New York, 1922, Chaps. 16-20; Holden, *The Settlement Idea*, New York, 1922, Chap. 3.

²⁰ Wald, *The House on Henry Street*, New York, 1915, pp. 86, 87, 100, 111.

fluence of the settlement, no one can tell. As public authorities have taken up the matter, the settlements have withdrawn to devote their energies to other things that need to be done.

On Charity. One of the difficulties Mr. Barnett found in East London during his first years of work there was the pauperized condition of the people, by reason of the way in which charity had been dispensed. He suggested that university men coming into residence could do a great deal in overcoming this pauperized spirit among the poor. He says, "What university men can do in local government is written in the face of parishes redeemed from the demoralizing influence of out-relief, cleansed by well-administered law."²¹

The settlements have always cooperated with the charity organization societies by providing the group activities to supplement the individualized case work of the latter. Often in family disharmony and juvenile delinquency the case working agency finds a solution of a problem by getting the individual to become interested in group activities.

During the depression the settlements in this country have undertaken the very important work of interpreting the new relief organization and its methods to its clients. Furthermore it has stepped in on occasion to provide street-car fare for children and other necessary items not included in the Emergency Relief budget. The settlements have also acted as counselors to committees of the unemployed in their time of dire distress and have aided them in getting the cases before the relief authorities.²²

On Education. Before there were kindergartens in the public schools, the settlement started kindergartens. As soon as they were able to get the public kindergartens established, they themselves withdrew from that activity. Before the schools provided manual training and domestic science, the settlement, seeing the need of such training, provided classes for their neighbors' children in these subjects.²³

In like manner the settlements helped to establish branch libraries in the poorer sections of the cities long before the munificence of Andrew Carnegie had made possible the numerous branch libraries scattered throughout the country.

Furthermore, the settlement has been friendly throughout its history to university extension for the adults who have ceased attending school, but desire further training. That connection was made in Toynbee Hall. It has

²¹ *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, p. 101

²² Springer, "Shock Troops to the Rescue," *The Survey*, January, 1933, p. 9; "Where the Settlements Stand Resolutions Adopted by the National Federation of Settlements," *The Survey*, June 15, 1932, p. 269.

²³ Wald, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 109

continued to the present. Today in most of our settlements extension classes are held, and will be held, until other places are provided where adults can get such further training as they desire. Thus in these and many other ways settlements have been outposts in the field of education, reporting where the school system fails to meet the needs of the poor, the residents being for the most part educated people, and having connections with influential citizens, have been able to protest and suggest in a practical way. Fifteen music schools have developed out of settlements and in 50 settlements there are music departments.

On Politics. Says Graham Taylor:

One of the earliest efforts to rid the City Council of the gang which had so long throttled and disgraced Chicago was initiated in the Seventh Ward at Chicago Commons by the nonpartisan organization of citizens to nominate and elect the best available aldermanic candidates to represent the ward, irrespective of party affiliation. For nearly 20 years, with only one or two exceptions, due to changing preponderance of racial votes, the aldermen thus chosen have been among the most trustworthy and effective, who have served the city's best interests and have finally established the nonpartisan character of the aldermanic office and election. Their public service in thus superseding some very untrustworthy predecessors was attested not only by repeated reflection, but by the choice of two of them by the people of the whole city for a high judicial and state administrative office.²⁴

Mr. Woods bears testimony to Barnett's constantly increasing influence on local and national politics in London in these words: "His great reward, however, has come in the direct results of his prophetic humanism; and in the growing influence of Toynbee men, in the School Board, City Council, National Board of Trade, Parliament, and colonial administration."²⁵

What has happened in London has occurred also in America. The settlement residents have had a growing influence in their respective communities, in the state and in the nation. Settlement workers generally, because of their intimate knowledge of social conditions in their communities, because of their high-minded disinterestedness and public spirit have led in movements, private and public, for the betterment of social conditions. Wherever human misery has stalked, there they have been found, not only protesting in the name of common humanity, but suggesting constructive measures for the cleansing of political conditions, and for securing opportunity to the unprivileged to share in the heritages of our democracy.²⁶

²⁴ *Twenty-fifth Annual Report, Chicago Commons*, Chicago, 1919, p. 7.

²⁵ *The Survey*, July 5, 1920, p. 456.

²⁶ Robbins, "Political Influence in Neighborhood Civic Life," *The Neighborhood*, January, 1928, p. 29.

On Health. No settlement worker can be in intimate contact with the problems of our cities without becoming conscious of the relation between social conditions there and the health of the people. Says Lillian Wald, "The appointment of the first physician to the public schools of New York City was brought about almost entirely through the neighborhood workers' discovery of a child who was attending school while desquamating from scarlet fever, who did not stop with the mere discovery; and the present extension of medical inspection in New York City, which includes trained nurses, and makes possible the carrying out of the treatment prescribed by the school doctor, was also brought out because a neighbor in a crowded neighborhood discovered for herself that a child with a very small sore on his head could be excluded, on account of that sore, from participation in the educational provisions of the city."²⁷

Miss Wald's nurses' settlement on Henry Street in New York City naturally emphasizes health matters. In 1903 she established a milk station in the settlement and taught mothers how to prepare modified milk. She secured the services of neighboring physicians as consultants, and frequently had them hold conferences. Out of that grew the movement for municipal milk stations in New York City.

Union Settlement in New York City in 1905 financed an investigation of midwives by a committee, of which Miss Wald was chairman. Out of that study grew the legislation in New York regulating midwives, and the establishment in connection with Bellevue Hospital of the first school for them in America.

In 1908 Miss Wald began to urge the Red Cross to develop a system of visiting nursing in the country areas. Out of this grew the development of town and country nursing of the Red Cross, which has now become the Department of Nursing with its stimulating effect in all parts of the country. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's policy of nursing its industrial policyholders was suggested by Miss Wald to one of the officials of the company. During the experimental stage the staff of Miss Wald's settlement was used to care for its patients. When the need of public health nursing began to increase, the Henry Street Settlement cooperated with other visiting nursing bodies by offering the best graduate training, and sought the coordination with formal educational institutions for instruction in social theory and pedagogy. As a result in 1910 the Department of Nursing and Health was created at Teachers' College, Columbia University. Because of her activities Miss Wald was elected the first President of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing.²⁸

²⁷ *The Child in the City*, Chicago, 1912, pp. 250-251.

²⁸ Wald, *The House on Henry Street*, New York, 1915, Chap. III.

Similar activities affecting questions of health are to be found in the history of Hull House. In the early days after the Woman's Club of Hull House had by inspection found shocking conditions of filth and neglect in the alleys and back-yards of the ward in which Hull House is located, Miss Addams applied for and obtained the position of garbage inspector and appointed Miss Amanda Johnson as her deputy. The next year Miss Johnson became inspector, and for three years devoted herself to cleaning up that ward. When an epidemic of typhoid broke out in the vicinity of Hull House in 1902, the investigation by the residents of Hull House showed the probable connection of the epidemic with bad sewage disposal. The publication of the report led to vigorous effort at correction. Earlier than this Mrs. Kelly, a resident at Hull House, revealed the connection between a serious outbreak of smallpox and clothing made in a sweat-shop in Chicago. The law of 1893 prohibiting the making of certain garments in tenements was passed.²⁹ Similar activities for the health of the people are to be found in other settlements. Infant health centers and maternity centers are often found in settlements in cooperation with health departments.

On Social Research. The fundamental idea of Mr. Barnett in the establishment of Toynbee Hall was to provide a place where educated men might learn to know the conditions of "the other half." After 21 years of experience with Toynbee Hall Barnett said of the settlers in that unique institution, "They have not come as 'missioners,' they have come to settle, that is, to learn as much as to teach, to receive as much as to give."³⁰

As the years have passed this fundamental purpose of the settlement has not been forsaken. Said Robert A. Woods in 1893, "The close scientific study of the social conditions in the neighborhood about a Settlement is indispensable to its success."³¹

No one has illustrated that necessity better than Mr. Woods, as is shown by the long line of studies of the neighborhood around South End House, Boston, made under his direction.³² While not all the settlements have been

²⁹ Hamilton, "The Social Settlement and Public Health," *Charities and the Commons*, March 9, 1907, pp. 1037-1040.

³⁰ *Practical Socialism*, London, 1915, pp. 99-127.

³¹ *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, p. 68.

³² *The City Wilderness*, 1898; *Americans in Process*, 1902; *South End Factory Employees; The Lodging House Problem in Boston; Part-Time, Day and Evening Schools; In Freedom's Birth Place*. Other residents have published studies on *The Public Charity Institutions in Boston; Public Baths in Boston; Some Slums in Boston; Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston; The Unemployed in Boston; Boston Evening Schools; Beggars and their Lodging; Steam Laundries in Boston; Italian Immigration in Boston*. These studies are going on from year to year. See *The Survey*, February 17, 1917, p. 568.

so fruitful in published results, all the important ones have been closely connected with investigations of conditions in their districts.

On Social Democracy. It is impossible to evaluate exactly the service which the settlements through their residents have rendered to the cause of democracy. That they have accomplished much in interpreting to each other the immigrant and the poor on the one hand, and the rich and cultured on the other, no one who has followed the settlement movement can doubt. That they have touched only the fringe of the problem and have made only a beginning in bringing about that democratic spirit which must smooth out the artificial inequalities of life, does not detract from their great contributions to democracy. They have interested a part of the West End of London in the neglected East End; they have brought some of the West Side of New York to take a sympathetic interest in the East Side; they have connected the North Shore of Chicago with the slums; and at the same time they have through this contact removed some of the bitterness of the poor towards the rich. Thus they have helped to develop that brotherhood which is implied in the term "Democracy."¹

On Religion of Service. Three conceptions of religion have ever persisted side by side. One is that religion is intellectual conformity to a set of doctrines. On this conception the religious man is he who accepts and is influenced in his thinking by those doctrines. Since men's minds are so different, and the experience of men in different circumstances varies so, this view of religion inevitably tends to division in religion. Another view of religion is that of certain forms and ceremonies, which are conceived of as "services" to God. This is a religion of action, but action connected with ecclesiastical institutions, often quite divorced from any relationship with one's fellows. Again since religious institutions in different countries vary much, and therefore ceremonies differ, this conception of religion is divisive. The other conception of religion is that of doing good to one's fellows. It is a religion of humanitarian service, like that of Christ as set forth in the Gospels.

What, then, has been the influence of the settlement upon the development of this conception of religion? One of the roots of the movement was the desire for understanding between the classes and a passion for social justice. The leaders of the movement in England were motivated by religion. The settlement was the means of expressing the social motives of their religion. They were dissatisfied with its individualistic, other-worldly purposes. The Church seemed content to get individuals to join it, while ignoring the conditions under which they lived. In spite of its activities extending over

¹ McLennan, "Democracy and the Settlement," *Social Forces*, June, 1926, p. 760.

hundreds of years, the rich ignored the poor, and the poor hated or begged from the rich. The result was disastrous to both. Democracy and brotherhood did not develop. Religion was socially abortive. Said Barnett in that address to the men gathered at St. John's College in Oxford, England, in 1883, "No talent, be it called spiritual or secular, need be lost on account of its unfitness to existing machinery. If there be any virtue, if there be any good in man, whatsoever is beautiful, whatsoever is pure in things will find a place in the settlement."³⁴ Dean Hodge of Boston in 1893 said: "But if we take religion to be synonymous not with institutionalism, not with denominationalism, not with barriers nor badges, but with the spirit and the life of Jesus Christ, and if we accept that definition which describes it as ministration to the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and as keeping of the conscience in spite of the world: if to go about doing good be a sign of religion: if to reach out the hand to those who are down be a sign of religion—then is the settlement religious through and through, and the house in which its workers live is the House of God."³⁵ On this point Jane Addams has said, "I believe that this turning, this *renaissance* of the early Christian humanitarianism, is going on in America, in Chicago, if you please, without leaders who write or philosophize, without much speaking, but with a bent to express in social service, in terms of action, the spirit of Christianity. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the Settlement movement, and it is also true that force must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any Settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likenesses and ignore the differences which are found among people whom the settlement constantly brings into juxtaposition."³⁶

One who surveys the work of social settlements throughout the world cannot be unimpressed by the fine spirit of service expressed in this religious ideal to be found in their work. The passion for justice reminds us of the lofty enthusiasm of Amos and of Jesus. Their devotion to this ideal through good and evil report is worthy of the martyrs. Their patience in the face of misunderstanding gives an example of patient persistence in well-doing. Their love of the unprivileged leading to self-sacrifice of the most unselfish sort has not been exceeded in the history of Christian piety.

They have broadened our conception of Christian philanthropy, they have

³⁴ *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, p. 102; Barnett, "The Secret of Canon Barnett's Influence," *The Survey*, Oct. 6, 1913.

³⁵ Proceedings, *National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1896, p. 152.

³⁶ Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, pp. 20, 21.

ever kept before them the ideal of Him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. They have taught us that the artificial distinctions between men of different languages, different customs, various religions, different economic status, after all can be bridged by devotion to the common ideal inspired by a great religious motive—the religion of social service.

On Americanization. The settlements, especially in this country, were founded in great immigrant colonies. One of their problems was to interpret the immigrant to America and America to the immigrant. It was the settlement workers who called attention to the elements of culture and to the social characteristics which these peasants from other lands brought with them, and which if adopted would enrich the culture of America. On the other hand, it was they who interpreted the social ideals and the political conception of America to these ignorant and bewildered people fleeing from political and religious persecution. It was they who called attention to the necessity of adapting the school to the immigrant's needs, explaining our laws, and of inculcating in them standards of living necessary in a great and crowded city, if they and their children are to have health, culture, and economic opportunity. The scene for the settlements, however, has changed since the passage of the quota laws in 1924. Instead of a million immigrants a year, we now cannot have more than 150,000. The children of former immigrants move out of the slum section; the negro from the South has moved in to take their places. Consequently the great problem facing the settlements in our large cities is how to adapt their work to this large class of peasant people of a different color as well as a different culture. Fortunately the settlements are massed in the northern cities which are receiving the negro migrants. Seventy-nine of the 152 settlements in the whole of the United States recognized by the National Federation of Settlements are located in ten large northern cities. In these large negro neighborhoods are evidences of social maladjustment—a low standard of living, a high delinquency rate, and a high morbidity and mortality rate. Only a few of the settlements have even scratched the surface of this new problem. In the directory of settlements for 1935 are listed only four all-negro settlements. Doubtless in due time the settlements will face the problem and adjust their programs accordingly.³⁷

On Social Centers. Long before the social or community centers were heard of elsewhere the settlements were providing the center without the name. The clubs and forums organized in the settlements and the neigh-

³⁷ Lindenberg and Dittel, "The Settlement Scene Changes", *Social Forces*, May, 1936, p. 559; Lasker, "When Neighbors Migrate", *The Survey*, December 15, 1928, p. 378; McFarland, "Settlement for Sale", *The Survey*, March 15, 1930, p. 707.

borly groups coming together for the discussion of common problems found in the settlement a center to which the neighborhood was welcome. Says Graham Taylor, "From the beginning Chicago Commons became also a neighborhood center. No other was so free to all, private or public, or so cheery and social in its welcome and atmosphere of friendliest fellowship . . . so the social and pleasure clubs, the fraternal and benefit orders, the trade unions, and national groups, the churches and schools of the neighborhood have used the Commons building as though it were their own, paying only the cost of light, heat and care, by way of cooperation."⁸⁸

As early as 1893 Robert A. Woods suggested the use of school buildings as social centers. He said, "The schools can be made in many ways better factors in the social development of the children than they now are, by the introduction of many new methods of instruction, of the gradual addition of Manual Training to the curriculum, and of a larger use of school buildings for combined instruction and recreation."

Such are a few of the contributions which the settlements have made to the improvement of social conditions. Their constructive and productive work has been of the greatest value. The marvel is that with so few precedents and with scarcely any carefully prepared program, they have done so much. Perhaps the very absence of such a program set them free from what Tolstoi called the "snare of preparation," and left them untrammelled to develop the activities in a spirit unfettered by formal machinery. That they have done so much is due largely to the fact that they have been headed by educated men and women of great ability, who possessed a rare consecration to high ideals.

THE FUTURE OF SETTLEMENTS

Engaged in the task of putting themselves out of business, as settlement workers have so often said, the question arises as to what the settlements will busy themselves with—their club work taken over by the public recreation centers, their kindergartens, and the teaching of domestic science and trades by the public schools, their playgrounds by the public authorities, their Americanization work, no longer necessary, their nutrition clinics by public schools and health departments and their health instruction by public health authorities.

While it is felt by some of the younger settlement workers that a re-definition of settlement aims is necessary, there is still in the friendly contact with people, the helping hand in new situations, not yet covered by public

⁸⁸ *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, p. 79.

provisions, and the agitation for public consideration of new problems opportunity for a great service. Moreover, neighborliness has not yet been completely socialized in the sense that the municipalities have succeeded in giving it that unofficial character, so marked in the settlements and so stimulating to the people. It is the conviction of many interested in the settlements, that conditions in our cities still present problems sufficient "to show that the function of the settlement in spite of all their additions to the machinery of social service, is in essentials what it was in the days of its birth." The division of classes is still wide enough to call for the best efforts of a mediating agency.

However, whether settlements continue to exist or not, they have made an important contribution to social work. They have been the social experiment stations where new ideas were given the test. They have shown that certain chasms in social and economic life may be bridged by understanding and sympathy; good-will can be organized; social service can be filled with the spirit of religion and yet be scientific. They have discovered that, in spite of clashing interests, there are foundations of social order in the appreciation of evil conditions springing from intimate acquaintance and in the better elements of human nature kindled into activity by the sight of suffering fellows.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Origin of Toynbee Hall. Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, p. 107.
2. Canon Barnett's Reflections on Settlements after Twenty-one Years. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
3. Survey of the Settlements in the United States. Woods and Kennedy, *Handbook of Settlements*
4. Criticism of the Settlements. Kelley, "The Settlements. Their Lost Opportunity," *Charities*, Vol. XVI, pp. 79, 186, 315. Knox, "The Social Settlement and Its Critics," *The Survey*, Vol. XXX, pp. 486-487.
5. The Task of the Settlement To-day. *The Survey*, Vol. XXXII, p. 296.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. State the origin and first appearance of the social settlement idea.
2. Name the three ideals motivating social settlements
3. Define a social settlement
4. Describe the growth of social settlements
5. What social movements have they influenced?
6. On what grounds have they been criticized?
7. What is the future field for settlements?

8. *Has the function of the settlement been taken by (a) the playgrounds and recreation center; (b) by the community center; (c) by the institutional church?*
9. *Name and describe some of the leaders in the social settlement movement in this country.*
10. *What changes have taken place in the activities of social settlements? Why?*

CHAPTER XXX

SOCIALIZED HEALTH

IN Chapter XXV certain indications were given of the bearing of disease upon the problem of poverty and dependency. It was shown that our institutions for the treatment and prevention of disease have grown up in a haphazard way, with the result that with increasing knowledge of the problem and its relationships gaps in provisions for the care of the sick are now discovered. It is clear that present methods of dealing with health are quite inadequate. People do not know enough about health and disease to secure good health. They are ignorant not only of the elementary principles of hygiene, but even of the agencies dealing with health and disease in the community. Moreover, they cannot recognize the early signs of disease. When they do recognize them, they often delay seeking advice because they cannot afford to pay for it. They still believe in the efficacy of drugs. Agencies to promote right living and arrest incipient disease are so few that health education makes slow progress; hospitals, doctors, nurses, dispensaries and clinics so unevenly distributed, and costs of medical care so out of reach that great numbers are practically denied the attention they should have. To a great extent, medicine and nursing are still commercial, although free treatment and free nursing are increasing. Only to a limited degree have we departed from the theory that health is a personal matter, and adopted the theory that it is of both personal and social concern. The former theory gives us our commercial doctor and nurse; the latter our sanitary laws, our health departments, our school and public health nurses, our municipal and state hospitals, and the beginning of public health education. We have made a good beginning, but so much remains to be done.

Recognition of a Health Minimum. Doctors in private practice, hospitals for pay-patients and nurses for private patients we still need. There can be no quarrel with those who employ their own private physician and nurse and have a private room in a hospital with special attention, any more than there can be objection to those who desire to send their children to private schools, provide private tutors and governesses for their children, or provide their own playgrounds, play apparatus, and private play-supervisor for their children. There is social justification for any provisions for

one's self and his family above the social minimum which should be provided for all.

We recognize in education, however, and are coming to recognize in recreation, a minimum which every person must have if the state is not to suffer. In education we have gone farthest. We insist that every child must attend school a certain length of time. We have provided variety in the curriculum so as to adapt our educational methods to the needs of different individuals. In some states and municipalities we provide at public expense, not only buildings, apparatus, and teachers, but books and meals, that children, who could not otherwise get the most out of school, may have every chance to profit from our educational system. Further, in some places we have provided medical inspection of school children, school clinics, and school nurses, in order that the children may be kept in such a state of health as will enable them to profit from their opportunities. If people do not have adequate incomes, we provide, through relief, a minimum. Now, we also provide medical attendance for those who cannot afford to pay a doctor, but frequently it is of a stigmatizing character. The situation with respect to free medical attendance is at present much the same as it was with respect to education before free public schools were established, when "ragged schools" were the only provision made for poor children. Since health is no less necessary for the public welfare than education, has not the time come to provide for all the people a more adequate minimum of attention to health?

Is Our Present Health Minimum Adequate? It may be urged that we have provided a certain minimum. We provide sanitary inspection, departments of health to enforce health laws and regulations, and laboratories in which studies of the conditions of disease are made. Through the United States Public Health Service and through state and municipal departments of health we publish information on health matters. The Federal Children's Bureau is conducting clinics and publishing bulletins bearing upon the health of children and mothers. Can we go farther?

In spite of what we have done and are doing for public health, we are touching merely the fringe of the problem. As Dr. Hill says: "But of all these manifold duties of the state to the citizen, only one of which can be clearly shown to bear directly on his bodily welfare has been, as yet, fully recognized—only one rests on definite precedent, authorization and organization—and that one is the supervision of infectious diseases. The personal hygiene of the citizen (*apart from the infectious diseases*), and the *remedy* (even, until lately, the mere *detection*) of his defects, disabilities, or non-infectious diseases, have been regarded (except in the case of the pauper,

the criminal, or the insane) as of little or no interest to anyone but himself. And this, notwithstanding that all his material surroundings, and all his relationships, business and social, have been of acknowledged interest to the state from time immemorial."¹

Practically all the other elements in the program for a sound public health are still unfulfilled. For example, while we inspect the child who is in school, we fail to give any attention to pre-school years. Why should the child suffer for its first five years, defects and disabilities which are to be systematically corrected in the sixth? asks Dr. Hill.² If "the most valuable production of the State is its citizens; and the State, properly conceived, exists only to insure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to them,"³ then certainly even from the standpoint of the discovery of infectious diseases and much more from the standpoint of correction of defects, we should give attention to the health of pre-school children.

But we cannot stop there if we are concerned with the child, for what the child is depends much upon the attention which was given to his mother before his birth. Therefore, if we are concerned not only with the child, but with the mother as well, pre-natal care and teaching must be given her.

Furthermore, in any consistent program for the conservation of health, there must be a program of education which will teach personal hygiene for all the people, adults as well as children. Pamphlets, magazine articles, lectures, exhibits, lantern slides, etc., do something in this way. What they do, however, is inadequate. Every state should provide for its children at least (1) education of the parents in the personal hygiene of the child; (2) education of the children in the care of their own health; (3) supervision, for the detection and also for the remedy of initial defects in children, at least as early as the beginning of their entrance to school; (4) supervision of children throughout school life for the purpose of detecting and remedying the defects, disabilities, or diseases which may develop during that period; (5) the supervision of infectious diseases. Can it, however, stop with the children? Must it not have a public health program for the whole population? What are the elements in such a program?

Extension of Public Health Provisions. Perhaps the elements in a public health program for the control of disease and the insuring of public health cannot be better stated than in the words of Dr. Hill. He proposes a "Commission on Bodily Welfare" which should deal with:

¹ Hill, *The New Public Health*, New York, 1916, p. 39.

² Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³ Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 38.

- Item 1. The education of *every citizen* in personal hygiene.
- Item 2. The supervision of *every citizen* for detection of defects, disabilities, and disease.
- Item 3. The treatment of *every citizen* for all defects, disabilities, and diseases detected.
- Item 4. Finally, . . . the supervision of that small group of citizens, the infectious persons.⁴

In America we have only begun to approximate this ideal. The education of every person in personal hygiene, apart from the infectious diseases, is hardly foreshadowed by what we are doing. Medical supervision, except that given to the pauper, the criminal, and insane, is extended to but a small number of the citizens, namely, to the school children, and those of comparatively few cities, in most states leaving the country children, and the children of other cities entirely uncared for. Furthermore, such supervision as we have does not pretend to remedy defects, but simply to detect them. Again, our present program, except for the dependents, and certain infectious diseases like smallpox, does not provide for the treatment of disease, except as individuals may privately purchase, or private philanthropy provide such treatment.

In practice we have reached only one part of this program, namely, the supervision of known infectious persons. Our machinery for the *detection* of infectious disease, however, and the protection of the rest of the community against infected persons is still far from perfect.

The control of infectious diseases, it is clear, is the one field of public health in which we have relatively certain knowledge, and in which we have developed a technique adequate to the problem.⁵ For the better *control* of infectious diseases we need a properly equipped health machine manned by experts who know by experience how to control sources of infection.

About certain non-infectious diseases we know something. Lead-poisoning, phosphorus disease, poisoning from arsenic and illuminating gas, environmental disease like scurvy and miner's elbow, and some others we know how to control by legislation and education.

Health Education. However, what we do know of how to secure good health, and how to avoid disease should be taught to our citizens. Health education should be much more widely extended. The public press, that "postgraduate institution" of American adults, should be much more widely used. Posters, leaflets, public health lectures, lantern slides and films, can

⁴ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁵ Hill, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII.

assist very materially in disseminating the knowledge we have. Vastly more important is it, however, that the school children should be taught the fundamental principles of health and of the avoidance of disease. Since only about one-half of the children attend school in any one year, and even a school child spends about one-ninth of each year in school, the teaching of these principles even in the grades will not do everything needed. A combination of school and after-school education must be relied upon to build up the proper attitude toward public health. Even if the children in grade schools could be taught as much as the thoroughly trained nurse knows, much of it they would forget and what they remember would demand in some cases facilities they do not possess. So much for public health in the older sense of the term.

Accessibility of Health Services. Considering the community as a whole the provision of medical service compared with educational service is quite unorganized. We plan the educational facilities of a community with reference to the number of children of various ages. We budget the community's expenditures for the education of these children. The relative amounts for buildings, for equipment, and for teaching staff are thoroughly discussed and then agreed upon. We definitely attempt to eliminate waste and to maintain standards. We look forward into the future and plan building programs for ten, fifteen or twenty years ahead. All those having to do with the educational problem, members of school boards, superintendents, teachers, attendance officers, and other specialists are organized to achieve the common aim. This is not done with reference to medical services for the people of the community. Hospitals and dispensaries, doctors, dentists, and nurses are distributed in a haphazard manner. In all but two divisions of the country the number of hospitals is inadequate. If the number of hospitals and sanatoria in relation to the population is considered, the Mountain Division stands first, the New England Division second, then follow in order the Pacific, Middle Atlantic, West North Central, East North Central, South Atlantic, West South Central, and East South Central. The first had one institution for each 23,725 inhabitants while the last had but one for each 135,644 of the population. The rural areas, the towns and the small cities suffer chiefly from the lack of adequate facilities. Furthermore, sometimes in the larger centers physical facilities in the form of hospitals and practitioners' offices are duplicated, and both are insufficiently utilized. Hospital beds are empty and much of the time of the physicians, dentists, and nurses is unoccupied, while large numbers of the people suffer for the lack of their services. The facilities are inaccessible, first, by reason of geo-

graphical remoteness, and, second, because of the inability of people to pay for the services.⁶

HEALTH INSURANCE

The inadequacy of our best efforts to deal with disease suggests that further steps should be taken to provide against the economic losses from sickness. Even should hospitals be universally established in such numbers that every individual who needs hospital care could get it at a price within his reach, were nursing provided so that every sick person might have a nurse at even a nominal fee, and were clinics available for the treatment of ambulatory cases, so that everyone could have the advice of a doctor at nominal expense, nevertheless sickness would still cause loss of time with consequent loss of wages. Out of the losses in wages due to sickness have grown the European plans for health insurance. However, recent investigation has shown that in families with incomes below \$2,500 the losses from earnings are less than the costs of medical care.⁷

The development of industry, the use of machinery, and the increase in the number of wage-earners, have materially multiplied the number of industrial accidents, and have also added to ordinary illnesses occupational diseases. In 12 states up to 1934, compensation was granted the worker who has been disabled by occupational disease, as well as by industrial accident. When such is the law, workmen's compensation protects against the health hazards incident to industry. Because of the hazards in industry to the health of the workers, some of our great insurance companies have developed industrial insurance. Such insurance, while giving some protection, is entirely inadequate. In addition, certain employers furnish medical service. Most of it is diagnostic and preventive, patients being referred to their family physician for treatment. In April, 1930, probably at least 1,000,000 employees in the railroad, mining and lumbering industries, and a considerable number of their dependents, were receiving medical service from the employer or under industrial auspices. In addition, several hundred employees' Mutual Benefit Associations provide some protection for their members. Most of these provide only cash benefits during sickness, but a few provide also medical service.

In a number of instances the employers and the employees jointly support industrial medical service. On the whole, these various measures, while

⁶ *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, pp. 32-35, 64, 67; Falk, *Security Against Sickness*, Garden City, New York, 1936, pp. 27-29.

⁷ Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

better than permitting the individual to rely entirely on his own resources, are inadequate.⁸

Voluntary Health Insurance.⁹ Health insurance on the individual's own initiative, however, has certain drawbacks. In the first place, the individual must be convinced of the importance of insuring his health. Then, he must have enough income to pay the premiums, which condition cannot be met by many of our ill-paid workers, the very ones who most need the protection. Consequently, optional health insurance is not an adequate preventive of poverty and dependency due to ill-health.

In our country, except for the group insurance provided by employers for their employees for accidents or occupational diseases to the latter, individual insurance is the only form of health insurance available. Experience shows it is quite inadequate. A few countries have attempted to increase the protection provided by voluntary plans of private societies, through government subsidies. The government subsidy acts to relieve the insured from a part of the burden and so encourages him to carry insurance. This plan is a step towards compulsory health insurance. In 1933 every country in Europe except Italy and Spain had some type of health insurance. Even Italy had compulsory insurance for tuberculosis and for a few special groups of workers. Five of the smaller countries--Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Finland, and Switzerland--were still operating on voluntary health insurance subsidized by the Government. Even Denmark had practically gone over to compulsory health insurance and Belgium and Finland had compulsory laws pending. In Europe the tendency has been for countries to move from voluntary health insurance subsidized by the Government to compulsory health insurance.¹⁰

Compulsory Health Insurance. While in several European states insurance associations having certain features of compulsory state-supervised health insurance had existed for a long time, it was not until 1883, when Germany introduced her compulsory health insurance, and put into operation a thoroughly coordinated plan, that the movement really began. This legislation covered in 1885, 4,671,000 persons, or about 10 per cent of the total population. In 1911, the law was amended to include about 14,000,000

⁸ *Medical Care for the American People*. The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, pp. 80-83.

⁹ Rubinow, *Social Insurance*, New York, 1916, Chap. XIV, Sydenstricker, "Existing Agencies for Health Insurance in the United States," *Proceedings, Conference on Social Insurance*, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 212, Washington, 1917, p. 430; Falk, *op. cit.*, Chapter XV.

¹⁰ Davis, "How Europeans Pay Sickness Bills," *The Survey Graphic*, December, 1934, p. 617.

persons, or 22 per cent of the population. Its scope was further enlarged after the revolution in 1918. By 1932, 70 per cent of the population of Germany was entitled to medical care under some form of sickness insurance.¹¹ It provides for contributions, part from the employee, part from the employer, and the remainder from the state. This feature has been adopted by practically all the other European countries having compulsory health insurance.

A detailed description of the English system will make us familiar with the general principles of such insurance. The National Insurance Act was passed in 1911, went into operation through the United Kingdom July 15, 1912, and has been modified frequently. In 1933 it covered all manual workers under contract for service and all non-manual workers earning not more than \$1,217 a year who were over sixteen years of age and as regards cash benefits, under sixty-five. After sixty-five cash benefits are paid as old age benefits.

There are five general types of benefits provided under the British Sickness Insurance Act.

(1) *Cash benefit.* Men receive \$3.65 a week, spinsters \$2.92, married women \$2.43. These are paid for the duration of the sickness from the fourth day up to the end of twenty-six weeks of continuous benefits. However, no payment is made until after twenty-six weekly contributions have been made, and a reduced amount until after 104 weekly contributions have been made.

(2) *Medical benefit.* The medical benefit includes all proper and necessary home treatment and drugs excluding the services of a specialist. The approximate annual cost for medical benefit to the fund is \$2.74 plus 12 cents for administration.

(3) *Cash disablement benefit.* Cash disablement benefits are provided for those who have exhausted their cash sickness benefit, at the rate of \$1.82 per week for males, \$1.46 for spinsters, and \$1.22 for married women. No cash disablement benefit, however, is made until after 104 weekly contributions have been made.

(4) *Maternity benefit.* Another form of benefit under the Health Insurance Act is a maternity benefit. On the birth of a child a lump sum of \$19.47 is paid for each insured wife, half of it coming from the society to which the woman belongs and half from that to which the husband belongs. However, if only the husband is insured, or if the woman is unmarried, only \$9.73 is paid. There is no maternity benefit until after the insured has paid forty-two weekly contributions.

(5) *Other benefits.* Other benefits such as increases in cash payment,

¹¹ Davis, *loc. cit.*, p. 618.

special grants in cases of distress, and costs of dental and optical care, the expense of specialists' services, home nursing, treatment at hospital and convalescent home, and other additional benefits may be furnished by the societies which show a surplus on valuation. Valuation of the Society's financial condition is made by the Government on the average about every five years. So much for the benefits.

What are the sources of these funds from which benefits are paid? With certain exceptions embracing cases of members of these societies which show unusual reserves, for each insured man or woman the employer pays towards the fund 9 pence a week. The insured person if a man pays 9 pence, if a woman 8 pence. The state pays one-seventh of the costs of benefits for men and one-fifth of those for women.

The British law provides that benefits shall be paid to the approved societies to which those coming under the law belong. If an insured person cannot or will not join an approved society, he is known as a deposit contributor. There are about one thousand approved societies with 6,500 branches which administer it. In addition there are about 200 insurance committees which administer the medical benefits. The deposit contributors' fund is run on a savings bank principle and the insured gets only what has accumulated in the fund to his credit.

The central administration consists of the National Health Insurance Funds for England, Scotland and Wales respectively, and several subsidiary funds under the Ministry of Health in England and Wales, and under the Department of Health in Scotland. The chief function of the National Funds is to collect the income from the various sources and distribute it to the various societies, branches, insurance committees, deposit contributors' fund, etc. Then there is a regional medical staff of about eighty old-time practitioners who act as medical referees and supervise the insurance doctors.

It will be seen from the above statement that this health insurance act provides not only for health insurance or medical benefits, but has tied up with it the cash sickness benefit and the cash disablement benefit as well as maternity benefits and certain others in case the approved society accumulates a reserve.

Contributions are not payable during a period of temporary unemployment nor during the period an insured person is sick or disabled. The insured person's contribution is taken out of his wages, and paid by the employer by affixing stamps to a contribution card.

Under the medical benefit, free medical attendance and medicine is secured from any practitioner chosen by the insured from a so-called "panel-list" prepared by the commissioners of insurance.

Results of the British System. In spite of the cumbersome system of Great Britain, highly beneficial results have appeared. One of the astonishing discoveries under the operation of this law was the great number of ill people who previously had dragged along without medical advice, forcing themselves to work from day to day, who now for the first time had medical attention. It was a matter of astonishment even to practising physicians. A British investigating committee early in the history of the experiment stated that there were indications that as a result of the rest obtained under the Act, a better condition of health was in certain cases attained, than had been experienced for many years.¹² As a result of maternity benefits there was a great decrease in the number of mothers seeking assistance from the out-patient departments of hospitals and through maternity charities, and a corresponding increase in their willingness to pay for services.

The effect of these laws was at once apparent to Poor Law officials and charity workers. The calls for medical care from the parish doctor, for mid-wife assistance, and for outdoor relief in time of sickness greatly decreased. Public dependency greatly decreased. Charity workers found that the number of calls and the amount of assistance asked for greatly diminished.

Early in the history of the law when sanatorium benefits were provided for certain sick members, the building of sanatoria was very greatly stimulated. Impetus was given to the anti-tuberculosis movement, because it paid to cure as quickly as possible the incipient cases of tuberculosis. Consequently, in those early years of the Act many of the approved societies set up sanatoria for various types of cases. In recent years these agencies have been transferred to the Department of Health.

During the eighteen years between 1913 and 1931 the financial situation of the fund out of which these benefits were paid experienced many fluctuations. The available income per member has varied from \$8.23 in 1914 to \$11.33 in 1931; the expenditure from \$4.77 in 1917 to \$12.06 in 1927. The percentage of total expenditures to the total income of the fund varied from 61 per cent in 1915 and 1918 to 103 per cent of the income in 1927.

In 1930, 66.2 per cent of the total income came from the contributions of employers and insured persons, 15.1 per cent from the state grants, and 18.7 per cent from interest, etc. Of the expenditures 29 per cent went for sickness benefits, 16.4 per cent for disablement benefits, 4.7 per cent for maternity benefits, 26.5 per cent for medical benefits, 8.7 per cent for other benefits,

¹² Halsey, "Compulsory Health Insurance in Great Britain," *The American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1916, pp. 134, 135.

and 14.7 per cent for administration.¹³ While at first in Great Britain there were many skeptics and some opponents of the Health Insurance Act, especially on the part of the regular physicians, at the present time that opposition has almost entirely disappeared.¹⁴

The problem of medical care of all the people of the United States has become increasingly important in the past few years. Until recently we knew little of the exact facts concerning the situation. Since the publication of the report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, the situation is much clearer. It was found, for example, that in a given year two out of five of the population had no connection whatsoever with the professions which serve health. It also made clear that for large numbers of the three out of five who were in contact with these agencies the care was grossly inadequate. We also know now that the incomes of large numbers of doctors, nurses, dentists, and others practicing medicine and the care of the sick are very inadequate. We have learned that the poorer the families, the higher was the rate of disabling illness among them; that death fell almost twice as heavily on unskilled workers as upon professional business executives. We know also that the costs of medical care and the loss of wages due to sickness is unlike almost any other item in the family budget.¹⁵

We know that the three and one-half billion dollars spent for the medical care our people now receive is almost sufficient to provide adequate care for everyone with an adequate return to the professions concerned.¹⁶

It is also true that we have already gone a considerable way towards public care for certain classes of the sick—War veterans, the mentally sick, the tuberculous and the indigent. Already it is estimated that 14 per cent of the

¹³ *Health Insurance Monograph* 3, revised edition, in a series on Social Insurance published by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., February, 1931.

¹⁴ For further references on health insurance in Europe see Epstein, *Insecurity: A Challenge to America*, New York, 1933, Chapter 25; Rubnow, *The Quest for Security*, New York, 1934, Chapter 14; Davis, "How Europeans Pay Sickness Bills," *The Survey Graphic*, December, 1934, p. 617; Hartwell, "Doctors, Patients and the State," *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1935, p. 220; Swing, "Social Security in Great Britain," *The Nation*, February 13, 1935, p. 170; Witmer, "English Health Insurance and the Poor Law," *The Social Service Review*, March, 1932, p. 83; McCleary, "Health Insurance in Europe," *The Milbank-Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January, 1934, p. 3. For a statement adverse to health insurance see "The Critical Analysis of Sickness Insurance—Preliminary Report by the Bureau of Medical Economics of the American Medical Association," *American Medical Association Bulletin*, April, 1934; Rappleve, "How European Institutions Provide Against Sickness," *The Survey*, January 15, 1931, p. 428; Davis, "The American Approach to Health Insurance," *The Milbank-Memorial Fund Quarterly*, July, 1934.

¹⁵ Ross, "The Assurance of Health," *The Survey Graphic*, December, 1934, p. 581.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

three and one-half billion dollars which the American people spent for medical care in our most prosperous recent years were paid from taxes.¹⁷

Consider also that a considerable number of our industries have already provided medical care for their employed and sometimes for their families. It was estimated by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care that in April, 1930, probably at least one million employees in the railroad, mining, and lumber industries, and a large number of their dependents, were receiving medical service furnished by the employer or under industrial auspices. The most outstanding example of such medical service was that provided by the Endicott-Johnson Corporation. The service provided by that corporation compared favorably with general practice in small cities. In preventive medicine and obstetrics it provided better service than that ordinarily received by working class families in such cities. In 1928 the cost per capita of such service was \$21.81.¹⁸

In addition there were numerous instances found by this Committee in which medical service was provided jointly by employers and employees. As an example of this type of service the Committee cited five industrial establishments in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, which cooperated with their employees in the development of a community medical service. There was provided unlimited hospital care, home and hospital nursing, and home, office and hospital attendance by physicians. The employees at the rate of 25 cents per week paid a total of \$33,000 per year and the mills provided \$56,000 per year.¹⁹

In addition the Committee found that there were several hundred Employees' Mutual Benefit Associations, which provide various kinds of cash and other benefits for their members. The Committee cited as an example of this type of service the Stanacola Employees' Medical and Hospital Association of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. This Association employs a surgeon, an eye, ear, nose and throat specialist, and five general practitioners as well as two nurses who are laboratory technicians. Complete medical, hospital and nursing service is furnished to the members and their dependents at a cost of \$3.00 per employee per month.²⁰ It is apparent at once that industrial medical service is limited to those persons and their dependents who are employed in establishments with a considerable number of workers. In 1929 of the 211,000 manufacturing establishments in the United States only 29,000 employed over fifty wage-earners as the yearly average, although

¹⁷ Foster, "Medicine's Right to Control," *The Survey Graphic*, December, 1934, p. 588.

¹⁸ *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1932, p. 80.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

the total number of employees in these industries numbered seven million of the nine million in all manufacturing establishments. The Committee estimated that if employees of other types of organizations of suitable size were added there might be from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 employees with 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 dependents, giving a total of 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 persons who might conceivably be served by industrial medical service. It should also be added that from the standpoint of coverage this plan is limited by the fact that usually employees frequently change employers and therefore are likely not to be permanently covered.

In addition a number of voluntary hospitals in this country are now developing special plans for the so-called "patient of moderate means." The Committee cites as an example of this the Baker Memorial Unit of the Massachusetts General Hospital. This plan rests upon agreements between the medical staff and the hospital on a fixed maximum schedule of charges for both professional and hospital services. The adjustment and collection of these charges are made by the hospital administration acting as the agent for the hospital and for its medical staff. This plan also is inadequate since its services are limited largely to persons of the middle economic groups.

The same stricture as to adequacy obtains with reference to pay clinics usually connected with hospitals and sometimes with clinics independent of hospitals originally set up for only the very poor. A considerable number of such clinics, especially in the cities of the East, have opened since the close of the World War, and charge nominal fees for service approximately sufficient to cover the actual expenses. In many of these clinics the physicians are expected to give their services without charge. In others, the physicians are compensated for their services on a fee basis, the patient paying the full cost of the service except as to hospital and laboratory charges. The Cornell Clinic in New York City is an example of the type providing general services. Others are limited to special fields. Many dental clinics are conducted also on the pay principle. Here, again, the service is limited to those who can pay the charges.²¹

In addition to all these measures 44 states have workmen's compensation laws, most of which require the employer to provide both money compensation and medical services to those employees who are injured while in his service. In 12 of these states medical service is also paid for in cases of

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-95; see also Epstein, *Insecurity: A Challenge to America*, New York, 1933, Chapter 23; Brown, "Industry's Answer," *The Survey Graphic*, January, 1932, p. 398; Rubinow, *The Quest for Security*, New York, 1934, Chapter 16; Brundage, "The Survey of the Work of Employees' Mutual Benefit Association," *Public Health Report*, September 4, 1931, p. 2102.

occupational diseases in addition to compensation for the wages lost because of the illness.

The practical difficulties in this system as a means of protecting the health are numerous. Frequently the physicians are contracted for in such a way as to provide inadequate payment for their services, the insurance companies are interested in keeping down the cost of service, and in many states the maximum liability is often insufficient to meet even hospital costs without professional fees. Furthermore, it covers only those who are employed by concerns coming under the compensation law.

In some states efforts have been made to provide group-care for dental services, for nursing, and for hospital care. By and large the private practicing physicians have opposed these efforts. All of them suffer from the fact that they are on a voluntary basis. Many of the poorer people do not feel that they can afford even these services.

A more recent development than any of these so far discussed is a series of group-clinics under joint sponsorship of professional and consumer groups on a periodic payment plan. Perhaps the most outstanding example of this type of clinic is the Ross-Loos Clinic in Los Angeles. This clinic about 1927 began to offer medical service complete, except for dentistry and nursing, to several groups of employees. The number of subscribers steadily increased. Each person pays on the average about \$2.00 per month. Laboratory service and the services of physicians are offered to family dependents without charge, although dependents must pay the cost of hospitalization, drugs, and a few other items. The professional group and various employees' groups meet with the clinic directors periodically to discuss questions relating to the medical service. This plan has also been fought by the practitioners in Los Angeles and by the American Medical Association.²²

COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

So far in the United States the attempt has been made to meet the situation with regard to medical care on the basis of the individual relationship—both professionally and financially—between the patient and the doctor. The steps just previously described are a recognition of the inadequacy of this method, and an attempt to solve the problem without going to the full length of compulsory health insurance. The lessons of the European experience have been resisted by the individualism of American clients and physicians. The pattern of life produced by pioneer conditions in the United States has held over in this field as in many others. The majority of the Committee on

²² *Medical Care for the American People*, The Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1930, pp. 94-95.

the Costs of Medical Care recommended no health insurance in the European sense, but group-medicine for which the individual will pay when he is able. The county, the state, and even the Federal government should supplement this plan by subsidizing the hospitals and doctors to the degree necessary to provide adequate medical care for all.²³ That was as far as the majority thought the people of this country were prepared to go, although all members of the Committee agreed on the facts presented by their investigators. We shall have to proceed state by state, as we did in workmen's compensation, in old age insurance, and in unemployment compensation, because of our political organization. The people of each state will probably experiment with various methods in providing adequate medical care for the people, and compensation for time lost while ill, until such time as there is rather general agreement on a program.

LESSONS FROM EUROPEAN COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE

In spite of the steps taken by the nations of Europe in compulsory health insurance, none of them except Russia provides for universal medical care. In most of the others the benefits are limited to those who are employed in certain occupations, receive wages under a maximum, and usually to those who belong to certain societies through which the insurance is carried.

European compulsory health insurance dates back to 1883 when the first system was set up in Germany. Experience has now been sufficient to enable close observers to learn certain lessons from that experience:

(1) Even though health insurance is limited to certain classes of the population, it gives a sense of security to the least able to pay for medical care which does not exist in this country. The insured are certain of more medical care than they could buy with their limited budget.

(2) The doctors practicing under health insurance schemes are better paid and better satisfied provided that the personal professional relationship between the patient and the doctor is not interfered with. In Great Britain that problem has been solved. In Germany and some of the other continental states the doctors are unhappy because of the fact that they are controlled by the agents of the insurance associations. British experience shows that compulsory health insurance schemes need not interfere with the usual professional relationships between patients and physicians.

(3) European experience shows that, if possible financially, medical benefits should be more widely extended than at present, both as to the number of people treated under it, and as to the amount of medical care provided.

²³ *Op. cit.*, Chapter 5.

Even in England the British Medical Association has recommended the extension of medical benefits very much more widely than exists at the present time, (1) by including the families of the insured person, and (2) by making the medical care much more adequate.²⁴

(4) Care must be taken that a compulsory health insurance scheme by providing for medical benefits does not prevent the expenditure of money on prevention. It is a question, however, whether less attention is paid to preventive work by physicians practicing under a social insurance scheme than under private practice. In both cases too little attention is given to prevention.

(5) Hospital and nursing service as well as the attention of specialists in particular cases should be included in medical benefits if an effective job of medical care is to be provided under a compulsory health insurance scheme. One of the grave difficulties with the British scheme is its limited benefits.

(6) In any compulsory health insurance scheme cash benefits for time lost due to sickness should be divorced in its administration from the provision of medical benefits. This is especially true of those plans in which free choice of physician is allowed. There is great temptation on the part of the physician to certify such a degree of disability as prevents one going back to work, in order that he may hold his patient. This is not, however, an insuperable difficulty as is shown by the European experience.²⁵ The scope of health insurance in all of the countries of the world is too limited. It is confined chiefly to those wage-workers in certain occupations and with a certain maximum wage. If the objectives of necessary medical care are to be realized it must take in at least the middle-class people, those that are self-employed, as well as the low wage-earners.

(8) The family rather than the individual or the wage-earner should be taken as the primary unit for medical benefits.²⁶

(9) In Europe compulsory health insurance was developed on the basis of voluntary health insurance by private organizations. It is probable that a scheme for the development of a more universal care of the sick will start the same way here. We already have these group-clinics which are now in the experimental stage. Perhaps after long enough experience with these we might develop later on into state medicine. It is generally recognized that the best of these schemes of Europe cover only a part of the population.

²⁴ Newsholme, *Medicine and the State*, Baltimore, 1932, p. 132.

²⁵ Newsholme, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-127; Sydenstricker, "Group Medicine or Health Insurance, Which Comes First?" Address at the 27th Annual Meeting, American Association for Labor Legislation at Philadelphia, December 27, 1933.

²⁶ Sydenstricker, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

However, we know that the half or two-thirds of the population with the lowest incomes are the ones who need it most.

(10) Any scheme which will work well in this country will have to have the cooperation of the doctors. Today the American Medical Association and many of the physicians, dentists, and nurses are doubtful about the feasibility of group medicine. The doubt, however, seems to be based upon the fear that the control of the medical side of the matter will be taken out of the doctors' hands. If that ever happens it will be because the medical profession does not take the leadership in the matter and separate the financial payment from the professional aspects of treatment.

(11) No country which has ever had compulsory health insurance or group health insurance has ever gone back to more individualistic methods. There is no reason why the cash *nexus* between the doctor and the patient is a necessary one. It is not so now in some of the great clinics of the country recognized by the medical profession.

(12) The United States is very fortunate in not having built up, as had the countries of Europe, voluntary health insurance schemes within private societies. Their function is gradually giving way in the countries of Europe, since it is seen that they are pretty largely a useless piece of machinery.

(13) With the growth of scientific medicine some kind of group organization for the treatment of the sick is necessary because of the increasing expense of examination and treatment. Even the limited schemes of Europe show that these unequal costs can be spread out with very little expense to anyone.

(14) Socialized medicine—group or state; voluntary or compulsory; contributory by the beneficiaries, or supported entirely out of taxes—is absolutely necessary to conserve the health and welfare of the people of the country.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Insurance against Sickness and Death in Europe before 1912. Frankel and Dawson, *Workingmen's Insurance in Europe*, New York 1911, pp. 147-280.
2. The Effects of Health Insurance in Germany. Zahn, "Workingmen's Insurance in Germany. Its Social, Hygienic, and Politico-Social Importance," *Transactions, Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography*, Washington, 1913, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 370-384.
3. The Debate on Health Insurance. The arguments for and against by a large number of men on both sides of the question are given in *Proceedings of the Conference on Social Insurance*, Washington, 1917, U. S. Bureau, Labor Statistics, Bulletin 212, pp. 419-728.
4. The Effects of Health Insurance in Germany on Poor Relief. Zahn, "Work-

ingmen's Insurance and Poor Relief in Germany," *Transactions, Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography*, Washington, 1913, Vol. VI, pp. 271-321.

5. Review Falk, *Security Against Sickness*, Garden City, New York, 1936.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Wherein is our present health program inadequate?
2. Indicate the growth in health education and health agencies.
3. What significance has voluntary health insurance?
4. Describe the essential features of the German and English compulsory health insurance acts. What have been some of the results of the British system?
5. Describe the health insurance movement in America.
6. Give the arguments for and against compulsory health insurance for American wage-workers.
7. What difficulties stand in the way of the adoption of compulsory health insurance in the states of the United States?
8. Argue the question that people should have as much access to the agencies to prevent sickness and to cure disease as their children have to education in the public schools.
9. What effect do you think health insurance would have upon thrift?

CHAPTER XXXI

SOCIALIZED EDUCATION

IT has been more than 60 years since Herbert Spencer published in this country his essays on education. In those essays he reminded us that at that time our education, like our clothes, was intended far more for decoration than for utility. He raised the question as to what knowledge is worth while. In the attempt to answer that question he laid down certain criteria by which one could discriminate between different kinds of knowledge on the basis of relative worth. He therefore classified in the order of their importance the leading kinds of life-activities of mankind as follows:

1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation
2. Those which by securing the necessities of life indirectly minister to self-preservation.
3. Those which aim at rearing and disciplining offspring.
4. Those which are concerned with the maintenance of proper social and political relations.
5. Those which fill in leisure time and gratify the tastes and feelings.¹

His conception of the function of education was "to prepare for complete living." The only way to judge of any educational course was to measure the degree in which education discharged that function. By the standards he proposed he condemned the English education of 1860 as based upon "not what knowledge is of most real worth, but what will bring most applause, honor, respect—what will most conduce to social position and influence—what will be most imposing."²

Would his analysis of the functions of education hold today? Was Spencer right when he said that education is to help each individual of the race to live a complete life? Assuming that complete living is the end to be striven for, was he placing the emphasis properly in asserting that education should concern itself first with training people in those activities which minister to self-preservation, then those which concern the propagation and rearing of the young, then those which have to do with proper social and

¹ *Education*, New York, 1880, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

political relations, and finally with those which contribute to the gratification of the tastes and feelings during leisure time?

“Certainly it is less true today than when he wrote, ‘Of the knowledge commonly imparted in education, very little is of any service in guiding a man in his conduct as a citizen.’”³ Yet we are far from that adjustment of our educational curriculum which will prepare one for the complete life. How many are turned out of even our higher educational institutions without the fundamental knowledge necessary to self-preservation! If that is true of those graduated from the higher educational institutions, what shall we say of those who never see a college or university? The great numbers of those who do not know how to make a living after a college education is a sufficient commentary on the way in which our educational system is fitting our people indirectly for self-preservation through trained ability to be self-supporting. The ignorance of our educated people concerning the fundamental principles on which human breeding for a better race must be based, the unconcern of college graduates at the propagation of feeble-minded, insane, and hereditarily defective strains indicts our educational program on Spencer’s first point. The fact that in many of our colleges and universities one may graduate without taking a single course in natural science, politics, economics or sociology, indicates the educational anarchy which reigns.

Our educational system has shown a progressiveness which, while not radical, is hopeful. The increasing flexibility of the curriculum in our high schools, the rooms and classes for handicapped pupils—crippled, blind and deaf, retarded, those with special aptitudes—indicate that our educators are endeavoring to adapt the school system to the capacities and aptitudes of the pupils in the grades and high schools. The great growth of the vocational school system characteristic of the last quarter of a century indicates an attempt to meet the challenge of Spencer’s second point. The introduction of mental measurements and aptitude tests, of new methods in the teachers’ colleges and training schools, the provision in most of our large cities of buildings and equipment, better than those of our small colleges and often equal to those of the universities, are signs that in many respects the school authorities are endeavoring to adapt the school system to the capacities of the students and to prepare them more adequately to face life. The introduction of visiting teachers, child hygiene clinics, health service provided free to the students, feeding based upon the results discovered in the physical examination of the pupils, are new efforts to make the school function in Spencer’s sense of the term.

From the standpoint of poverty and dependency, education as preparation

³ *Education*, New York, 1880, p. 71.

for a complete life means preparation for a life of self-support according to a standard of life which provides at least the minimum of decencies and comforts necessary to enable the individual to function in the society to which he belongs. That minimum is less than the ideal, no doubt, but in many cases it is more than some of our population receive. From the standpoint of the wage-earning class as a whole, the order in which he arranges the activities of life for which education should prepare people is certainly the proper one. The primary consideration for those with whom the student of poverty and dependency is concerned is that every help which education can afford should be made available to them. There is no blinking the fact that there are many incapables in the low wage-earning classes; yet, education which will give the greatest help must prepare each individual for as complete a life as his abilities developed to their highest power make possible.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF EDUCATION

The reaction against the formal so-called "literacy education" characteristic of western civilization up to 150 years ago perhaps can be said to have begun with Rousseau's *Emile*. In the reaction against the very formal education of his day, Rousseau suggested the substitution of the naturalistic method, teaching the child by means of very slight direction of his natural impulses in early childhood and then later by having him learn from the natural objects about him. The value of Rousseau's work consists chiefly in a rather fragmentary suggestion of a method. It was not based upon experiment but resulted from his reaction against the whole social tendency of his day.

Basedow (1723-1790) endeavored to realize Rousseau's suggestions, with which he combined many of the principles taught by Comenius. In his plan manual labor was combined with study in the classroom. With this went a study of the world of nature, including man and his social relationships. The influence of Rousseau and Basedow was to be seen in schools which sprang up in the latter part of the eighteenth century, conducted by Campe (1746-1818), Salzmann (1744-1811), and Von Rochow (1734-1805). The schools of the latter were intended to improve the methods of farming and living among the peasants of his estates in Brandenburg, Prussia.

Another democratic educational development was the charity schools of England and the American Colonies. The idea was to give the poor who could not pay for an education an opportunity to learn. The religious motive, however, emphasized the study of Bible, prayer book and catechism. The Sunday schools which originated about this time were another move-

ment to give the poor educational opportunity. In the beginning the Sunday schools gave instruction in secular subjects as well as in religion.

In the United States the movement for universal education was opposed at first by the aristocratic elements of society, which held that the poorer classes were intended to work and not to think. However, working against that view were the doctrines emphasized by Protestant sects, that each individual is infinitely precious in God's sight, and that each one must read the Bible for himself. Moreover, the movement for political democracy in early society in the United States gave an impetus to free schools for everyone. If men were to govern themselves they must be intelligent. This movement for free and universal education was slow in developing but finally became established about the middle of the nineteenth century. Early education in the United States, however, profited much from the thoughts of the early European educational reformers like Rousseau and Basedow. Since the main purpose was to teach people to read, write, and cipher, first for the reason that only thus could they read the Bible and obtain that measure of education necessary to the exercise of their responsibilities in a democracy, it was characterized by its rather formal nature. Higher education was thought to be only for those in learned professions like the ministry, and then later law and medicine.

In the meantime in Europe other educational reformers were carrying on experiments in education in the spirit of Rousseau and Basedow. The most interesting of these was Pestalozzi. He differed, however, from Rousseau and other predecessors in building his system in a positive rather than a negative spirit. Pestalozzi was inspired by the belief that through education a corrupt society can be reformed. Impressed by the degraded peasantry of his native town in Switzerland, he undertook to train the peasants in better methods of agriculture. Influenced in the education of his son by Rousseau's *Emile*, he began writing and suggesting new ideas and educational principles for the uplift of the masses. He emphasized the fact that learning was not to be obtained merely from books and that the children of the poor could be trained to earn their living and at the same time develop their intelligence and moral nature. He tried various experiments to demonstrate his theories. His agricultural venture at Birr having failed, he turned to an attempt to educate industrially some of the needy children in his vicinity. Their education proceeded as they worked, largely through conversation. His ideas finally took shape in his story of *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781). In 1798 he established a school and orphanage at Stantz. In all of his educational work he endeavored to train the children by observation of natural objects and the life about them and by the manual training which he intro-

duced. With his methods we are not here concerned. His influence, however, has been very great. The social tendency of his teaching is indicated by Graves in these words: "Pestalozzi held that poverty could be relieved and society reformed only through ridding each one of his degradation by means of mental and moral development."⁴ His methods were adopted in Switzerland, Prussia, and other German states, as well as in France and England. Finally, in the early part of the nineteenth century, his methods were introduced into America. "Thus the tendency of modern civilization to care for the education of the poor, the defective, and the delinquent through industrial training has sprung from the philanthropic spirit of Pestalozzi and his practical collaborator, Fellenberg, and has become apparent in all advanced countries."⁵

Fellenberg (1771-1844) continued Pestalozzi's methods and established an agricultural institute for poor boys in 1808. Industrial training was combined with agriculture in this institute. Part of his idea was that by this means the boys could support themselves while learning and then they could go out as rural school-teachers and heads of similar schools elsewhere. Fellenberg did not stop merely with the poorer classes. He felt that the wealthy should understand and come into sympathy with the laboring classes. Therefore in 1809 he opened a literary institute for the wealthy which combined the usual academic studies with Pestalozzi's object lessons and with emphasis upon physical activities. The students worked in the gardens and on the farm and at such industries as carpentry, turning, and simple mechanics. Around these two institutions at Hofwyl there grew up a community of young people from both the poorer classes and the wealthy, which managed its own affairs, arranged its occupations, games, trips, chose its own officers and made its own laws. In 1823 he started a school for poor girls under the charge of his wife, having for its aim the practical training of these girls.

The methods of Fellenberg were followed in Switzerland, Germany, France, and England. Education through industrial activities was not introduced into the United States until about the close of the nineteenth century. In the next 20 years a large number of institutions of secondary or higher grade, with manual labor in addition to literary work in their curricula, sprang up in this country. Primarily the object of the industrial work was to enable the students to work their way through school or college and at the same time to secure physical exercise.⁶

This movement had a direct bearing upon the development of our agri-

⁴ Graves, *A Student's History of Education*, New York, 1915, p. 286.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

cultural colleges and upon the program of such schools as Carlisle, Hampton, and Tuskegee, engaged in the education of the colored races.

The work of Horace Mann in the establishment of our common school system is too well known to call for detailed reference here. Mention must be made, however, in this connection of his emphasis upon universal education and his interest in the practical aspects of education. As Graves has said: "In surveying his educational positions, we find Mann's foremost proposition was that education should be universal and free. Girls should be trained as well as boys, and the poor should have the same opportunities as the rich. Public schools should furnish education of such a quality that the wealthy would not regard private institutions as superior. This universal education, however, should have as its chief aim moral character, and not mere erudition, culture, and accomplishments. And morality, he felt, would not be accomplished by inculcating sectarian doctrines. Mann was, however, mainly a practical, rather than a theoretical, reformer, and to the material side of education he gave serious attention. . . . As to methods, he maintained that instruction should be based upon scientific principles, and not upon authority and tradition."⁷

In Europe the experiments of Pestalozzi were bearing fruit in the work of men who had been studying his suggestions. One of the most important of these is Froebel. We know him best as the founder of the kindergarten. While he confined his attention chiefly to the education of younger children than had been included in any school system, part of the principles which he followed were not without influence upon educators throughout the world. Says Graves:

His emphasis upon this psychological principle of motor expression under the head of "self-activity" and "creativity" is the chief characteristic of Froebel's method. Rousseau had also recommended motor activity as a means of learning, but he had insisted upon an isolated and unsocial education for Emile, whereas Froebel stresses the social aspects of education quite as clearly as he does the principle of self-expression. In fact, he holds that increasing self-realization or individualization through "self-activity" must come through a process of socialization. The social instinct is primal, and the individual can be truly educated only in the company of other human beings. The life of the individual is necessarily bound up with participation in institutional life. Each one of the various institutions of society in which the mentality of the race has manifested itself—the home, the school, the church, the vocation, the state—becomes a medium for the activity

⁷ Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 309. Mann also doubted whether it was reasonable that algebra, which would not be used by one in a thousand who took it, should be studied by more than 2,300 students, while bookkeeping, which is useful to every man, should be pursued by only half that number. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

of the individual, and at the same time a means of social control. As far as the child enters into the surrounding life, he is to receive the development needed for the present, and thereby also to be prepared for the future. Through imitation of cooperative activities in play, he obtains not only physical, but intellectual and moral training. Such a moral and intellectual atmosphere Froebel sought to cultivate at Keilhau by cooperation in domestic labor—lifting, pulling, carrying, digging, splitting—and through cooperative construction out of blocks of a chapel, castle, and other features of a village. Similarly, the kindergarten was intended to “represent a miniature state for the children, in which the young citizens can learn to move freely, but with consideration for his little fellows.”⁸

In the use of stories, legends, fairy tales, and such like, he followed the method of Herbart.

But in his emphasis upon motor expression and social participation, together with his advocacy of a school without books or set tasks, Froebel was unique, and made a most distinctive contribution to educational practice.⁹

Of the influence of Froebel on education in the United States Graves says: “This use of constructive and occupational work for educational purposes rather than for industrial efficiency soon spread throughout Europe, and was first suggested to the United States by the Centennial Exposition of 1876 at Philadelphia. . . . The Froebelian emphasis upon motor expression, the social aspect of education, and informal schooling are evident throughout Parker’s work in his elementary school, and are even extended so as to include speech and language-arts. Similarly, Dewey’s occupational work and industrial activities, which were used through the entire course of his ‘experimental school’ in Chicago, although not copied directly from Froebel, closely approached the modified practice of the kindergarten.”¹⁰

In the meantime in England the school system had not been making the progress which characterized the systems of France, Germany, and the United States. In spite of the charity schools, the church and public schools remained formalistic in their methods. The first break was made by the attacks of scientists and philosophers, among them Herbert Spencer and Huxley. Both of these men attacked with great force the ineffectiveness of the current classical education, and stressed the importance of science in education. They were followed by others, until finally both in England and elsewhere science has taken a position alongside the classical studies in higher education. The indirect effects of this invasion of the old formal education was to liberalize the curriculum, even down into the secondary and elementary schools. This movement, beginning about the middle of the

⁸ Graves, *A Student's History of Education*, New York, 1915, pp. 357, 358.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

nineteenth century, has now affected the whole school situation throughout the western world.

Following closely on the heels of the introduction of the study of nature into the school system, has come the tendency to modify the curriculum by the introduction of other subjects such as civics and other social sciences. As one writer has stated it,

The scientific movement has even more points in common with the sociological. In its opposition to the disciplinarians and its stress upon content rather than form, the scientific tendency coincides with the sociological, although the former looks rather to the natural sciences as a means of individual welfare and the latter to the social and political sciences to equip the individual for life in social institutions and to secure the progress of society. But while the scientist usually states his argument in individual terms because of his connection in time and sympathy with the individualism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the same writer usually, as in the case of Rousseau, Combe, Spencer, and Huxley, advocates the social, moral and political sciences as a means of complete living. Similarly the sociological movement has especial kinship with the economic and utilitarian aspects of the study of the sciences, for professional, technical, and commercial institutions have been evolved because of sociological as well as scientific demands. Again, the use of the sciences in education and as a means of preparing for life and the needs of society overlaps the modern sociological principle of furthering democracy. Both tendencies lead to the best development of all classes and to the abandonment of artificial strata in society.¹¹

The industrialization of the United States has had its effect upon political theory, jurisprudence, sociology, and education. At present, as never before, efforts are being made to adapt the educational process to preparation of the individual for usefulness in life. In line with this movement is the introduction of vocational education into the school system. With the displacement of home and shop work by factory work, apprenticeship has well nigh disappeared. In the endeavor to supply an equivalent of this apprenticeship training, practically all states have not only developed great technical schools but have introduced vocational training into the common school system. The movement at first was resisted in the United States. Some of our educators felt that in the common schools manual work should not be primarily vocational, but rather educational in the sense in which Fellenberg used the term.

Vocational training in the United States began during the latter half of the nineteenth century by the United States Government the establishment of the "land-grant" colleges for agriculture and mechanic arts for adults in the

¹¹ Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 416, 417.

Morrill Act in 1862, and by the establishment of evening continuation schools and private day schools by cities. Most of these were on profit-making basis or were conducted by philanthropy. After 1906 several hundred day trade schools were organized, chiefly at public expense in our larger cities. In some states continuation schools were organized to serve not only those who sought vocational training, but also students who were beyond the compulsory school age but were backward in the common branches. In the United States the tendency developed to introduce into the curriculum of the high schools in communities having no vocational schools some subjects to prepare a student to take up some line of business.¹²

This movement in the United States for the promotion of vocational education was given a decided impetus by the Federal Act subsidizing state efforts in that direction. On February 23, 1917, the President approved the Smith-Hughes Act, providing for a Federal Board of Vocational Education and appropriating a substantial sum of money to be distributed among the states which should accept the Act. The Act is cooperative in that the money appropriated by Congress must be matched dollar for dollar by each of the states. The Federal Board had the responsibility of seeing that the various states receiving Federal money maintain certain standards in doing this vocational training. These standards pertain to the courses offered and the training and abilities of the teachers engaged in vocational training. Vocational training in the fields of agriculture, home economics, and industry, is provided for.

The general theory at the base of the Act of 1917 was that the nation has an interest in educating its people to make a living; that, since education is an affair of the states, the actual carrying out of a vocational educational scheme should be in the hands of the state, and that since vocational education is of joint interest to the various states and the nation, joint control of such a system must be set up.

Since the Act provided for vocational education, no part of the funds could be used by states for general education. The purpose of the Act was to stimulate the states to provide education for an occupation. Since public money was used, no part of it could be used by private schools. Moreover, such education was provided only for those who are of an age to profit by vocational training, above fourteen years. It was assumed that below that age pupils are not of sufficient maturity to choose a vocation, and should have a general education to fit them for an intelligent choice of a vocation. Furthermore, the education contemplated in this Act was of less than college grade; hence, its provisions applied only to secondary schools. Since

¹² Graves, *A Student's History of Education*, New York, 1915, Chap XXVII.

such training must be given in many institutions in each state, the supervision must be by state authorities, the only limitation being that the Federal Board had the duty of seeing that the institutions, course of study, and the teachers approved by the states met the standards set up by the Federal Board. To do this the Federal Board provided an inspection staff covering the whole country, organized by districts. This Act is still in operation.

By the end of 1917 all the states had submitted plans which were approved by the Federal Board and became entitled to the allotment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.

Since the crux of the plan is efficient state supervision and training of teachers for these schools, it is necessary that each state place the administration of the plan in the hands of a competent board. The Act provides that either the state board of education or a special board of vocational education in each state shall be designated as the body to have charge of the administration: in 37 states the state board of education; in 11, a state board of vocational education.¹³

Under this Act there may be organized six types of trade or industrial schools: (1) Unit trade; (2) general industrial in cities under 25,000 inhabitants; (3) part-time extension; (4) part-time trade preparatory; (5) part-time general continuation; and (6) evening industrial classes.

A *unit trade school or class* is one for the specific purpose of preparing persons for useful employment in a particular trade or pursuit, by instruction of less than college grade, to meet the needs of persons over 14 years of age, which gives at least half time to practical work on a productive basis.

The *general industrial school or class* is intended to provide for vocational instruction in cities of less than 25,000 people, in which it probably would be impossible to provide a unit class in some one trade, as plumbing, for example. In this case boys wishing instruction in other of the building trades would be added to the class and an instructor able to give training in all the various building trades desired by the members of the class would be provided. In such a class instruction in related subjects, such as mathematics, estimating, elementary architectural drawing, etc., would be given.

The *part-time extension classes* are intended for those already in a trade who wish to receive further training in their lines. Such a class must be held for not less than 144 hours per year.

The *part-time preparatory classes* are for those of the same age who have

¹³ In 7 states—Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Wisconsin, and California—there was already in operation vocational education under state supervision; in others, the whole machinery had to be set up by the state legislature and money appropriated.

already entered upon employment but wish instruction in a trade other than the one in which they are employed. This class, too, must be held for not less than 144 hours each year.

A *part-time general continuation class* is intended for those between 14 and 18 years of age who have entered employment and who wish to study subjects which will enlarge their civic or vocational intelligence, such as English, civics, history of industries, arithmetic, trade mathematics, some commercial subject or elementary school subject.

The *evening industrial classes* are intended for persons over 16 years of age in subjects supplemental to the employment in which they are engaged, such as classes in blueprint reading for plumbers' helpers, and other subjects below college grade relating to the particular trade.

The schools and classes provided for in this Act, then, are clearly vocational, that is, for those who have definitely decided to take up a certain occupation, or who are already employed but desire better to prepare themselves for the job. In 1934 the United States Office of Education reported over a million boys and girls in vocational schools and courses. Half of these were in trades and industries, a fourth in vocational agriculture, and another fourth in home economics. In addition considerable numbers are trained in private or semi-private institutions which have long pioneered in vocational education, such as Girard College, Philadelphia; Mooseheart near Chicago, Ill.; Dunwoodie Institute, Minneapolis, Lewis Institute in Chicago, Berea College in Kentucky, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and some of the Indian schools like Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Haskins, Oklahoma. Large numbers of students are to be found also in private vocational institutions organized for profit, conducted both on the residence and the correspondence basis.

Says Dewey, "The problem of general public-school education is not to train workers for a trade, but to make use of the whole environment of the child in order to supply motive and meaning to the work."¹⁴ In a general way such education prepares him for making a living, but the training is much broader than that to be found in a vocational school. Hence in these two ways, the changes in our economic life have influenced the whole conception of education and modified the content of the curriculum. In the one case, however, the purpose is to fit the student for a vocation on his leaving school; in the other, to make him acquainted with the life of society in the midst of which he lives, so that when he leaves school he will understand the elementary facts of society and the fundamentals which lie at the base of industry and life.

¹⁴ *Schools of Tomorrow*, New York, 1915, p. 252.

Certain other activities undertaken by the public schools in the last twenty years indicate the increasing adaptation of those schools to certain types of pupils in the community. Special classes training the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the physically handicapped to make a living, are illustrations of this tendency. Many of the institutes for juvenile and adult delinquents have also embarked upon a program of both general and vocational training.

Growing out of the recognition by school leaders of the close connection between home and community conditions and the school program of many children, is the visiting teachers' movement, the child guidance clinics in connection with the schools, and the work done by some attendance officers.¹⁵

The brief review of the development of education makes it apparent that the criticism of Herbert Spencer in 1860 is not as deserved today as it was then. Progress has been made.

FURTHER SOCIALIZATION OF EDUCATION IN THE INTEREST OF THE PREVENTION OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

The interest of the student of poverty and dependency in education is determined by the fact that education in many cases has a direct bearing upon these phenomena. If he finds that some fall into poverty and dependency because of lack of training for life and for making a living he is concerned with the practical question of what kind of an education will remedy this condition and how to get it for as large a number of people as possible.

What Kind of Education Has a Bearing upon the Prevention of Poverty and Dependency? Bear in mind that some cannot profit from the kind of education suitable for most of the pupils in the public schools. The defectives, those with special bents, and those maladjusted to school because of early "spoiling," must have special provision made for them if the school is to adjust itself to the individual pupil. For such special methods, possibly special rooms, and often special teachers are provided. Moreover, since many factors, some of them subtle almost beyond analysis, enter into the production of poverty and dependency, consideration must be given to the various types of education which contribute to social living and to making a livelihood. What are the outstanding elements in an education which help to prepare children and youth to live in our complex civilization without becoming poverty-stricken or dependent?

1. *It is Well Adapted to the Capacity of Each Individual.* With the growth of numbers in our school system we have tried to educate children

¹⁵ Culbert, *The Visiting Teachers at Work*, New York, 1920; Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, New York, 1928; Sayles, *The Problem Child at Home*, New York, 1928.

and youth in the mass. The result has been that little attention was paid to each individual's peculiarities and capacities. Recently, however, it has become apparent that children vary in their abilities, in their attitudes, and in their responses to the educational system. The development of mental testing has shown us some of these differences. As a consequence attempts have been made to segregate those of similar capacities into groups and adapt the educational processes to the capacity of each. This means education in smaller groups classified according to innate ability.

Psychology has been studying differences in emotional makeup. Children have different attitudes to their school work by reason of emotional differences. The "problem child" has been found to be frequently emotionally unadjusted. Some are repressed by their experiences earlier in life; some develop a sense of inferiority; and some are resistant to authority, are dominating, or given to tantrums. Serious injury may be done to the pupil, and his attitude toward society warped by the unskillful handling of his emotional responses by his teacher. Life patterns are determined largely by the responses evoked by other persons. While these conditions have always been considered by the good teacher, attention has been more sharply called to the matter by the new development in the psychology of the emotions, and by social psychology. How much truancy might be prevented, and how much crime in later life might be headed off could the school authorities see to it that the emotional reactions of the child were adjusted to social behavior!

2. *It Takes into Account the Social Conditions under Which Pupils Live.* In the early days of the development of the school system the teacher was supposed to visit or board in the homes of the parents. In this way he got some conception of the home conditions from which the child came and was able thus to adapt his treatment of the child to secure his proper development. In our highly developed school system this has now become impossible. Hence, there has developed in recent years *the visiting teacher*. While at the present time the purpose of the visiting teacher is limited chiefly to problem children, in order to give the teacher an understanding of the home conditions from which the child comes and thus explain some of his attitudes, she also attempts to make the adjustments in the home that will provide the child with the proper emotional attitude toward the school. In this way thousands of children have had their difficulties adjusted. Some of those who were failing in school have become successful students.¹⁶

¹⁶ Culbert, *The Visiting Teacher*, Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 50 E. 42nd Street, New York City, reprinted from *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1921

With the change in economic and social conditions in our modern world, it is necessary to give the children some guidance as to occupations. How often we have seen children turned out of school without any information as to what occupations are open to them, which ones provide a future, and which occupations are suited to their capacities. *Vocational guidance* is intended to give the child some information about himself and about the world into which he is going, that he may direct his efforts at an occupation or a profession suited to his capacity, and which promises the greatest success and satisfaction in life. This means that the curriculum must be so adjusted to the individual child that it will prepare him for an occupation or further education according to his economic and social status and his individual capacities and aptitudes. The Federal Children's Bureau in its study of vocational guidance in twelve of our cities has shown that many of our best schools are awake to the importance of the problem. Space does not permit the discussion of the findings, but the movement is a promising experiment.¹⁷

3. *It Provides for the Education of Adults Who Have Been Denied Earlier Educational Opportunities.* With the rapid changes which have come in industry and social life the education of a generation ago is inadequate for the needs of some adults in the increased complexities of life. Consequently, men and women who have for one reason or another not had an adequate elementary or secondary education, or even a vocational education, should have opportunity for adult education. Response to this need is seen in the marvelous expansion of private enterprises providing courses of all kinds which appeal to working men and women; in the remarkable success of many profit-making schools providing courses of reading in cultural subjects which have appealed to many non-working adults; and in the great development in recent years of the university extension movement in which thousands of adults are enrolled for evening classes and for correspondence study. The importance of the movement is recognized by increasing provision for "adult education" by the states and the Nation.¹⁸

4. *It Is One Which Prepares to Make a Living.* Not that upon the school should lie the whole burden; it should, however, bear its proper share. That share will be whatever society cannot do better through some other agency. Once the home and the shop through the apprenticeship system provided for such education. With the changes in our social and industrial life many of the functions of home and shop have atrophied.

¹⁷ *Vocational Guidance and Junior Placement*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 149, Employment Service Publication A, Washington, 1925.

¹⁸ Hart, "Antecedent to Adult Education," *The Survey*, January 15, 1925, p. 470.

Some of them have been taken over by the school. If the school accepts this responsibility, it must endeavor to train the child for livelihood to the utmost of its ability considering the circumstances of school, home, and the native ability of the pupil.

How do the schools of today measure up to that responsibility? All agree that in a great many cases they fail. Aside from the lack of native ability in the student, the explanation is to be found in two facts. The compulsory school age in many states is too low to enable the school to give adequate training. The school also is not given the necessary amount of money to provide equipment, teachers and courses necessary to train for livelihood, even if the compulsory school age were raised. Consider how many more buildings would be necessary were the children who are in the grades to remain for high school. Think of the necessary expansion of teaching staff. With every attempt at specialization the expense for equipment and teaching staff would be greatly augmented. In 1931-32 more than 30,550,000 students were enrolled in full-time day schools. Of these about 23,570,000 were in elementary schools, 5,590,000 in the secondary schools, and 1,150,000 in the colleges.¹⁹ In spite of the increased number who in recent years have gone on from the elementary schools to the secondary and high schools a precipitate decline of attendance begins at the end of the elementary school course.²⁰

"But," says someone, "may not the content of the curriculum in the grade schools be so changed that much precious time will be saved which is now wasted on subjects having no relation to making a living?" The reply is that it is impossible to prepare people by education to make a living without proper general education. The doubters regard this reply as begging the question, in that it assumes that all the "cultural" studies now required are prerequisites to training for livelihood. Then the school men retort that they have obligations to train these children, not only for livelihood, but for a life of satisfaction to themselves, of culture, of good citizenship. Thus the argument comes to a stalemate. Whether the amount of time and attention now devoted to elementary and cultural studies in the common schools is just the amount necessary for the best results can be determined only on the basis of experience. It is doubtful whether we have enough experience yet for a positive reply. One thing, however, is certain. To prepare our young people to make a living, we must either cut down the time spent in elementary and cultural studies and introduce in their stead vocational studies, or we must

¹⁹ *Biennial Survey of Education, 1930-1932*, Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, 1935, Preface, pp. 5 and 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

raise the compulsory school age and spend more on schools. It is held, moreover, that a child cannot profit from vocational studies much before he reaches adolescence. If that is true, then the only alternative is to raise the upper limit of the school age and spend more money.

5. *It Is an Education Which Prepares for Life in Largest Sense.* If the youths are to be good citizens—independent, ambitious and socially useful—their education must not merely prepare them for a specific job, but must give them the intellectual and moral heritage of the race. Certain ideals of conduct, such as love of country, respect for age, for womanhood, for childhood, respect for justice, knowledge of health conditions, ideals of helpfulness to the unfortunate, of fair play, personal honor and of independence and self-support must be inculcated. If he has capacity to contrive useful innovations in our social machinery, he should be trained to do so.

Such preparation has a very direct bearing upon poverty and dependency. Even though the individual may have a small income, if he is broadly educated he will be much more likely to make ends meet and to manage his affairs successfully. He will have certain ambitions for his children, which will lead him to make provisions for the future, otherwise likely to be neglected. He will understand the importance of thrift, insurance, and careful management on the part of the individual, and of social, political and economic adjustments adequate to the development of each individual to his utmost capacity. The woman will be more likely to be a better manager of her household affairs and to plan more carefully for the health and proper upbringing of the children. Educated in personal and public hygiene, such persons will know better how to protect the family and themselves from the inroads of diseases. They will give early attention to the prevention of sickness, that very important cause of dependency. Given in their education certain ideals of personal conduct, and of proper social arrangements they will order their lives in such a way that poverty and dependency will be less likely to occur. Both men and women educated in this large way will understand and manage those subtle social forces which both directly and indirectly produce the unconquerable spirit in the face of difficulties. Thus will be obviated that breaking down of the spirit which has so much to do with dependence upon others.

6. *It Is an Education Which Selects and Trains Those Most Promising for Leadership.* Our emphasis upon the adaptation of our educational system to the needs of the masses should not blind us to the necessity of providing for the development of those with great ability to be the leaders and social innovators. Upon both leaders and led depends the welfare of society. Neither should be neglected. There will be no dead level of ability even

after each has been given the best education of which we can conceive. Nature has attended to that. Some come into the world with great native endowment; others with very little. Education can never level those hills or fill those valleys in the landscape of our population. Nor is it desirable. No clearer statement of sociological faith touching this matter has been made than that by the Apostle Paul. In discussing the gifts of the Spirit in the church at Corinth, after citing the fact that "there are diversities of gifts," he calls attention to the purpose of this diversity. It was that "there should be no schism in the body," but that "the body of Christ" might be built up, each one contributing his part to that end.²¹

Without leadership and vision the nation will perish. As true today as ever is it that man does not live by bread alone. He lives also by the inspiration of great ideals. These ideals are most effective when incarnated in living personalities. Therefore, education must provide that selective process which discovers and develops the leaders with ability to inspire and suggest. America has been rich in such leaders. Without them the masses of the people slump down into hopelessness. Such people are the ones who invent not only machines which increase our economic effectiveness, and devices for the more equitable distribution of the good things of life, but also those spiritual standards which have so much to do with the will to achieve in spite of adverse circumstances. Our educational system must not only provide for the deficient and arrange that their utmost capabilities are developed for the welfare of society, but so far as possible open opportunities to the highly endowed in whatever station of life they may be found, and develop their capacities to the utmost both for their own advancement and for the welfare of their fellowmen.

It is suspected that there are many potential leaders in all the pursuits of life who are denied the opportunity for that education which would develop their capacities. While the very highly endowed individual will sometimes push up through adverse conditions and find his place of leadership at the top, there is evidence that many of high capacity are not discovered until it is too late to give them the encouragement and training necessary to their highest development.

The movement in this country as well as European experiments for the widening of educational opportunities seem to indicate that a further extension of educational opportunity would repay many times the cost involved. For example, in agriculture the farmers' institutes, the "short courses," the demonstrations and short courses in home economics; the inclusion in the curricula in our secondary and higher institutions of manual training, have

²¹ I Cor. 12: 4-30; 14: 26; Eph. 4: 12-16.

indicated that both from a cultural and a practical standpoint increase of educational opportunities will produce results both in the increase of personal efficiency and the discovery of leaders. The extension courses by correspondence and the extension classes both in cultural and practical subjects already in existence in some states indicate the value of wider educational opportunities for our people. Many of the problems of detail remain still to be solved. Experiments will indicate the limitations and discover new ways by which the rich heritages of knowledge and skill can be made available to larger numbers of the people. Gradually, as experiments in the field of elementary and secondary education show the way, we shall perfect our curricula and our methods of teaching to produce men and women of practical training for the earning of a livelihood and that broad culture which lies at the foundation of fine character so necessary for a citizenship inspired by ideals of personal independence and service to the state, so important to the development of an independent, self-respecting, self-supporting people. Hand in hand with this educational progress must go, of course, economic arrangements and improvement of the machinery of government which will give justice to every individual and deny to none the opportunity for the utmost development of the personality of each. The schools must be free to investigate and teach the results of their studies in these matters as well as their findings as to individual adjustment. The ideal to be sought in our educational program is that adjustment of the child and the man to his environment, economically and socially, which will enable him to bring under his control both the resources of nature and the achievements of group life for the welfare of himself and his fellows.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. What is the Social View of Education? King, *Social Aspects of Education*, New York, 1912, Chap. I.
2. Possibilities of the Public School as a Social Center. Ward, *The Social Center*, New York, 1914.
3. Some Examples of Primitive Social Education. Thomas, *Source Book of Social Origins*, Chicago, 1909, Part II; King, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.
4. Industrial Education and National Life. Washington, "Relation of Industrial Education to National Progress." *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1909, pp. 1-12.
5. The Function of the Visiting Teacher. Ellis, *The Visiting Teacher in Rochester*, New York, 1925.
6. The Problem Child and the School. Sayles, *The Problem Child in School*, New York, 1925; *Three Problem Children*, Pub. No. 2, Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. On what lines would you suggest the remoulding of our educational system to overcome "the ignorance of the educated"? What should be the aim of education?
2. What were some of the early forces working in the United States towards universal education?
3. Trace the influence of Rousseau, Basedow, Pestalozzi and Fellenberg on this movement. Likewise that of Mann and Froebel.
4. What are some of the most recent tendencies in education in the United States?
5. Describe the six types of trade or industrial schools.
6. Name and describe the six outstanding elements in an education calculated to do away with dependency, and indicate their present limitations.
7. Outline in detail a program of socialized education.
8. How do the classes in public schools for deaf, blind and mentally defective children fit in with the ideals of socialized education expressed in the text?

CHAPTER XXXII

SOCIALIZED RECREATION

DEFINITION

WHAT is meant by recreation? By socialized recreation? Is the play of the young of animals and of men recreation? Is there any relation between play and recreation? If so, what? Is play in the young different in its nature from play in the adult? If so, in what respects? Is there any relation between play and some of the more serious ceremonies of life? Between recreation and those ceremonies? We should be clear about such questions if we are to understand the origin of playful activities and their social functions. The young of man and of animals are incurably playful. Such activities appear in the young of some animals soon after birth. The young calf a few days old frisks about its mother. In some animals play appears later. Soon after they become strong enough to move about freely, playful activities appear. Some of the child's early play movements, apparently the outgrowth of earlier uncoordinated muscular movements, are experiments with its environment. It throws down its rattle to make a noise, plays with its dress and toes. It strikes its hands together, and before it can walk, jumps up and down in the arms of its nurse. Later it laughs at the antics of older children and adults, and begins to imitate those activities.

Are these activities of the young recreational in the same sense as the playful activities of the adult? Are they not more physiological than social in their origin and results? Are not the play activities of adults characterized more by social impulses and functions? Are not these activities of children more closely connected with the growth of the body and the development of its functions? Are they not more creative than recreative in their effects?

While the form of play changes with age, the adult also plays. This is true of both primitive and civilized. With the adult play is often masked in deference to aversion to childish activities, to religious and ethical beliefs, and to traditions and conventions established by mode of life or social status. They were seldom called play, but what were those pageants, May Day festivities, and religious activities, such as Passion Plays and feast day

frolics, which accompanied, if they were not a part of, the religious ceremonies of all peoples? All that great body of pageantry, holiday customs, the frolics attendant upon fairs and markets, upon marriages and even funerals, upon trials of strength, and skill of arms, and in most countries upon even skill of hand and voice and brain, giving expression to the unusual in legerdemain, oratory, song, and the music of hand-made instruments of greater or less perfection were forms of play. The dances in a thousand medieval courts, the religious dances around a million smoking altars of primitive people, the ceremonies of court and temple, both pagan and Christian, the activities connected with all the great events of life are rooted in part in the impulse to play. At birth of a child, at the time which marked the coming of that child to man's or woman's estate, on the occasion which marked the consecration of the pubescent youth to the god of the tribe, and thus his consecration to its purposes, at marriage, and at funeral rites and ceremonies—in short, at every crisis from birth to death we find the play-motive.

Play is usually looked upon as an activity without special aim or for amusement. It stands in contrast with work. Actually, however, mankind has managed to connect it with work in such activities as the "labor-song," which is used to induce men to work in rhythm, and so diminish the monotony and fatigue of work; also in serious, purposeful ceremonies in order to connect deeply rooted biological and social impulses with symbolic activities and thus make them more impressive.

Let us define recreation, then, as those activities which primarily in the child and secondarily in the adult grow out of the physical organism's demand for the exercise of muscles and organs on which growth and a feeling of well-being depends, and which with the increase of social contacts serve to develop social relationships of a pleasurable character.

THEORIES OF PLAY

The history of the theory of play is marked by three distinct stages. They may be called the physical, the psychological, and the sociological explanations.

Physical Theory. Herbert Spencer gave us one of the first of these theories in his thought-provoking *Principles of Psychology*. Inadequate, like many of the ideas of that revolutionary thinker, it stimulated men to think out the problem which he had forced upon their attention.¹ Spencer said that the young play because they have a *surplus of energy*, which in some way moves them to exert themselves in seemingly useless activities. That theory survives today in the expression sometimes used as an apology for

¹ The same theory was propounded by the German poet, Schiller.

the playful spirit of childhood and youth that "he must work off some of his surplus energy." It is the "common sense" explanation of play. While there doubtless is some such physical fact as Spencer's theory assumes, it does not explain psychically the expenditure of energy. Labor certainly works off surplus energy; yet work is not play.

Psychological Theories. A much more important theory is that of Karl Groos, who in his two books, *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man*, argues that since play is *mimic work or mimic war*, it is a preparation for life. He assumes that natural selection established them and therefore they must be a preparation for life. Such a conclusion, however, does not necessarily follow. Such activities may once have had but may now lack survival value. Many vestiges are found even in the physical structure of man, which, we must suppose, once were functional, but which no longer serve a useful purpose. While the tendency to play may still contribute to survival, the form it takes may be due to social factors quite unrelated to survival. Hence, Groos is wrong when he explains play as a preparation for life in his narrow sense of the term. In adults often play is subordinated to emotional satisfaction or to social purposes. Later Groos added the suggestion that play is a kind of *katharsis* or purification.² It is a means of expressing pent-up emotion, as when in fighting the boy relieves the emotion of anger, or in running from danger, the emotion of fear. As Patrick has pointed out, however, in spontaneous unrestricted play there is no such situation to be relieved. The relation of play to the emotions is usually on a different psychological footing. Play rests rather than purifies. Gross's use of Aristotle's medical term, therefore, is often inapt.³

Two other writers have added to and developed the psychology of play. Professor T. T. W. Patrick, of Iowa State University, in a magazine article, and more recently in a book,⁴ suggested that play was not always a preparation for life. He cited the fact that some games are not adapted to that purpose; indeed, entirely lack survival value. These plays, not to be accounted for entirely on the theory of Groos, he explains as survivals from old race habits, vestiges from a time when they were useful, and persisting because they answer to the psychological demand for rest on the part of the nervous organism. This rest is due, according to Professor Patrick, to the fact that being established by race habit, they are more or less automatic, and thus

² "Das Spiel als Katharsis," *Zeitschrift für Päd. Psych. und Ex. Päd.*, December 7, 1908.

³ Compare Patrick, "The Psychology of Play," *Pedagogical Seminary*, September, 1914, pp. 469-484.

⁴ *The Psychology of Relaxation*, Boston, 1915.

demand a minimum of attention to establish the necessary coordinations. The nervous energy required for their performance flows along brain-tracks well worn by the habits of ages. That fact makes such actions pleasurable in their effects on the nervous centers, whether they are advantageous or not.

This theory has the advantage that it accounts for many games which are survivals from an earlier period of culture and are neither "mimic work nor mimic war." The new games which are not survivals from old race habits are as desirable as those which are, provided they involve actions which are similar to race habits and call for the same coordination.

Professor Addington Bruce, in an article on the "Psychology of Football," while adhering to Spencer's "surplus energy" theory, has added another suggestion of value. He criticizes Professor Patrick's theory by observing that if the rest theory were all there is to the explanation of play, then how account for the fact that people like to sit still and see games? He suggests that the *pleasurable emotion* resulting from the dissipation of energy either in play or in seeing play is an explanation necessary to account at least for the fact that people enjoy seeing games and probably also for the joy of playing. This is an interesting suggestion, but Professor Bruce has failed to make full use of it. He has incidentally referred to the pleasurable emotions stirred in the player and the beholder by the dissipation of energy in the activities of play, yet he sees no significance in that aspect of the matter.

Professor Ross has added another suggestion. To him *play is the means whereby the player feeds his "famishing instincts."*⁵ Bred in us by long ages of subjection to primitive conditions these instincts crave expression in activity simulating those which then gave comfort or thrill.

Psychologically, then, *play is rooted in the emotions*. Children and adults play because play stirs the emotions. Devising situations which simulate those connected with life-crises of the race, and solving them by exercising activities similar to those suited to the passing of the crisis in primitive life they get pleasurable thrills. Play, then, exists for its own sake. That it persists because of the joy it brings is not to deny that it contributes to activities which are biologically and socially useful, though not always as preparation directly for life activities. It prepares in many cases, however, for later life by promoting a sound physical development and that mental quickening which counts so much in the struggle for existence, and for that social cooperation which has played so great a part in survival of all the social animals in their struggle against inanimate nature, hostile animals, and other groups of men. As Lester F. Ward has shown, the activities of men are rooted in the emotions.

⁵ *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1920, p. 607.

The Sociology of Play. Before a complete explanation can be made, *sociology must be invoked. Only when the psychology of the crowd is taken into account can we understand fully the emotional satisfaction to be found in play.* Starting with the pleasure arising from the activities of play either actually participated in or shared in imagination, one can understand some of the play activities of children and of men. The suggestibility of people in crowds, the greater depth of emotion and therefore the greater pleasure experienced from collective plays must be taken into account. No doubt that our great national games owe much of their attraction to inter-stimulation. It is well known that social stimulation is necessary in order to get the best work out of the players. A team poorly supported by "rooters" is not so likely to win as one well supported. The emotions of a large crowd on the bleachers are exaggerated in comparison with those of a small one. Moreover, all sorts of artifices are devised by the managers of the game to stimulate the players and also to help the on-lookers get the worth of their money. Bands play, colors are waved, songs are sung, yells and calls are voiced. What for? Simply in order to rouse the players to do their best and to gratify the crowd. By such means the emotional stimulation is increased and the pleasure augmented. Emotional response depends upon the sharpness and volume of the stimulus. The crowd provides both. This, together with the pleasurable thrills which arise from relapsing into the activities established in the habits of the race, makes the combat-games the source of the great emotional outbursts which characterize the great games and sports. Thus there is release from monotony and the fatigue of work.

Moreover, consider how the *social passion for ascendancy* contributes to this emotional exhilaration. Found originally in the desire to overcome a prey or an enemy, the passion for ascendancy survives in the desire to beat. Hence, checkers, chess, cards, and other games between two people stir strong emotions in response to what Mallock has called "the passion for domination." In the games with spectators this desire is heightened by "so great a cloud of witnesses."

Furthermore, the pleasurable emotional results of mere muscular activity, cited by Patrick and Bruce, are intensified by these social stimuli. In many athletic team-games most of the fun comes from the stimulus of the crowd. The game is largely an excuse for the social pleasure. The demonstrations connected with our sports are the emotional equivalents of certain outbursts characteristic of other days. The crowd-excitement has been called an emotional spree. While the exaltation of the "bleacher-fan" may be very much less desirable than that of the player, compared with the wild frenzy of battle

with man and beast this modern equivalent in play has something to be said in its favor. It rests and recreates. Consider the dullness of men's lives once the necessity of defending themselves from the onslaughts of wild beasts and hostile men had passed away. Is it any wonder such men sought to relieve monotony by emotional outbursts in religious revivals, in political debates, in barbecues, sexual orgies, and alcoholic debauches? Nowadays one constantly hears the complaint that there is but little interest in the old-fashioned political debates, that the ecstatic phenomena of religious revivals are rare. Now people find their equivalent in games which give occasion for outbursts of emotional frenzy equal in intensity and satisfaction. Games produce the emotional equivalents of ancient gladiatorial combats, medieval pageants, and tournaments; of political barbecues, religious revivals, primitive social orgies, alcoholic "sprees" and religious persecutions. They release our cultivated inhibitions.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RECREATION

It has been claimed by the advocates of recreation that it promotes health and efficiency; that it is a school of citizenship; that it cultivates democracy; that it is an educational agency; and that it prevents delinquency. Some of these claims have considerable basis in ascertained facts; others are pure hypothesis.

1. **Relation to Health.** It is generally assumed that recreation of every sort has a good effect upon health. Most people experience a feeling of rest and of well-being after play or other forms of recreation. It is probable that since play is the release of one's energies along the lines of race habit, and, since the expenditure of energy in this way is very much less than when we concentrate attention and strive to produce results in other ways, we experience a feeling of release from tension which actually conduces to good health. Corrective gymnastics are found useful among university students, in reformatories like Elmira, and in the army. There is evidence also that exercise promotes the activity of bodily functions and thus aids the process of waste elimination, quickens the circulation of the blood, aerates the blood through increased lung action and so conduces to a better state of bodily welfare.

2. **Relation to Efficiency.** Play contributes to the social efficiency of the race. It breaks the prosy humdrum now connected with making a living. To the task of making a living it adds the joy of making a life. It rests the attention wearied by a certain task by allowing it to glide along grooves worn deep by old race habits. It supplies the joyous abandon once

to be found in the hunt, the primitive way of making a living. It provides the creative satisfaction now so often denied the worker in the shop where division of labor is so completely realized that it is only by a stretch of the imagination often too difficult for him to make that he can see as a whole the thing of which he is the maker of only an infinitesimal part. It provides the means of an emotional "spree" otherwise to be had only by means of sexual orgies, drugs or alcohol, or by experiences which too often he cannot share, like those of art or religion. It relieves fatigue, so frequent a phenomenon in our highly differentiated industry with its minute division of labor, concentrated attention, and high speed.

It is said that recreation promotes *industrial efficiency*, because it promotes the re-creation of the organism's energies and produces a keen and alert state of mind. Again, life is made more attractive, and therefore men will covet efficiency in order to share more largely in a wholesome and happy life.⁶ This claim is, however, as yet largely a faith, a faith held, however, by an increasing number of employers. There is, indeed, some scientific basis for the belief that whatever reduces fatigue promotes efficiency. Pauline Goldmark and others have shown the close relationship between fatigue and inefficiency.⁷ If recreation relieves fatigue without a doubt it has a beneficial effect upon the efficiency of the worker.

3. **Play strengthens the intellectual processes.** Language originated, we are told, in the cries accompanying the emotional outburst incident to the chase or the games. There is no doubt that quick thinking is necessary to successful play. Making a decision on the spur of the moment, and rapid adjustment of means to ends, are a *sine qua non* of the successful player. Social approval and disapproval heightens the desire to succeed. The practical bearing of this theory is seen when it is remembered that in some cities 50 per cent of the children have been found idle.⁸ No wonder such children are dull in school, lag behind in their work, and later fail in the struggle of life! To be sure, some laggards are such from congenital causes, and some children do not play or learn readily from undernourishment or from bad eyesight, defective breathing, adenoid growths and such like. Nevertheless, some perfectly normal children are subnormal in their development because they have never been stirred out of the lethargy of their uneventful lives by the splendid enthusiasm of play. Their minds, like their

⁶ Braucher, "Play and Social Progress," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1910, p. 114.

⁷ Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency*, New York, 1913, Chaps. IV-VI.

⁸ An investigation in Milwaukee made in 1911 showed that of the children seen on the streets, playgrounds, and parks only half of them were playing at anything.

bodies, are asleep, so to speak, and await the touch of emotional pleasure which will cut the leashes that hold them bound.

4. **Play breaks through the reserve that separates human beings from each other.** True, this reserve protects a child from his fellows before he knows them well enough to be perfectly at home with them. It is one of Nature's selective devices. Nevertheless, it often stands in the way of socialization. Watch strange children on a playground. At first there is a restraint on free intercourse. Watch that restraint melt away in the rhythm of a game. Before the heat of the emotions aroused in play it disappears as frost before the rising sun. Painful reserve gives place to free intercourse and pleasurable cooperation. The same is true of adults. Whether it be a meeting of hostile tribes who have come together to make a peace, a gathering of new students from all parts of a state or nation for purposes of getting acquainted, or a convention of business men who have assembled to form a combine, or a commercial club, some elements of play are always introduced. In one case it may be a corroboree, or a pipe of peace; in another "a smoker," a banquet, a dance, or a procession; always there is a form of activity which has for its purpose the dissipation of that reserve which divides men from each other as by a Chinese wall. Now, in our great centers of population, whither have come people from all countries of the earth, there is vast need of socialization. The middle wall or partition between Jew and Gentile still needs to be broken down. Religion now, as in the first century, may break it down; but religion may also separate people. In play that wall tends to crumble before pursuit of a playful purpose. Play has no creed centuries old and entrenched in prejudice to keep high the wall of division. Race characteristics may keep men apart, but play arouses feelings which rush over these barriers of race, for it arouses feelings common to all races. Under the excitement of common play we forget that they are "foreigners" and see in them fellowmen. Under the impulsion of the same common activities and pleasures they cease to feel that we are snobs. Here we have one of the most powerful agencies of "Americanization" in a real sense. Here is an agency to secure more effectively that unity of thought, feeling, and purpose which make for a strongly united people.⁹

5. **The Relation of Recreation to Citizenship.** That play promotes good citizenship has been argued by a considerable number of the playground advocates. In the democratic play-centers of our great cities the children are taught cooperative effort according to the rules of the game. Says Borosini: "A certain amount of discipline is necessarily maintained at

⁹ See my "The Sociology of Recreation," *The American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1915.

*the playgrounds; self-consciousness cannot be indulged in, for everyone must have a chance. Bad habits, such as uncleanness of mind and body, will disappear for fear of public exposure and scorn. The directors and social workers at the parks and recreation centers constantly try to improve the tone and standards of their patrons, young and old."*¹⁰

Joseph Lee has suggestively outlined the way in which games promote good citizenship. In play the child is developing a social personality. Even the young child of two years playing with its mother is learning mutual intercourse and understanding, learning to subordinate his egoistic impulses to the wishes of another. A little later he enters into relationships with other children, learns to give and take. Through dramatic play in a circle of children or in a family he acquires the sense of "belonging." Playing mother or father, or teacher, he gains the sense of being a member of a family and of a democratic organization. Later still, comes a growth in self-assertion with confidence in his own powers, which is as necessary to good citizenship as to individual character. Through the contests to which this individualization brings the child in play with his fellows he comes to see that contest must yield to compromise, that for a game to be a success each must subordinate his individual wishes to the common end. Rules of the game then begin to appear and legislative functions develop through play. In the group games the individual comes to participate in a common purpose. The glory of the team triumphs over personal glory. He participates in a feeling of common responsibility and develops a feeling for the whole team. Says Lee, "The sport that best combines team play with the sense of rhythm is rowing in a crew. I wonder whether it is a coincidence that the democratic nations of the world have been the rowing nations?" Would that we knew.

At a certain stage of development in a boy the gang impulse appears. At first loyalty to the gang is the primary product. If this is wisely directed it develops into loyalty to even wider circles—the league of gangs, the community, the city and the state. In his games he learns these wider relationships and loyalties which make for good citizenship.

These generalizations rest not upon scientific statistical studies but upon general observation. They probably contain a good deal of truth, but their verification demands further study.

6. Relation of Play to Democracy. Recreation advocates claim that properly organized play makes for democracy. The playground is superior to both the home and the school in that while in the home and the school,

¹⁰ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1910, p. 144.

if control in the interest of a common purpose is *enforced*, the child cannot leave, while he may leave the playground. If he remains on the playground, therefore, he controls his personal wishes for the sake of cooperation. He develops self-control, not passive obedience. Self-control is necessary in a democracy as in no other form of society. We have developed agencies of helpfulness like associated charities, trade unions and employers' associations unique in number and in power. We have a wider education than any people has ever known. We have made material progress such as the world has never seen. We are dependent upon others as no previous civilization has been. Yet, we have the exploitation of the many by the few. We have not controlled mob action—that menace to orderly government. Why? Because we have not learned self-control. Free play, in which self-control develops naturally, supplies the training necessary to real democracy. Properly managed a playground brings together different races, individuals with unlike capacities, personalities with opposed desires, and teaches them to cooperate in the pursuit of a common pleasure. It widens the sympathies, enlarges appreciation of the new and strange, forges ties of friendship and develops ethical standards, in an atmosphere of free association in common activities.

7. **Relation of Recreation to the Educational Process.** It is claimed that play is an educational process. It has been pointed out that among primitive peoples play was one of the most important methods of education. In the ceremonies, religious dances, initiation events, festivals, etc., were inculcated the ideals of the tribe. Among the ancient Greeks a great part of the process of formal education went on through the organized games. A very small part of the time was given to what we now call education and a considerable part to athletic exercise. Says Johnson: "The teachers of Athens were to a notable extent play leaders and these leaders must have realized that they were essentially moral leaders also, for a recognized end of the Athenian education was manhood. When the Greek youth came up for his final examination at the end of his schooling, the examination was in manhood, and the degree conferred was that of man, a term in Greek synonymous with hero."¹¹

The Cleveland survey attacked directly the problem of the educational value of the use of spare time. Professor Bonser of Columbia made a careful study of the use to which spare time was put by about 15,000 children in public and private schools of Cleveland, and schools for delinquents. On the basis of 500,000 facts collected from these children and about 300 men

¹¹ "The Fighting Instinct and Its Place in Life," *The Survey*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 243, 246.

and women employees under 30 years of age, he found that the accelerant children were distinguished from the retarded children not in the amount but in the kinds of recreation each class respectively pursued. Those ahead-grade used leisure time in activities having a schoolish tinge, such as reading, going to the library and museum, while the behind-grade school children showed more constructive, experimental, adventurous tendencies. More of them worked during spare time and more of them were occupied with undirected time-consuming activities. In other words, there was found a concomitant or side-by-side variation between school progress and the kind of recreation in which the children engaged. By certain tests the endeavor was made to ascertain whether this variation was really causal or the result of a common cause outside of either school or recreation. Therefore examination to ascertain the mental ability of a considerable number of the children was made in order to ascertain whether school progress was affected by that factor. It was found that over one-half of the accelerant children were below median ability while half of the retarded children were above median ability. In order to ascertain whether home conditions as indicated by the occupation of the father was the cause of the acceleration or retardation, a careful study was made of the matter and it was found that these circumstances did not modify the conclusions as to the close relationship between the kinds of activities engaged in and relative school progress.¹²

8. **The Relation of Recreation to the Prevention of Delinquency and the Production of Wholesome Citizens.** For some time it has been suspected that proper recreation was an important means for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. In 1907 Caroline Bergen, as a probation officer in a juvenile court in Chicago, from her observation in connection with that work, came to an appreciation of the value of play for this purpose.¹³ In 1908 Mr. Allen T. Burns, then dean of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, on the basis of a study of the effects of the Chicago playgrounds from records which the juvenile court supplied concluded that the influence of the *large* parks upon juvenile delinquency was negative.¹⁴ On the other hand, the influence of the *small* playgrounds—seven of which

¹² Bonser, *School Work and Spare Time: Cleveland Recreation Survey*, Cleveland, 1918, pp. 134-135. See also *Community Recreation Program: Cleveland Recreation Survey*, Chap. II.

¹³ "Relation of Play to Juvenile Delinquency," *Charities*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 562, 565.

¹⁴ The figures studied showed that while for the whole city in 39 per cent of the cases under the care of the court the treatment was successful, the percentage of successful cases within one mile of each of the six large parks was 46 per cent. Unable to isolate from other factors the influence of the parks upon the delinquent children, Mr. Burns concluded that it was impossible to say whether the parks had any decisive influence on juvenile delinquency or not.

were considered—on juvenile delinquency between 1900 and 1907 seemed evident. Considering the areas in which the playgrounds were possibly effective he says: "It appears juvenile delinquency has decreased 24 per cent in those areas while delinquency for the whole city decreased only 18 per cent." He concluded that the small parks with playgrounds seemed to show not only an influence in preventing juvenile delinquency but in securing better results in the after-care of juvenile delinquents who had been to court.¹⁵

In 1916 the Cleveland Recreation Survey, under the direction of Mr. Burns, attempted to ascertain more precisely what is the relation between the use of spare time and character. Two studies were made, one on the relation of the use made of spare time to delinquency, the other on the relation of the use of spare time to good citizenship. These two supplemented each other, and provided a comparison between the spare-time activities of delinquents and of wholesome citizens.

Mr. Thurston's study showed that while there is no one factor always present in delinquency cases, there is a connection between delinquency and the habitual uses of spare time in three-fourths of the cases. On comparing his delinquent and my "wholesome citizen" it was found that while the delinquent used over 50 per cent of his spare time in desultory, unguided pursuits, the "wholesome citizen" as a child had used only seven-tenths of one per cent of his spare time in such ways. The study showed clearly that the boys and girls who went wrong did so because there was no adequate provision made for the constructive use of their leisure time. It showed also the close connection between delinquency and the use of the gullies and railroad yards which intervene between the homes on the bluffs and the boy's natural playground, the river and the lake. In those gullies and in the railroad yards, whither he had gone in search of adventure, the boy found the hoboies, who told to him "wonderful" stories of adventure on the road, thieving, vice, and crime, which incited him to crime. There he found the junk heaps from which he gathered the spoils which brought him spending money. Near them were the cars in which were valuables and the tracks along which was found the scrap iron, both of which he could convert into money. To these places of temptation he went because nearer home there were no places with similar appeals to his desire for adventure.

A similar perversion of natural desires was to be seen in the adult delinquents. The girls studied had not started out to do wrong, but to have a good time. In their quest for adventure and for the pleasure denied them in their homes or rooming places, or in their places of business, they found

¹⁵ "Relation of Playgrounds to Juvenile Delinquency," *Charities*, Vol. XXI, pp. 25, 31.

it in the associations to be made in dance halls. Said one of these girls, "All of us girls like to get out once in a while. We can't entertain company where we live because we only room there and have no place, anyway we can have more fun outside." No place to play, but places where temptation lurked! Immorality was the price these starved lives ultimately paid for the desire to "have a good time" to satisfy that passion to associate with others in the activities which we call play.¹⁶

My study attempted to ascertain what was the nature of the play life of 160 representative citizens of Cleveland from their childhood up to the time the study was begun. These 160 were chosen because they were "wholesome" people and represented fairly all classes in that heterogeneous population. Out of this study came the facts that (1) their play life in childhood and youth had been rich and varied, (2) the opportunities for play had been ample in their own homes and in their immediate neighborhoods, (3) that they had enjoyed in their play wholesome leadership and (4) that their games had been, in contrast to those of Thurston's delinquents, not of the desultory, but of the constructive sort such as had engaged their active interest and participation.¹⁷

No studies have been made comparable to these in showing the close connection between the use of spare time and the development of character. They also threw a flood of light on the way in which recreation influences children and youth, and on the kinds of recreation which are constructive. They show that recreation is strongest for good or evil in the opportunity which it affords for the exercise of personal influences.

9. Recreation and Dependency. No studies have been made of the direct relation of dependency to the use of leisure time. Hypothetically the relation would seem to be indirect through the effect of recreation upon education and upon the development of a well integrated personality. If recreation can break down one's prejudices against others, if it can teach him to play the game squarely, if it quickens his intelligence, if it conduces to good health, if it teaches him to be democratic in his relationships, if it teaches him how to get along with others effectively, if it tends to develop his potentialities to understand the kind of world in which he lives, to adapt himself as much as necessary to make a living, and to get ahead, it doubtless adds to the individual's independence and self-support, but it does not affect directly the development of a social order in which justice prevails and which guarantees to every man a chance to make a living according to his ability. However, even the Russians believe that the proper use of leisure time is neces-

¹⁶ Thurston, *Delinquency and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918, Chaps. IV, VII.

¹⁷ *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918.

sary for Soviet citizens. They have developed a recreational program the like of which for scope is not to be seen in any other country of the world.¹⁸

Unemployment during the depression called attention anew to the importance of using constructively the leisure time of the unemployed. On the Government relief projects under both the F.E.R.A. and the W.P.A. and under the work relief of the counties and municipalities even the employed found themselves with much idle time. For the young unemployed men admitted, the C.C.C. camps were intended to occupy the time either in work, recreation, or education. It has been thought that this contributed to the lessening of the commitments to institutions for young offenders. Recreation projects of various kinds were stimulated by the federal authorities under the various relief organizations.

In the future through technological advances industry probably is going to require a smaller number of men to produce the needed amount of products; millions of potential workers are going to be out of employment. If through this depression eight or ten million are going to have to live on a subsistence wage or if the standard of living for the working people of the whole country is lowered, less products will be consumed because there is less money to buy them. Here, again, a smaller number of men will be required to produce the goods which can be bought. If in all these ways there should be a large number of people who cannot obtain employment, their free time will have to be occupied in some constructive way, if they are not to become personally demoralized. These matters are causing grave concern to the recreation leaders of America. Even Russia with her seven-hour day has been compelled to give attention to the matter, hence her widespread program of recreation.¹⁹

A SOCIALIZED RECREATION PROGRAM

On the basis of our knowledge concerning recreation we may tentatively suggest a recreation program adapted to the production of good citizenship and so to the prevention of poverty and dependency.

Whenever possible a great deal of recreation should be provided for in the home. For young children such provision is imperative. At once, however, it becomes necessary that provision should be made whereby the proper persons shall have charge of it. If the mother cannot give the time neces-

¹⁸ Newsholme and Kingsbury. *Red Medicine*, New York City, 1933, pp. 16, 22, 35, 38, 141, 166, 167.

¹⁹ Winter, *Red Virtue*, New York, 1933, pp. 263, 264, 271, 272; Fischer, *Soviet Journey*, New York, 1935, Chapter 9; Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*, New York, 1934, pp. 371-373.

sary to develop the play life of her children she must have the opportunity to select the child's playmates. In congested sections of great cities, of course, this is almost impossible after the children become 8 or 10 years of age. In the country and in smaller villages if parents are awake to the importance of play and know how to direct it, proper leadership can be provided either by themselves or by the selection of the child's playmates. The Cleveland study on *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time* showed that the most potent influence in childhood was other children. It is important, therefore, that the right kind of children be selected as playmates.

In tenement districts where play at home is impossible, after the children are able to leave the apartments, the city must make provision for play opportunities under competent leadership near enough to where the children live that they may take advantage of them. Because of the costliness of providing playgrounds in congested parts of the great cities, resort has been had to setting off certain streets as playgrounds. This provision is a makeshift, but is very much better than a busy traffic street with the hazard to child life and without competent direction.

All of our cities should at once make provision for small playgrounds scattered about where children live so that they may have opportunity to play. For adults and for children larger areas are necessary in order that they may have opportunity to express themselves among natural conditions such as were provided for our ancestors. Trees and water are necessary to give opportunity for indulgence in old race habits which form so great a part of recreation. So far as possible every lake front and every river bank should be a playground. Provision should be made for swimming, boating, and group games, both for children and adults.

More important than any of these physical conditions is the necessary leadership. While the leadership should not result in autocratic control and thus destroy the freedom characteristic of recreation, it should be suggestive and result in constructive activities. Under the impetus of open-eyed, expert leadership a large number of volunteer leaders of clubs, such as hiking clubs, skating clubs, and other groups engaged in physical exercise, may be interested in stimulating large numbers of people to use the available facilities.

We must endeavor to popularize active participation in play. Baseball and football, our two great national games, provide entertainment. There is some relaxation to be sure for the spectators in seeing a game, but as Dr. Luther Gulick has said, "If our boys are going to learn team play; if they are going to acquire the habit of subordinating selfish to group interests, they must learn these things through *experience*, and not from books or the 'bleachers' maintained by professional baseball. Such moral development

comes only through activities which are pursued with spontaneous and passionate enthusiasm."²⁰ All sorts of organized play in which each takes a part will supply this need.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Recreation in the Rural Districts. Curtiss, *Play and Recreation*, Boston, 1914, Part III.
2. The Need of Recreation in the City. Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, New York, 1912, Chaps. I, IV; Bowen, *Safeguards for City Youth at Work and at Play*, New York, 1914, Chap. II.
3. Recreation and Education. Johnson, *Education through Recreation: Cleveland Education Survey*, 1916; Bonser, *School Work and Spare Time: Cleveland Recreation Survey*, 1918.
4. Public recreation. Haynes and Davies, *Public Provision for Recreation: Cleveland Recreation Survey*, 1918; *A Community Recreation Program: Cleveland Recreation Survey*, 1918.
5. The Organization and Work of the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation. Senate Document No. 151, 68th Congress, first session, No. 229, 68th Congress, second session, *National Conference on Outdoor Recreation; Organization and Program, 1924-1925*.
6. Recreation in Soviet Russia. For references see footnotes 18, 19.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Give the three theories of play.
2. What are some of the social results of play?
3. What has been the development of public recreation? What are some of its latest expressions?
4. Describe the social functions of recreation.
5. Outline a socialized recreation program.
6. How may commercialized recreation become socialized?
7. What part can recreation play in preventing the demoralization of the unemployed?

²⁰ *Popular Recreation and Public Morality*, American Unitarian Society, Social Service Series, Bulletin No. 10, Boston, p. 15.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIALIZED RELIGION

IN primitive society religion is a social product. The primitive man knows little of the nature of the world in the midst of which he lives. Harassed by the fear of unknown powers he began to interpret these unknown forces in terms of what he knew of human beings. He attributed to the forces of nature which he feared, traits of human personality, but conceived them as mightier and subtler than men. As he developed social relations, his conception of these beings or this being was in ever more complex terms. Moreover, since the practical question was how to come to terms with these forces, he invented devices of appeasing them analogous to the methods he used in placating other men.¹

HISTORIC RELIGION AND SOCIAL REFORM

It would be worth while to study the more important religions and notice the relation of each to social reform. But since space does not permit, let us confine our attention to the Hebrew and Christian religions.

Early Hebrew Religion and Social Conditions. The early Hebrew religion concerned itself with social relationships—the regulation of the family, the protection of women and children, subordination of children to parents, the modification of private revenge within the tribe, and many others. The early Hebrews were a desert people and therefore their social relationships were rather simple. Consequently the social features of the legislation in the earliest Hebrew codes we have are also simple. Moreover, since religion was believed to be the most important means of securing social welfare, these codes concern themselves chiefly with the relationship of the tribe to its god, Jahveh.

The Hebrew Prophets and Social Questions. With the settlement of the Hebrew tribes in the land of Canaan and the development of agriculture and commerce, the social relationships became more complex. New problems arose which had to be solved. Hence, in the days of the great

¹ For a much more extended study of the social origin of religion see Gillin and Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1930, Chap. XVI.

writing prophets,—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah—religion received a new social emphasis. A large part of this emphasis grew out of the development of new social classes consequent on the rise of commercialism among a hitherto pastoral and agricultural people. Since they had had no experience in regulating these relationships between the rich and the poor, the noble and the peasant, serious problems of injustice and heartlessness arose. These prophets saw clearly that the ancient tribal solidarity was threatened. Since religion was interwoven with the ideas of tribal welfare, they challenged in the name of religion the injustices which had appeared and demanded that the rich consider the welfare of their less fortunate brethren. Space will not permit more than a very brief citation of examples.

Amos, in condemning the social injustice in Israel, threatens the punishment of Jahveh on the nation "because they have sold the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes."² He describes them as those "who store up violence and robbery in their palaces,"³ "who turn justice to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth,"⁴ and who "trample upon the poor and take exactions from him of wheat."⁵ In contrast to the people's belief that ceremonial sacrifices are pleasing to their God, Amos represents Him as saying: "I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them! neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let justice run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."⁶ He condemns in unsparing words those who "would swallow up the needy and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit? That we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat?"⁷

Hosea likewise connects the historic worship of Jahveh with his demand for social justice. He represents Jahveh as saying: "For I desire goodness and not sacrifice and a knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." He charges that "there is no truth, nor goodness, nor knowledge of God in the land. There is nothing but swearing, and breaking faith, and killing, and

² Amos 2: 6.

³ Amos 3: 10.

⁴ Amos 5: 7.

⁵ Amos 5: 11.

⁶ Amos 5: 21-24.

⁷ Amos 8 4-6

stealing, and committing adultery. They break out and blood toucheth blood." ⁸

Isaiah describes the Judeans as a "sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters . . . the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it." ⁹ He represents Jahveh as saying: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats. . . . Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." ¹⁰

Micah sums up in the most succinct form imaginable his conception of the social nature of the Hebrew religion. He represents the Israelite who is seeking to find peace with his God as saying: "Wherewith shall I come before Jahveh, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will Jahveh be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousand of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" And the prophet answers him: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what does Jahveh require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy god?" ¹¹

Religion and Social Problems in Post-Exilic Judaism. The destruction of the Hebrew kingdoms, and the Babylonian exile, impressed some of these lessons deeply upon the thought of those who remained faithful to their ancestral religion. However, in the 500 years between the return from exile and the beginning of the Christian era there developed in the Jewish people an intense and fanatical devotion to certain elements of their religion—elements not closely connected with social justice. Ground between the upper and nether millstones of the great nations struggling for supremacy in western Asia, the Jewish people and their religion survived only by intense devotion to their God. As a result of this concentration upon faithfulness to Jahveh in the days of persecution, questions of justice among themselves

⁸ Hos. 4: 2.

⁹ Is. 1: 4-6.

¹⁰ Is. 1: 11-17.

¹¹ Mic. 6: 6-8.

were sometimes ignored. Consequently, the priestly and scribal religion which developed through the Persian, Greek and early Roman periods showed strange departures from the social ideals of the prophets we have just cited. Under Roman domination the old religious isolation had been broken down. Commerce had spread everywhere in the wake of Alexander's conquests and had developed under the Roman rule. This created a new and critical situation for the religious leaders who were endeavoring to preserve the Jewish religion from contamination by Hellenism. The religious observances prescribed by the religious leaders had for their aim the isolation of the Jews from the influence of other ideas. Since, however, most of the people were engaged in commerce and therefore had to come in contact with Gentiles, it was quite impossible for them to observe the ceremonies which the Jewish leaders had set up as a wall of protection. Consequently, the Pharisees despised the common people for not knowing the law.¹²

John the Baptist and Jesus on Social Relations. John the Baptist and Jesus gave a fresh emphasis to social religion. The message of John the Baptist was a call to repentance and to "fruits worthy of repentance." In answer to the inquiries of the multitude as to what they must do he said: "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise." To the collectors of Roman taxes he replied: "Exact no more than that which is appointed you"; to the soldiers who were moved to inquire what they must do: "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages."¹³

Jesus challenged the whole unsocial and sometimes antisocial attitude of the religious leaders of the Judaism of His day. He conceived his mission in social terms. Returning from the temptation in the wilderness to His home in Nazareth He went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day. When He was asked to read the lesson for the day He chose the passage from Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."¹⁴ In order that those who heard Him should understand that these were His marching orders He said: "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."

Moreover, His whole ministry was a ministry of social helpfulness. By His activities He demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that He under-

¹² John 7: 49.

¹³ Luke 3: 8-14.

¹⁴ Luke 4: 18-19.

stood this Messianic passage from Isaiah in a literal fashion. How large a part of the record of His ministry is a record of good deeds, the relief of suffering, the bringing of hope to the hopeless, inspiration to those who had been crushed by the social evils of their day! His voice is ever raised against the oppressor and for the oppressed. The bitterest words which fell from His lips were uttered against those who "bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers," who by casuistry had prompted the son to give the money wherewith he should have supported his old parents to the temple and then excused him for his unfilial conduct; and who "pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law—justice, mercy, and faith"; who "make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within are full of extortion and excess"; and who "build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous," and then persecute and crucify the prophets of their own day.¹⁵

Furthermore, when challenged by the disciples of John with the question as to whether He was the one whom John proclaimed as Messiah, what was His answer? Not argument; but, referring to what they had seen Him doing, he said: "Go and tell John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached to them."¹⁶

Finally, in His picture of the last judgment the criterion He gave which determined the fate of those who were brought before the judge was whether they had fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, taken in the stranger, clothed the naked, visited the sick and prisoners.¹⁷ Not theological doctrines, not ceremonial observance were the burden of His message, but unselfish service to one's fellows—doing justice, showing mercy, succoring the unfortunate.

Pre-Reformation Christianity and Social Reform. In a previous chapter reference was made to the charitable activities of the early Christians. Their concern for the poor and their widespread charity for those in distress, such as prisoners, widows, and orphans, have been cited. It is sufficient here to indicate that while Christianity in its 2,000 years of history has sometimes failed to emphasize, as did Jesus and Paul, the fundamental principles of social righteousness, it has been, nevertheless, one of the most important agencies in social reform in the world. Not only did the church

¹⁵ Matt. 23: 4-36.

¹⁶ Matt. 11: 4-6.

¹⁷ Matt. 25: 31-46.

establish great Christian charities for the relief of the helpless, but during the Middle Ages the monasteries were refuges for the poor, the suffering, the widow, and the orphan. In the disturbed conditions of society in those days, these Christian institutions were the one universal refuge for the oppressed of Western Europe. While Kingsley's description of them may be somewhat idealized, nevertheless, there is truth in what he says: "And out of these monasteries what did not spring? They restored again and again sound law and just government; under their shadows sprang up towns with their corporate rights, their middle classes, and their artists. . . . While they taught men to note they had a common humanity, a common Father in Heaven, they taught them also to profit by one another's wisdom, instead of remaining in isolated ignorance. They, too, were the great witnesses against the feudal cause. With them was neither high born nor low born nor rich nor poor."¹⁸

Through the religious orders, developed during the Middle Ages, the church was the educator of society. These orders introduced scientific farming, they built roads, they drained swamps, they were the patrons of art and learning. In these organizations were supplied many of the features of a modern free democracy. Along with the aristocratic element in the organization of the church and in the religious orders, there was an element of democracy. It was the democratic element which challenged the abuse of power by kings and princes and prelates. It is significant that in this revolt the appeal was chiefly to Jesus and Paul.

Attitude of Reformation and Post-Reformation Christianity to Social Justice. The Protestant Revolt was at bottom a reaction against social injustice. Many were the good Catholics who sympathized with efforts to reform abuses.¹⁹ The social and economic conditions affecting especially the peasants in Western Europe were bad. The spark which set the Reformation under Luther into activity was his reaction against social abuses. While ostensibly the cause was a theological one, as a matter of fact the exploitation of the German peoples by the Pope at Rome was the subject of Luther's fulminations. He charges that the Pope lived in worldly pomp; that he exalted himself above the secular authorities; that cardinals were appointed in order to get the rich convents, endowments, fiefs, and benefices into the hands of Rome, so that even Italy, which he cites as an example of what Germany may expect, was almost a desert. Convents were destroyed,

¹⁸ Cutting, *The Church and Society*, New York, 1912, p. 6.

¹⁹ See Luther, "Address to the Christian Nobility," Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, Philadelphia, 1885, pp. 15-92; Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1900, Vol. III, p. 25.

sees consumed, the revenues of the prelacies and all the churches drawn to Rome. Towns were decayed, the country and people were ruined because the cardinals were used to draw thither the wealth of Europe. He charges that they are beginning the same process in Germany. Said he: "They begin by taking off the cream of the bishoprics, convents, and fiefs."²⁰ He exclaims, "What has brought us Germans to such a pass that we have to suffer this robbery and this destruction of our property by the Pope?"²¹ He said that there were more than 3,000 papal secretaries alone, besides many other office bearers, all waiting for German benefices. He thought that Germany then paid more to the Pope than it formerly paid the emperors. Yet for all of this the Italians heaped nothing but shame upon the Germans. He says: "Do we still wonder why princes, noblemen, cities, foundations, convents, and people are poor? We should rather wonder that we have anything left to eat."²² In short, the chief charge laid by Luther against the Roman *curia*, whether it be true or false, was that instead of shepherding, it robbed the German people.²³

While there is no doubt that Luther thus endeavored to secure the support of the German nobility by calling attention to the popish limitations upon the temporal power of the Emperor and the princes, and by appealing to the patriotism of the German people as against the foreigner, it is also true that the widely asserted economic exploitation of the Christians of Germany by the Pope and the alleged expenditure of the money upon luxurious living by the Court of Rome, created great unrest among the Germans. The social conditions were so bad among the peasants that under the incitement of the gospel of freedom the Peasants' War occurred. Says Moeller, "Disturbances among the peasants had already commenced decades before the Reformation in which the religious question of the latter had no share at all. The condition and treatment of the peasants living in serfdom just in the territories of the church are in great measure responsible for them. . . . The end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century had already witnessed numerous explosions among the peasants and in the townships, but all of strictly limited area."²⁴

Referring to the twelve articles of the peasantry, the foundation of the Peasants' War, Moeller says: "These articles put in front of an agrarian economic program the demands, that the congregation should be allowed to exercise the right of choosing and dismissing their ministers, since they are

²⁰ Luther, *ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-92.

²⁴ Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1900, Vol. III, p. 66.

in need of 'pure' preaching of the Gospel, and that the tithe which they further are willing to give, should be appropriated by the congregation itself to the support of the parson, the maintenance of the poor, and as a reserve fund for the needs of the country. Also the succeeding socio-economic demands of their program at the same time appeared with a religious coloring, as founded on the Bible."²⁵

James Harvey Robinson, speaking of this manifesto of the peasants, says that while it clearly shows the influence of Luther's teachings, "yet the revolt cannot be attributed to him, but rather to the general social and economic conditions which had produced a number of similar disturbances earlier." They demanded that they should be freed from serfdom; that they be relieved of the prohibition to fish and hunt and use the game for sustenance; that those who have game preserves should give them up unless they have acquired them by purchase; that the appropriation of the wood by the nobility should be done away with so that the poor folks could have the chance to cut wood; that the excessive services demanded of them, which they charged had been increased from day to day, should be lessened, and "that some gracious consideration be given us"; that the lord should not further oppress them, but that a just and proper agreement should be made between the lord and the peasant; that the holdings from which an exorbitant rent was exacted should have their rent readjusted "so that the people shall not work for nothing"; that they should be relieved from the burden of new and offensive laws, and be judged according to the old written law, "so that the case shall be decided according to its merits and not with partiality"; that meadows and fields which had been appropriated by individuals, but which had once belonged to the community, should be given back to them. In case they had been rightfully purchased, "some brotherly arrangement should be made according to circumstances"; and that the heriot should be abolished so that widows and orphans would not be shamefully robbed by means of it.²⁶ It was a struggle between the alien aristocracy and the inherent democracy of the Church.

In the post-Reformation period the same struggle was repeated. The state churches were compromised by their connection with the aristocratic ruling classes. The sects and an active minority in some of the state churches kept alive the agitation for justice. Writing of some of the sects, Rauschenbusch says, "We are accustomed to speak of the latter group as evangelical sects. . . . It is much closer to history to say that they were the first stirrings of Christian democracy, expressions of lay religion and working-class ethics.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

²⁶ Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Boston, 1906, Vol. II, pp. 94-99.

They heralded the religious awakening of the common people and their cry for the Reign of God on earth."²⁷

Evaluation of the Social Influence of Religion. There have been times when both the Jewish and the Christian religions have quite forgotten their social functions. They have represented the exploiting, selfish, unfraternal attitude of society rather than the brotherly, sympathetic, and helpful attitude which the great prophets of Judaism and of Christianity promulgated.

In certain periods it has glorified selfish almsgiving, and made begging a saintly virtue. Too often it has demoralized the poor by indiscriminate giving and for gifts condoned the sins of the rich and powerful; its leaders frequently have been the beneficiaries of oppression of the working people. Again and again, however, in the history of both Judaism and Christianity the social implications of religion have been voiced by prophetic souls. They have called the church from its selfishness to its social function. The cause of the poor and the oppressed has been pleaded by its representatives. It has built institutions for the care of the unfortunate in every age. While sometimes it has stood with the exploiters of the poor in their poverty and misery, pleading that God would reward them in the next world for their suffering in this, we must not forget that there have been other times when the church's voice has been unmistakably raised against the oppression of the helpless and the exploitation of the weak. This voice of protest it has raised sometimes when it meant turning the church against its own leaders and its most influential members. At certain periods the church has seemed to acquiesce in everything foreign to the genius of its Founder, and has sought to quiet the angry protests of outraged weakness. At other times the voice of the representatives of the church has been raised in the most effective protests against wrong in high places. Instances of the former attitude of the church are to be seen in that of the Russian Orthodox Church under the Czar, the Catholic Church at times in Mexico and South America, and the Protestant Church sometimes in eras of vast industrial change.

Hence, when it is charged on the one hand that the church has abetted the oppression of the weak, only half the truth is told. When, on the other hand, the church is lauded to the skies as the protector of the poor, its failures are left out of sight. A just judgment recognizes the truth of both these statements.

It is clear that the fundamentals of Prophetic Judaism and of Christianity are those of justice between class and class and between individuals. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man lie at the base of both. The

²⁷ *Christianising the Social Order*, New York, 1919, p. 83.

Prophets of Israel and Judah conceived of just relationships in a coming state, at first in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, later in a Messianic kingdom, and then in the days of Jesus in an ideal society called the kingdom of God. "Ye knew that they who are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you; but whosoever would become great among you shall be servant of all."²⁸ That was the teaching of the Founder of Christianity. The disciples were to pray, "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is done in heaven."²⁹ With such principles as the *Magna Carta* of the social interpretation of Christianity there is no doubt that the Church should endeavor to face frankly and earnestly social problems.

These principles do not conflict with nor supplant economic and political methods of establishing the right, but enlist the religious motives of men to secure economic, political, and social justice.

The Kingdom of God and the Problems of Poverty and Dependency. The trouble with religion in the past is that too often it has lost its social basis. The Hebrew Prophets attached their teachings to an ideal kingdom. With Amos, Hosea and Isaiah, their religion expressed itself in terms of an intense patriotism. Believing that the religion of Jahveh, their ancestral god, was closely connected with the welfare of the nation, they preached social justice because only by each individual and each class controlling his selfish impulses in the interest of every member of the group could the nation survive. The danger they foresaw in the growing might of Assyria was immeasurably increased by the weakness of Israel and Judah because of the destruction of their social solidarity through the exploitation of the weak by the strong. Social injustice was rampant, and consequently in the face of the enemy Israel was weak. The rulers and rich exploited the common people; the ancient religious sanctions to conduct were weakened; the more numerous exploited had nothing to fight for, for those who should have been their protectors despoiled them. Instead of a firm faith in Jahveh in the face of impending danger noble and peasant, rich and poor, had lost faith in each other and in their god. Patriotism was dead with the religion which was its root.³⁰

After the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian exile, the dream of a restored kingdom under God arose, a kingdom more glorious than ever because God would raise up a new king different from those who had led them astray and would give the people a new heart and place His Spirit

²⁸ Mark 10: 42-44.

²⁹ Matt. 6: 10.

³⁰ Hos. 2: 14-20; 11. 1-4; Amos 2 6-8, 3 13 15, 4 4. 5; 6 1-6; Is. 1: 2-17, 24-28.

among them to lead them in ways of righteousness.³¹ Gradually there grew up the dream of a King-Messiah, who would be all that their former kings had failed to be.³² These hopes were to be realized in a kingdom of justice. Through the disappointing years following the Restoration, that hope of a God-given Anointed One who should restore the kingdom sustained a heart-sick people.³³ At the opening of the Christian era the Pharisees cherished that hope of a Messianic kingdom with burning expectancy. Some of them held that if the Law were perfectly observed one day the Messiah would come. The pious poor people waited for the consolation of Israel.³⁴ The account of the Temptation of Jesus shows unmistakable evidence of the crassness of some of these hopes.³⁵

The conception of a Messianic kingdom Jesus held. The vigor with which He held it, together with His belief that He was called to be the Messiah and to establish this kingdom, accounts for the intensity of His struggle in the Temptation. He refused to accept the crude political and magical beliefs current in His time about the nature of the kingdom and the Messiah.³⁶ He conceived of it as a social kingdom. Its fundamental principle was brotherhood under God as a father. Its membership was made up of those who accepted the principle of brotherhood as an active principle in their social relations.³⁷ His kingdom was not of this world in the sense of being in nature like the other kingdoms in existence.³⁸ Yet it was among the people then living.³⁹ It began as a small thing and grew by natural stages until it became great.⁴⁰ It spread as leaven through meal.⁴¹ It developed as a plant, first the stalk, then the ear, and then the fully developed grain.⁴² The members had a helpful attitude towards others.⁴³ Its standards were not forms and ceremonies, nor correct theological doctrines, but social attitudes.⁴⁴ Justice, kindness and faith were the characteristics of its members.⁴⁵ It was concerned with the welfare of little children and lost women,

³¹ Ez. Chaps. 36, 37, 43.

³² Is. 42: 1-4.

³³ Psalms of Solomon, 17: 36; 18: 6, 8.

³⁴ Luke 2: 25, 24: 21.

³⁵ Luke 4: 33.

³⁶ Luke 4: 5-13.

³⁷ Luke 6: 27-38, 46; 22: 24-26.

³⁸ Jno. 18: 36.

³⁹ Luke 17: 20, 21.

⁴⁰ Matt. 13: 31, 32.

⁴¹ Matt. 13: 33.

⁴² Mark 4: 26-29.

⁴³ Luke 9: 1-6.

⁴⁴ Matt. 23: 1-36.

⁴⁵ Matt. 23: 23.

with men who were the victims of a vicious economic system.⁴⁶ The only harsh words He spoke were concerning those religious leaders who had perverted religion to selfish purposes.⁴⁷ His kingdom meant that just and kindly human relationships were placed above wealth and position.⁴⁸ It signified fraternity in the economic as well as other relations of life.⁴⁹ While it cannot be said that Jesus outlined any plan for the prevention of poverty and destitution, the fundamental principles He laid down concerning men's relations in the Kingdom of God imply preventive efforts. Those principles cut to the root of selfishness. They resolve class consciousness and class struggle into consideration for the welfare of the whole group and an endeavor to secure justice and opportunity for all. These principles, therefore, have a bearing upon the problem of poverty and dependency. They determine a compassionate and wise treatment of the poor and the destitute. They inspire adequate provisions for those who are the victims of misfortune and circumstance. As exemplified in His whole ministry, they teach the healing of the bodies and the minds of men. They incite to honest labor, and to consideration of one's duty to his fellows, be they rich or poor. Through His example of preaching the gospel of hope and better living to all, Jesus certainly gave warrant to effort in a democracy to secure an adjustment of legislation and administration in the interest of a decent living and an abundant life.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION AND ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL WELFARE

It is difficult to generalize concerning the present attitude of religious organizations to social problems. Some organizations center their attention upon the life hereafter; others upon present social relations. Jew and Christian alike vary from congregation to congregation, and within the Christian church from denomination to denomination. They differ in their attitude toward fundamental democracy. The Protestant Church of Germany, for example, was a bulwark for the autocracy of the German Empire. Catholicism in Spain stood behind the despotism of that monarchy in the days of its strength.

On the other hand, in America the churches usually have been a bulwark of political democracy. Such studies as have been made, however, indicate that as a whole, the Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues until recently have not been concerned primarily with political reform, industrial

⁴⁶ Luke 18: 15-17; Matt. 19: 3-12; Luke 7: 36-50, 19: 1-10.

⁴⁷ Matt. 23: 1-36.

⁴⁸ Matt. 19: 16-24; Luke 12: 13-15.

⁴⁹ Luke 16: 19-31.

questions, or social problems. The subjects of the sermons announced in our city papers do not indicate that a great amount of attention is given by the Christian pulpit to the fundamental problems of the betterment of society. They are concerned rather with matters that touch either the hereafter or the duty of the Christian to live a pious and godly life, or to support the church. Often they are vague and without particular reference to conditions which touch the masses. So far as they are ethical at all, they concern themselves chiefly with the common decencies and customary honesty of individuals.

On the whole, the churches have "sidestepped" the social problems of the day. This is the more strange because Christianity is one of the causes of our social problems. The messages of Jesus and of the Hebrew Prophets have made people conscious of the wrongfulness of evil conditions. For example, Christianity was introduced into the Roman Empire where slavery flourished, and where the subjugation of women was an age-long phenomenon. The teaching of Jesus that "One is your Father, and all ye are brethren" was a doctrine which was bound to blast the institution of slavery. The teaching of Paul that "in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, bond or free" struck at the very foundation of these two subjections. While drunkenness held sway probably for thousands of years before either Isaiah or Paul thundered against it, it was not able to survive the new ethical impulse which the words of these courageous men stimulated. Moreover, the lot of labor would be no "problem" were it not for the diffusion of the ideals of brotherhood in the Hebrew and Christian religions. So with many other problems which perplex us. If religion is in part the cause of these problems, it cannot evade responsibility of their solution.⁵⁰

1. **The Church and Modern Industry.** One of the most perplexing problems is that of the relation between the laborer and his employer. It cannot be solved without the ideals of religion. If men are brothers, and One is their common Father, then the exploitation of one by another cannot continue without violence to that doctrine. Workmen cannot slight their work, employers cannot treat their workmen as they would not wish to be treated themselves. Men cannot be eye-servants, as Paul long ago said, if they are Christians, and masters must consider those who work for them with brotherly compassion and treat them justly, if all are the children of God.⁵¹

There cannot be a solution of this problem by the mere balancing of the selfish interests of opposing classes. Legislation is good, but without the appeal of a great religious ideal legislation is bound to fail. In the hearts of

⁵⁰ Commons, *Social Reform in the Church*, New York, 1894, pp. 8-10.

⁵¹ Eph. 6: 5-9; 1 Tim. 6: 1 and 2.

men the Christian ideal of brotherhood and of service must be established and the Golden Rule must reach farther within a man than the lips before labor and capital, both alike often selfish, both alike capable of mutual consideration, can be brought together in harmonious production. What waste is involved in our present methods of appeal to self-interest! Strikes and lockouts occur, suffering of large numbers results, both of the laborers and the consuming public, while investors suffer, all because religion has not permeated with its ethical ideals the relationships of men.

This doctrine is not new, nor is it confined to religious teachers and sociologists. As long ago as 1893 Professor Commons wrote, "I believe that there is but one solution for social problems. It is the bringing of the two extremes of society together, the wiping out of mutual mis-understandings, and the promotion of mutual acquaintance of each other's feelings, wants and hopes. In other words, it is the introduction of love into social relations. The present division of classes results in exclusiveness, ignorance of social conditions, and consequent hate. Both sides need to know by personal contact the conditions of the other."⁵²

Certain writers leave the impression that all would be well for the world if the capitalist class had the right attitude toward labor. For example, Rauschenbusch, discussing the obstacles which bar men out of religion, says that the most effective argument against religion today is that it has been against the people. He adds, "The Spirit of Christ has been their most powerful ally, but the official church, taking Christendom as a whole, has thrown the bulk of its great resources to the side of those who are in possession, and against those who were in such deadly need of aid. This is the great scandal which will not down." Practically in all he has to say about a just social order he has his eyes on the evils brought about by the upper economic classes. I can find nowhere any emphasis upon the necessity of ideals of service among the working classes. Such a position is most natural, perhaps, since the Prophets and Jesus had most to say about the rich, and since the latter are the ones who have the upper hand in the struggle throughout history. However, when we are talking about social justice we must not forget that the workmen too, unless their ideals have been socialized by the principles of an ethical religion, take advantage of any opportunity they have to slight their work, to be time-servers, reduce output and "make work." Social justice will not come until they, as well as the rich, are possessed by the ideal of loyal social service, of doing right by those who employ them. Both sides to the conflict between capital and labor must be touched by the

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

ideals of justice taught by the Hebrew Prophets and Jesus, and their souls set on fire with passion for social righteousness. The religion of the Hebrew Prophets and of the Jews supply the spark to start that fire.

That the church up to date has had little effect upon the problem of modern industry is indicated by the fact that industrial establishments at the present time are quite dominated by the theory of economic success and profit. That religion is making some impression on modern industrialists is shown by the discussion which is going on as to the relation between employers and their laborers, by the fact that notwithstanding the hostility of organized labor to the church, Jesus is looked upon as the friend of workers, and by experiments which are going on in various industries, large and small, to provide a friendlier relation between the employer and the employed, to introduce various welfare measures for the employees, and by a few lonesome experiments in the introduction of more humane and what is thought to be a Christian attitude between employer and employed.⁵³

2. **Health and Disease.** One of the important causes of poverty and dependency is disease. Certainly the 100,000 needless infant deaths each year in this country, the great number of school children handicapped by remediable physical defects, the bad housing conditions in our cities, which breed tuberculosis, the loss of time of from a week to two weeks each year for the average laboring man because of sickness, cannot be without interest to the Christian Church if it follows the example of the Master who went about healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people. The Church has as great responsibility for the presence of preventable diseases in its community as any other institution that is supposed to exist for the welfare of the people. The trouble has been that the Church has not conceived that its mission is to deal with men's bodies. If the Church were to recognize a responsibility for the health conditions of its community, what support it could lend to disease prevention and to health promotion. What power the Church with its millions of members in the United States could exert did it apply Christian motives to the betterment of the social conditions which affect health! In the days of Jesus a large

⁵³ The latter are represented by the action taken by the American Cast Iron Pipe Company of Birmingham, Alabama, under the direction of its president, John J. Eagan, and by Mr. Nash in his clothing factory in Cincinnati. Jackson, "The Kingdom of God in a Foundry," *The Survey*, December 1, 1924, p. 255; "Arthur Nash and His Million Dollars," *The Christian Century*, May 22, 1924, p. 652; Nash, *An Industrial Miracle, and How It Happened*, Excerpts from lectures delivered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Bruère, "Mr. Nash Does Unto Others," *The Survey*, January 1, 1926, p. 412. "How the Union Came to the 'Golden Rule' Factory," *Literary Digest*, January 23, 1925, p. 12, "Hitting the Trail" in Industry," *The Survey*, March 18, 1922, p. 951.

part of His ministry was healing the sick; a large part of His message bore on social living, which would promote good health, relief from worry and carking care, and a fellowship with others in the effort to live a wholesome and useful life.⁵⁴

Possessed by other-worldly notions of religion, perfectly good Christians who have seen their loved ones die before their time have accepted the matter "with Christian resignation." Were the Church alive to its social responsibility, every untimely death would cause it to hang its head in shame and be the occasion for sincere heart-searching. The clergyman instead of preaching resignation to the decrees of an inscrutable Providence, would preach to his congregation repentance for permitting ignorance and neglect so to dominate the community.

If we may trust the Master's description of the Last Judgment, the question asked when before Him are gathered all nations for judgment, will not be those which the Church has been in the habit of asking the applicants for membership, but, interpreted in terms of our life today, will be whether they have seen that no men who are willing to work go hungry and naked; whether they have visited the sick and have taken pains to see that men did not become sick unnecessarily; and whether they have neglected the prisoners whom our laws have condemned to the loss of freedom⁵⁵ What could not the Church do to set forward the program of disease prevention and the program of health education did it once awake to the fact that the Gospel includes concern for such questions?

3. Poverty and Dependency. In a previous chapter attention has been called to the efforts which the Church has made from its earliest days to ameliorate the lot of the poor and dependent. Throughout that entire period, however, the Church has been concerned largely with *alleviating* misery. It has done something to inspire in people a faith that would make them honest, self-reliant, and independent of support, although there have been times when it sanctified beggary. By its ameliorative measures it softened the asperities of social conditions and provided a kind of insurance against poverty and dependency by dealing with individuals. It has not, however, attacked seriously the problem of changing the conditions which produce poverty and dependency. A socialized religion will not only *continue to ameliorate conditions and inspire individuals to self-help*, but it *will attempt to change the social and economic conditions which cause poverty*. It will still build orphanages, and homes for the aged, improve the public institutions for the care of the dependent, and relieve the widow's need, but

⁵⁴ Cutting, *The Church and Society*, New York, 1912, p. 2.

⁵⁵ Matt. 25: 31-46.

it will interest itself in the question of a standard of living and bring 't bear upon menacing social conditions its mighty appeal. On the one hand it will discourage the indiscriminate giving which makes vagrants and paupers; on the other it will heartily support sound public measures for social security.⁶⁶

Should the church do directly the charitable work of its people? As we know, the Jewish synagogue and some Christian churches organize agencies for the dependent among their own people. Is this a proper function of a church or of a Church Federation? Many churches have set up denominational orphanages, homes for the aged, and institutions for the defective. Is this their most valuable contribution to social work among the dependent and defective? The history of these institutions seems to indicate that there is a question about it. Can the church not do a greater work by inspiring and educating its individual members as to the proper ideals in the care of dependents and in the prevention of poverty than in direct work with the dependent classes? While it may be true that the churches may develop certain agencies and institutions where they do not exist in the community for direct care of the dependent and the defective, experience seems to indicate that the church can do very much better if it functions in educating its individual members so that they may serve as intelligent members of the existing social agencies and bring to those agencies religious fervor and sympathy. Religion does not necessarily supply social technique or sound sociological principles. It does supply human sympathy and the driving power for the amelioration of the lot of the distressed. How happy is that church which has such a membership as are naturally looked to for membership on committees and on boards of the social agencies, public and private, in the community. In that case the church has inspired its members with the passion for help of the distressed and at the same time has educated them to the important principles of social justice. They bring to the agencies their sympathy and their Christian or Jewish outlook. They bring also an intelligence and acquaintance with sound social technique which is of the greatest importance to the community.

4. Education. The socialized church will not spend its energy railing at the "Godless schools." It will see the approach of the Kingdom of God in a school system which develops character and personal efficiency. It will not center attention merely on getting the Bible read in public schools. It will endeavor not only to promote through its own institutions Christian education but, broadening its conception of what is Christian, it will work to secure an educational system which develops every potentiality in each child to the highest degree of social usefulness. Perhaps the Church will come to recog-

⁶⁶ Commons, *Social Reform in the Church*, New York, 1894, p. 43.

nize that health inspection in schools for the purpose of removing physical impediments to school progress, that recreation in the schools for the constructive guidance of children and youth in their play activities, that teachers with an ennobling influence, and that a curriculum adapted to prepare the students for the social life which they must live are not alien to its spirit. In respect to education, therefore, the Church's attitude should be positive and constructive. All development of the potentialities of childhood and youth it should consider religious.

5. **Social Legislation and Administration.** The Church too long has insisted that the machinery by which our life is regulated is outside her sphere of responsibilities. This is because her interpretation of religion has been too narrow. Even though it never mentions the name of God or invokes any dogma of the Church, a law may be essentially Christian if it promotes the ennoblement of life or secures justice. The socialized Church will take an interest in legislation because men's lives are influenced by these laws. Not without good laws and their faithful administration can the Christian ideals for society be realized.

6. **Democracy.** The fundamental doctrine of the Jewish and Christian religions is the solidarity of all classes in society. The Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men both imply democracy. While in her history the Church has been influenced, in her organization and often in her ideals, by the form of government in the midst of which she lived and so sometimes has become aristocratic, the Master and His chief apostles taught a fundamental democracy. Ever the poor and oppressed have had her sympathy. As Rauschenbusch says: "To get a really just estimate of the social value of the Church of the past, we must not measure it by the abstract standards of modern ethics, but compare it with the other social forces and organizations existing in the contemporary social order. We tacitly assume that if the Church had not used its power tyrannically, justice and freedom would have prevailed. On the contrary, some other social organization would probably have used that same power more tyrannically. In the Eastern half of Christendom the Church never had enough independence and vigor to wrestle with princes and emperors as it did in the West. Consequently the State used it as a mere tool without the courage or power to protest. . . . As compared with the despotic State, the Church was still the fulcrum for the lever of God. It kept alive the ideal of social organization ruled by Christ and within that organization the forces that were to revolutionize the world first gathered headway."⁵⁷

The socialized Church will not be content until democracy has been

⁵⁷ Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order*, New York, 1919, pp 80, 81

achieved in society. The form which that democracy may take will always be determined in part by the conditions of life, but the standard for judging the degree of its accomplishment will be that conception of brotherhood which the Master taught.

7. **The Church and International Relations.** The great War called the attention of everyone to the failure of the churches to prevent war. In spite of the frequent reading of the words of Jesus in the churches, war found the individual members of different churches on different sides of the conflict, and both clergy and laity heartily upholding the contest on either side. The only exceptions were the Quakers, the Roman Catholics and other "non-resistant" churches. After the conflict these denominations were the only ones which could hold up their heads unashamed and without apology.

Since the War there has been a revival of interest in the function of the churches in preventing war. The World Conference of Faith and Order, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation right after the War carried on an energetic propaganda for the prevention of another war. Certain denominations in their conferences have taken a decided stand against war. Some of the church and secular papers have clearly set forth the importance of the churches working for peace. During the War the Catholic church led all others in its efforts to limit the conflict and if possible, to bring it to a peaceful and early determination.

Some Promising Beginnings of Christian Activity in Social Welfare. That the modern church is not dead to its responsibilities for bad social conditions is indicated by the programs of numerous church bodies. Space will not permit citation of the attempts by local churches under the leadership of wide-awake pastors and laymen with a social conscience to affect local problems of health, recreation, education, child labor and other social questions. It should not be forgotten that such organizations as the National Conference of Social Work—formerly the National Conference of Charities and Correction—have had a large number of clergymen among their officers and members, and that these men have introduced into their discussion Christian ideals. The Jews have their own National Conference of Jewish Charities and the Catholics have theirs, in both of which the religious ideals and motives are applied to the solution of pressing social problems. It will serve the purpose of this chapter to cite the social service commissions of some of the churches and outline their programs.

In 1908 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized. It is a federation of 31 constituent denominations, including 140,000 local churches, with more than 18,000,000 communicants. It might

be called the agency through which the Protestant Evangelical churches speak and work together in matters of common concern. It operates through publications, addresses of its representatives, and through eight permanent commissions. Among these are the Commission on the Church and Social Service, the Commission on Temperance, the Commission on Christian Education, the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, and the Commission on the Relations with the Orient. The commission which interests us here most directly is that on the Church and Social Service. This Commission has for its purpose the development of social service commissions or committees in each of the constituent denominations. It issues a year book, and makes investigations and publishes reports on social conditions.

At the first meeting of the Council in Philadelphia in 1908, it adopted a platform. In 1932 this platform was revised and published as follows:

1. Practical application of the Christian principle of social well-being to the acquisition and use of wealth, subordination of speculation and the profit motive to the creative and cooperative spirit.
2. Social planning and control of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good.
3. The right of all to the opportunity for self-maintenance; a wider and fairer distribution of wealth; a living wage, as a minimum, and above this a just share for the worker in the product of industry and agriculture.
4. Safeguarding of all workers, urban and rural, against harmful conditions of labor and occupational injury and disease.
5. Social insurance against sickness, accident, want in old age and unemployment.
6. Reduction of hours and labor as the general productivity of industry increases; release from employment at least one day in seven, with a shorter working week in prospect.
7. Such special regulation of the conditions of work of women as shall safeguard their welfare and that of the family and the community.
8. The right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action; protection of both in the exercise of this right; the obligation of both to work for the public good, encouragement of coöperatives and other organizations among farmers and other groups.
9. Abolition of child labor; adequate provision for the protection, education, spiritual nurture and wholesome recreation of every child.
10. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity; educational preparation for marriage, home-making and parenthood.
11. Economic justice for the farmer in legislation, financing, transportation and the price of farm products as compared with the cost of machinery and other commodities which he must buy.
12. Extension of the primary cultural opportunities and social services now enjoyed by urban populations to the farm family.

13. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of any traffic in intoxicants and habit-forming drugs.
14. Application of the Christian principle of redemption to the treatment of offenders; reform of penal and correctional methods and institutions, and of criminal court procedure.
15. Justice, opportunity and equal rights for all; mutual goodwill and coöperation among racial, economic and religious groups.
16. Repudiation of war, drastic reduction of armaments, participation in international agencies for the peaceable settlement of all controversies; the building of a coöperative world order.
17. Recognition and maintenance of the rights and responsibilities of free speech, free assembly, and a free press; the encouragement of free communication of mind with mind as essential to the discovery of truth.⁵⁸

The Protestant bodies which make up the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America have on many occasions issued pronouncements upon the relation of religion to social relationships. To one unacquainted with these pronouncements it may come as a surprise that so many of them have recognized that religion has a very direct bearing upon social problems.⁵⁹ Among the Protestant churches the Northern Baptist, the Southern Baptist, the United Brethren, the Congregational, the Protestant Episcopal, the Evangelical Synod, the Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal South, Presbyterian of the United States, Presbyterian of the United States of America, the Reformed Church in America, the Reformed Church in the United States, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the Society of Friends, the Unitarian, and the Universalist Church, as well as the Federal Council made up of these churches, have declared themselves upon various social problems which the church faces today. Also the Catholic Church, Society for Ethical Culture, the Central Council of American Rabbis, and the Union of American Hebrew Universities, have taken a stand on one or more of these questions. The Methodists, the Presbyterians of Canada, and the United Church of Canada have also concerned themselves with the relationships between the church and social questions.

No one of these churches has covered all of our social problems. A list of some of the topics touched by one or another of these churches, indicates a widespread awareness of the questions upon which the church should take a stand in the endeavor to apply religion to their solution. Among these

⁵⁸ *Social Ideals of the Churches*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York, 1933, pp. 19, 20.

⁵⁹ For an analysis of the pronouncements made by the different churches, both Catholic and Protestant, and by the American Jews, see Johnson, *The Social Work of the Churches*, New York, 1930, Chapter 6.

questions are: Hours of work, one day's rest in seven, a living wage, equal wages for women, child labor and child welfare, the employment of women, unemployment and the right to work, social insurance, labor organization and collective bargaining, industrial democracy and industrial representation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, cooperation of capital and labor, obligations of labor organizations, the profit motive, monopoly, cooperation, the distribution of wealth, property and the stewardship of wealth, the worth of personality, prisons, courts and the machinery of justice, race relations, immigration, civil liberty, methods of social change, rights of the community, housing and health, the cooperative movement, international relations, and agriculture.⁶⁰

The attitude of the Catholic Church has been outstanding on many of these social problems. As long ago as 1891 Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical letter on the condition of labor. The great pronouncement in its fundamental principles carried on the attitude of his medieval predecessors who attempted to face certain economic and social problems having relationships to morals. Among these problems in the Middle Ages were a just price, moderate profit, interest, the duty of the state with reference to the general welfare of the people, and the social morals of the population. In this encyclical of 1891 Leo held that the church has a right to pass judgment upon the economic actions and relations because they involve the moral law and therefore are a concern of the church. While he holds to the private ownership of capital as sanctioned by natural law and as necessary for human welfare, he urged that it should be more equitably distributed in order that the gulf between vast wealth and sheer poverty might be bridged over. He argued that a free contract is not always a just contract in the matter of wages because the worker has a moral right to a compensation which will at least be sufficient for a decent livelihood. He declared that laborers have a natural right to enter into and maintain unions which will enable the members thereof to better their conditions to the utmost in body, mind, and property. He urged that the state is obliged to intervene for the protection of the working classes as well as for the general interest whenever adequate protection cannot be otherwise provided.⁶¹

Forty years later Pope Pius XI, taking for the occasion the Fortieth Anniversary of the Encyclical of Leo XIII, issued his encyclical letter known as *Quadragesimo Anno*, or as the title has been translated, *On Reconstructing*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-168.

⁶¹ Ryan, "Leo Thirteenth," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, p. 408. For the original text see Wynne, *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo the Thirteenth*, New York, 1903.

the Social Order. In this letter published May 23, 1931, the Pope made a plea for a fair distribution between capital and labor of the fruits of their combined efforts. He suggested profit-sharing. He denounced Communism and declared a Catholic cannot be a Socialist. He urged that a just wage should be paid and declared that such a wage should be adequate to maintain the wage-earner and his family. While other members of the family may contribute to his maintenance he declared it is wrong to abuse the tender years of children or the weakness of women or to force mothers to engage from economic necessity in gainful occupation to the detriment of their family duties. While this encyclical was doubtless inspired in part by the menace of Mussolini's requirements affecting the Catholic Church in Italy, it was also an attempt to apply the historical principles of the Catholic Church to the new situation created by modern capitalism.⁶²

Twelve years before Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States sent a Pastoral Letter to the Catholic clergy and laity of this country. Among other matters discussed were the importance of working out industrial relations in accordance with Christian principles. It also took a decided stand on the importance of organizing international peace.⁶³

In the United States the Jews have been outspoken in their attitude towards these social problems. At the meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in July, 1920, they adopted a "Social Justice Program." In this they declare that "Teachers and sages in Jewish ranks have declared in every age the need of applying the religious principles of Judaism to the problems of life." In this program the Conference stressed the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing as an instrument by which to secure its rights at the hands of employers. It also recognized the right of labor to share more equitably in determining the conditions of labor as well as in the rewards. Likewise it stressed the obligation of labor to perform faithfully and energetically the work for which it is justly paid. It denounced the widespread exploitation of the people in the matter of the necessities of life and called upon authorities to restrain and discipline all profiteers and manipulators who make the lot of the people bitter with want and privation. It condemned those labor kings who take advantage of abnormal conditions to diminish their output

⁶² MacIver, "The Papal Encyclical on Labor: An Interpretation," *Current History*, July, 1931, p. 481; Ryan, "The Encyclicals of Leo the Thirteenth and Pius the Eleventh," *Ibid.*, p. 486.

⁶³ James Cardinal Gibbons, *Pastoral Letter*, National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, 1920, pp. 57-63, 68-71; see also *Social Reconstruction*, National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, 1919. This is also known as the Bishop's Program.

deliberately, thereby seriously affecting public welfare. It declared for a maximum eight-hour day for all industrial workers, a compulsory one day of rest in seven, safe and sanitary working conditions, especially with reference to the needs of women, the abolition of child labor, and the raising of the age standard wherever the legal age limit is lower than consistent with moral and physical health. It urged adequate workmen's compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases and provision for the contingencies of unemployment and old age. It "solemnly calls upon the Jewish citizens of the republic and especially upon the Jewish leaders of industry, to take the initiative in the creation and the promotion of a spirit of fellowship and justice in the industrial relations of our country and thus give practical effect in these critical times to the teachings of our religion."⁶⁴

The National Christian Council of Japan recently adopted a social creed. Among other points in this statement were: Non-discriminatory treatment of nations and races, the betterment of the status of women in the educational, social, political and industrial world, prohibition of child labor, the enactment of a law making Sunday a public rest-day, the abolition of the system of public prostitution and the complete regulation of all similar trades, the enactment of a minimum wage, peasant welfare, social insurance laws, and legislation, and equipment promoting public hygiene, the encouragement of producers' and consumers' cooperative associations, the establishment of a suitable agency to obtain harmonious relations between employers and employees, the enactment of a reasonable working day, a progressive tax on incomes and inheritances, the limitation of armaments, the strengthening of the World Court of Justice, and the realization of a warless world.⁶⁵

The growing attention of religious people to social and economic questions betokens the feeling that religion may aid in the solution of these problems. It would be a pity if the potentialities too often lying dormant in the churches could not be turned to the service of social justice. Too often religious enthusiasm is turned in upon the individual's own subjective interests. In order to be vital, religion must link the awakened enthusiasm for good with the problems of life. The person possessed with religious enthusiasm may be a power for good if it can be directed to social purposes.

⁶⁴ "Social Justice Program," *The Survey*, September 1, 1920, p. 654. For the later pronouncement of the Union of Hebrew Congregations and its affiliated organizations, see "Social Standards of Modern Israel," *The Christian Century*, February 12, 1925; also a later pronouncement by the American Council of American Rabbis entitled *Social Justice Message*, a brief reference to which is made in "Jewish Statement on Social Security," *Information Service*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, January 25, 1930.

⁶⁵ "A Japanese Social Creed," *Information Service*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, January 25, 1930.

As Rauschenbusch has said: "Religion can turn diffident, humble men like Shaftesbury into invincible champions of the poor. All social movements would gain immensely in enthusiasm, persuasiveness, and wisdom, if the hearts of their advocates were cleansed and warmed by religious faith."

The next task of the religious bodies, therefore, is to link up the goodwill and the passion for self-sacrifice and service, generated by religious enthusiasm, with the stalled engine of social progress. The clashing interests of selfish men cannot be reconciled by force. The dynamic of unselfish service and the ideals of justice must be invoked. For millions the religious motive could be directed to touch into life the ideals of service and regard for social justice.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Church and Social Questions. Mathews, *The Church and the Changing Order*, New York, 1913, Chaps. V, VI; Cochran, "The Church and the Working Man," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1907.
2. The Rural Church and Social Problems. Nesmith, "The Problem of the Rural Community with Special Reference to the Rural Church," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1903; Gill and Pinchot, *The Country Church*, New York, 1913, Chap. I; Fiske, *The Challenge of the Country*, New York, 1912.
3. The Labor Temple. Stelzle, *The Outlook*, July 22, 1911.
4. The Social Work of the Catholic Church. Kerby, "Social Work of the Catholic Church in America," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1907; references in footnotes 61-63.
5. The Social Work of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Reports of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
6. The Churches and War. Consult *Readers' Guide* for references to magazines on this subject.
7. The American Jews and Social Questions. References in footnote 64.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Trace the historical aspects of socialized religion as revealed in the Old and New Testaments.
2. What was the attitude of pre-Reformation, Reformation and post-Reformation Christianity towards social reform and justice?
3. Evaluate the social influence of religion. Indicate its influence on the problems of poverty and dependency.
4. Indicate present-day religion's responsibility to some of the major problems of social welfare.
5. Name some of the latest promising beginnings of Christian activity in social welfare.

6. What are the next social tasks for the religious bodies?
7. Read the references cited in footnote 54 and get other references from the *Readers' Guide* in the library and point out how far these experiments are inspired with the spirit of Christianity.
8. What should be the attitude of the church toward war? Why?
9. What has been the attitude of American Jewish bodies to social problems?
10. Compare the attitudes of the Protestant, the Catholic pronouncements on social and economic questions.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SOCIALIZED PROPERTY

IN a previous chapter we have given attention to the economic causes of poverty and dependency. We saw that lack of an adequate income affected the proper standard of living; that uneconomical methods of expending the income had a like effect. We endeavored to isolate as much as possible the economic factors in order that we might give proper weight to them in the consideration of the causes of poverty.

However, we found in our study of causes that there were three factors involved: (1) Individual capacity; (2) social conditions affecting individual efficiency, such as education, health, and measures of social control governing conditions surrounding the individual in every way; (3) economic conditions affecting income primarily, but indirectly affecting ability, and personal conditions like education and health through the lack of an income adequate to purchase housing, medical attendance, and educational opportunities. Here we are interested in the second and third factors. If poverty and dependency are to be prevented, those causes that lie in the economic conditions of society we shall have to regulate in such a way that a minimum is provided for every member of society who is willing to work or else we shall find ourselves struggling with the age-old problem of inefficiency, ill health, and dependency caused by economic conditions. These problems of personal ability, economic conditions, and social regulation are so intertwined together that it is difficult to deal with any one of them without always keeping in mind the others.

Industrial conditions which maim and cause to sicken certain of the workers do not act alone. Usually there does not exist the resistance in the individual which other individuals possess. Nevertheless, if our industries are so conducted that large numbers are injured, are unemployed, or cannot earn a decent living, direct measures must be taken to see that the loss does not fall entirely upon the worker. These industrial conditions are tied up very closely with our theories of property and economic relationships.

THEORIES OF PROPERTY IN THEIR BEARING ON POVERTY
AND DEPENDENCY

In general there are three theories of the nature of property.

1. There is the *individualistic theory*. According to this theory a man has a right to use his property as he pleases. It is his by right of possession. He may do with it what he pleases even though it leads to injury of his fellows or himself. Its advocates, however, have recognized that the theory thus baldly stated has certain limitations, for, unless one be a Robinson Crusoe without his man, Friday, there are always certain limitations upon the use of one's possessions.

2. There is the *social theory of property*. Property may be private in its nature, but it is intrusted to the individual by society for the public good.

3. The third theory of property is the *socialistic theory*. According to this theory all the instruments of production should be in the hands of the public. Consumers' goods remain in the hands of private individuals.

Upon these three theories are founded three different social policies toward private property. The first is the *laissez faire* of economics. The idea is that self-interest is the power moving men in their economic relationships, and when each pursues his own self-interest, he will inevitably clash with another. Those who are inferior in strength in any such conflict will be eliminated. The strong competitor will crush out the weak one, then will expand his own business in line with his own self-interest, and society will profit by the superior efficiency of the victor. If contestants are equal in strength, the self-interest of each will be limited by the clash between them and a compromise will result which will allow both to produce in a way that will give society the greatest returns.

The results show that the difficulty with the theory arises when one party to the conflict resulting from the pursuit of the self-interest of each is weaker than the other. The weaker party must suffer. If through that suffering he comes to want, society must either let him perish, or, in response to humanitarian sentiments, keep him alive at its own expense.

The third policy, that of state-owned productive property, grows out of the abuses arising from the first. Its representatives insist that in the institution of property lies the root of our present troubles. They propose ultimately to remove ownership of the productive property from private hands and substitute other motives for those of gain and accumulation.

In actual practice we have a mixture of all three of these theories. We have private property, with the least degree of social control compatible

with the welfare of society. We have, however, such regulations of the use of private property by the owner as seriously modifies the view that it is his own and with it he may do as he likes. Dr. Ely, taking only two of the important countries for example, has shown that this theory is established in the court decisions of both England and the United States. He sets forth what he calls the social theory of property which is that private property is established and maintained for social purposes. Such is the theory held by the courts, the theologians, and the economists.¹ It limits what the individual may do with his property by consideration for the social welfare.

The social theory of property operates in all civilized countries except Russia. There the socialistic theory is in operation. The social theory leaves private property with the individual as a trust. It does not destroy the motives of private gain. It attempts to limit, however, those motives by concern for the public good, backed by the sanction of law, ethics, and religion. It is imbedded in our federal constitution and in our state constitutions in the public welfare clauses and the provisions on the police power. As interpreted by the highest tribunals in the land, the police power of a sovereign state provides for the use of private property for the general welfare. As Dr. Ely says, "The police power is the power of the courts to interpret the concept of property, and, above all, private property; and to establish its metes and bounds. . . . It is essentially the power to interpret property and especially private property and to give the concept a content at each particular period in our development which fits it to serve the general welfare. The police power means the general welfare theory of property."²

Application of the Social Theory of Property to the Prevention of Poverty and Dependency. It is this theory which gives the public the right to tax for the support of paupers. It is conceived to be for the welfare of the state that people should not starve; therefore the state taxes those who have in order that those who have not may be supported.

The theory is applied also in our provisions for education. The child, according to the individualistic theory of property, is under the control of the parent. However, our social theory limits that and the state steps in and compels the child to attend school even though the parent may need the results of his labor. The same theory demands that children shall not be neglected by their parents. It taxes the well-to-do of the community who may have no children in order that all children may receive an education.

¹ See *Property and Contract in Their Relation to the Distribution of Wealth*, New York, 1914, Vol. I, p. 6.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 206, 207.

Its application is seen in public health measures. The state taxes for the support of public health; through quarantine in the interest of general welfare it limits what one may do with himself, his children and his property.

It appears again in the regulation of industry. If we strictly adhered to an individualistic theory of property, industry would today be as unregulated as it was in the early days of the Industrial Revolution when women and children were worked unreasonable hours under conditions that destroyed them. Step by step, however, we have proceeded to regulate their hours, the conditions under which they work, and the wages which women are to receive. Furthermore, property is socially limited in workmen's compensation laws, and in restrictions on combinations in restraint of trade. The efforts to control monopolies and trusts are the result of the theory that industry should be conducted not merely for the benefit of the owner, but in the interests of the public. Taxation furnishes another illustration of a method to equalize the distribution of wealth and income.

There are those who believe that industry as organized at present has within it an essential contradiction. This has been urged by Marx and his followers and by certain of the socialists, for example, Tawney. Marx contended that what he called "capitalist society" involved a contradiction which tended to destroy it.³ Tawney calls those societies founded upon the rights rather than upon the obligations of property acquisitive societies. He calls them such "because their whole tendency and interest and preoccupation is to promote the acquisition of wealth." He says, "By fixing men's minds, not upon the discharge of social obligations which restricts their energy because it defines the goal to which it should be directed, but upon the exercise of the right to pursue their own self-interest, it offers unlimited scope for the acquisition of riches and therefore gives free play to one of the most powerful of human instincts. . . . It assures men that there are no ends other than their ends, no law other than their desires, no limit other than that which they think advisable."⁴ The rejection of the idea of social purpose inherent in the seeking of each individual's self-interest, "produces industrial warfare, not as a regrettable incident, but as an inevitable result."⁵

Centuries of slavery resulted in the habit of labor, but it left the laborer without initiative, and, except in rare cases, without managerial ability. Centuries of mastery have established traditions of control and management

³ Marx, *Capital*, Everyman's Library, Vol II, Author's Preface to the Second German edition; also Chapters 23, 24.

⁴ *The Acquisitive Society*, New York, 1920, pp. 29-31.

⁵ *The Acquisitive Society*, New York, 1920, p. 40.

of a labor force. These traditions were given philosophical background when the *laissez faire* political economy obtained vogue in England. Moreover, since industry in that country was undergoing transformation from home and shop industry to the factory system, the conditions in industry were favorable to an increase of control over laborers. Individual relationships between man and master were broken. It became more difficult for the laborer to become a master after a few years' work. England was developing its great foreign trade, and consequently it was natural to lay great emphasis upon increased production. The welfare of the workers became subordinated to production. Hence, it was quite easy for the theory to grow up that the great desideratum was quantity production and cheapness of production costs. Since the laborer could not save his labor from one day to another and sell it in double amount the next day, he was at a disadvantage in bargaining power. He was forced to submit to conditions which he felt to be unjust in order to earn a living for himself and family. The old considerations of his welfare, operative when the master worked with him in the same shop, were greatly weakened. On the other hand, regard for the employers' interests suffered a similar eclipse. The employee was working for a man with whom he had no intimate relationships. Often he did not know his employer. His product was merged in the mass, and consequently he could not be held personally accountable for the quality and quantity of product. The result on the part of the employer was a loss of the old sense of responsibility for the welfare of the employees, while on the part of the employee there was a like loss of sense of responsibility for product. The consequence was that there grew up a deep chasm between the interests of the employers and the employees which has given us our problems of capital and labor, our labor strikes and lockouts, and greatly increased the amount of dependency and poverty.

This chasm society has been trying to bridge by legislation to protect the laborer in his hours and conditions of work, to protect women and children who suffer most because of their weaker position in the field of labor, and to place upon industry the expense of accidents and sickness incident to large scale production. It has led to the organization of labor for the protection of its own interests, and to an emphasis upon the social concept of property. This concept has not yet worked out its implications. Among laborers it has gone a very little way in emphasizing his responsibility for the kind and amount of product. The respective interests of labor, of capital, and of the consumer have not yet been fully reconciled. Under our classical economic theory it was held that a balance of self-interest would reconcile these conflicting claims, but experience has shown that such a delicate balance is

impossible with men constituted as they are and without a social imagination which would place a curb upon their selfish interests. It is beginning to be felt that the holders of property on the one hand must come to feel a sense of obligation to handle capital for the welfare of all concerned—capital, labor, and the public—and that, on the other, labor must appreciate that it must consult not only its own self-interest, but also the legitimate claims of capital and of the consuming public. How to get that development of social conscience which will reconcile these conflicting interests is the problem.

We have tried to bring about that reconciliation by legislation. That plan has thus far largely failed. It is coming to be perceived that a conscience must be developed by education of all classes in social idealism. Some believe that the full fruition will not come without the aid of a social religion of justice and good will. Just now there is a growing number who believe that making the laborers shareholders in the industry in which they work will enlist their interest in the business in which they are engaged; and that enlisting the self-interest of the employer in the welfare of the laborers will solve the problem. About as far as we have gone in respect to the latter is to establish compensation laws which will lead employers to see that the introduction of safety devices pays, and that mutual benefit associations among the men, and club rooms, recreation and "welfare" measures make workers more contented. This policy has been stated thus by Mr. Gary, former head of the Steel Corporation, one of the largest employers of labor in the United States, "Above everything else, . . . satisfy your men if you can that your treatment is fair and reasonable and generous. Make the Steel Corporation a good place for them to work and live. Don't let the families go hungry or cold; give them playgrounds and parks and schools and churches, pure water to drink, every opportunity to keep clean, places of enjoyment, rest and recreation; treating the whole thing as a business proposition, drawing the line so that you are just and generous, and yet at the same time keeping your position and permitting others to keep theirs, retaining the control and management of your affairs, keeping the whole thing in your own hands, but nevertheless with due consideration to the rights and interests of all others who may be affected by your management."⁴

This states clearly the principle on which welfare work is usually conducted in connection with industries. It is frankly paternalistic, and is looked upon by both the companies and the workers as "good business." Many of the employees, however, especially union workers, insist that it is

⁴ *Bulletin No. 8, United States Steel Corporation, Bureau of Safety, Sanitation and Welfare, New York, 1920, p. 3.*

a substitute for higher wages and industrial democracy.⁷ That there is some truth in this is indicated by the findings of the Interchurch World Movement investigation of the steel strike of 1919. That report shows that for years over one-third of all productive iron and steel workers had received wages below the level set by government experts as the minimum of subsistence standard for families of five, and that the earnings of 72 per cent of all workers were and had been for years below the level of minimum of comfort for such families.⁸ This corporation had no machinery for the handling of daily grievances, for the adjustment of difficulties. As the words of Mr. Gary quoted above show, the companies keep all matters, even welfare work, in their own hands.⁹ In 1918, the Steel Corporation earned enough above dividends to have doubled the wages and salaries and yet have left over \$14,000,000 as surplus. In 1919 it could have doubled the salaries and wages and have had left about \$13,000,000 surplus.¹⁰

We have not yet fully faced the question as to what will happen if a plan should be worked out by which worker and employer should combine against the public. We have been tacitly holding to the theory that if that conflict is resolved, competition between producers will result in the public getting the utmost for their money. Yet there is monopoly which kills competition between producers and makes the public pay the bill. Our attempts at curbing trusts and monopolies in the interests of the consumer have not had very large results. The Standard Oil Company is a case in point. To a large extent its policy has had important results in satisfying the employees, but the public is left unprotected, except through the slight fear of potential competition.¹¹

In certain monopolized industries it is claimed that earnings are sufficient either to pay higher wages or to reduce the price, or both. For example, the newspapers reported late in 1920 that the Standard Oil Company of Indiana had issued a stock dividend of \$150,000,000. It has been claimed

⁷ *The Interchurch World Movement Report on the Steel Strike of 1919*, New York, 1920, p. 127. "The bulk of the employees, the unskilled and the semi-skilled—have had simply no experience of the company houses, 'welfare' and pensions, and their percentage of stock profits do not impress them."

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12. The figures given in Chap. IV, "Wages in a no-conference industry," are for 1918 and 1919 only.

⁹ See also *ibid.*, Chap. V.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹ Says John B. Clarke, "The three parties just named—employers, organized employees, and applicants for places—are not the only parties whom the dispute affects. The public has a vital relation to it, and in a true sense its interest and rights are supreme." *Essentials of Economic Theory*, New York, 1907, p. 473.

that this was for two purposes: (1) To obviate payment of income tax on cash dividends, and (2) to hide the monopoly profits. In 1918, the Steel Corporation, after paying dividends of \$96,382,027, and setting aside \$274,277,835 for federal taxes in 1919, yet had a surplus of \$466,888,421. In 1919 the undivided surplus was \$493,048,200.93.¹² One, of course, must remember the necessity in business of providing by means of a surplus for slack times and expansion in busy times. Yet it would seem that consumers of monopolized products in such cases are paying more than a fair price for the commodities or else labor is being underpaid. It must be remembered, too, that while in our modern business world such monopolies are not universal by any means, their size and control over the fields they cover enable them to control output. It is also possible that the large scale on which they carry on industry makes for economies impossible in competitive industries, so that the price per unit of product to the consumer is not greater than under a competitive system between small industries. That, however, has not been clearly shown. At any rate, with the economies possible in large scale production with a practical monopoly as in the two industries cited, the surpluses show that a lower price per unit of product with the same wage scale is possible.

The fact stands out clearly that the social conception of property is subordinated to the will to make profits for the owners of industry. It is also clear that if industry does not pay laborers at least a subsistence wage, and if it requires hours which produce undue fatigue, denies men proper recreation and time with their families, then health is undermined, the worker is old at 40 and is thrown upon the human junk-heap, children are denied educational opportunities and are forced to begin work at too early an age and certain moral problems for children and youth are sure to arise. The result, then, in the words of Goldsmith is that "wealth accumulates and men decay." The difficulty is not, however, with the indictment but with the remedy. Everyone recognizes that industry produces some bad social results. The question we face is, can these results be obviated without producing other evils equally deplorable? If so, what is the practical machinery?

Meanings of "The Socialization of Industry." Three suggestions have been proposed to obviate the difficulties to be found in industry as conducted at present. These are (1) state socialism, (2) private industry subjected to public control, and (3) such a change in the attitude of men as will result in their working for the public rather than their own private gain.

¹² *Interchurch World Movement, Report on the Steel Strike of 1919*, New York, 1919, p. 13.

1. **Socialism.** There are varieties of socialism. It is difficult to generalize about them all, except that they agree that capitalistic production, resting on the desire for gain, is bad. Ownership of the instruments of production should be removed from private hands, or at least controlled in the public interest. Where it should be lodged not all agree. The Marxian socialists, represented by the Russian soviets, place the control in the hands of the workmen and peasants. The domination of capital is replaced by the domination of the proletariat. In English Fabian socialism, represented by the Webbs, it is contemplated that at least during the transition from capitalism to socialism some of the instruments may remain in the hands of private individuals, and profit-making so far remains the object of production. Only a half dozen or so will have to be nationalized, owing to the enlarged spheres of local government and consumers' cooperative movements.¹³

As to motives, the socialists are quite generally agreed that the desire for gain should not control as now; that in its stead there should come the joy of creative work, regard for the welfare of children and women, and desire for the general welfare. There would still remain the fear of punishment by the controlling body, of loss of job, and the desire to be of the greatest service.¹⁴ The result would be that workers would receive then what they produce; their hours would be set at the number consistent with the welfare of themselves and their families; educational facilities would be provided in number and kind which would prepare children for the greatest possible service to society; health would be conserved; and thus dependency, crime, and poverty would be eliminated. The workers would have their share in the management of industry, and therefore could determine to a greater extent than now conditions of labor, hours, and wages. Each person would still own what are known in economics as consumers' goods. It is claimed that economic advantages would result, such as the apportionment of land, labor, and capital, to the economic needs of society; the elimination of duplicate plants, expensive advertising, competitive selling, and harmful goods. Thus an immense saving of productive power would come about, and there would result either a greater amount of goods produced or shorter hours of labor. It is also claimed that certain moral results would follow. Instead of self-interest dominating men's activities, as now, men would work for the love of activity, for the desire to contribute to the common welfare, and the esteem of their fellows. All men would live as brothers, working at the common task of society, and each having his share of the product.

¹³ Beatrice and Sidney Webb, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*, New York, 1920, pp. 278, 323. To get the whole scheme one should read the whole book.

¹⁴ Brailsford, "Russian Impressions," *The New Republic*, December 22, 1920, p. 104.

Those who attack this socialistic scheme contend that human nature would have to undergo most marked changes in order to produce these results. They point out that many would not work from the motives depended upon by the socialists. They ask who would select those despised occupations which nevertheless are quite necessary to human welfare. They contend that the spur of want is necessary to keep men at work. They question whether the desire for public esteem and approbation would produce the necessary activity. They urge that in order to produce the needed materials some regimentation of the people would be necessary, and force would have to be invoked in order to get some people to work; that tyranny would be only less palatable when enforced by a directing majority of one's own class than when exercised by a despot or an autocracy. They also point out the administrative difficulty of such a socialistic scheme. Who would determine just how many and who should follow each occupation? Just how much of the joint product of industry should go to the workers as consumers' goods, and how much to the capital necessary to carry on production and care for the social needs of the people? How would the amount of goods to be produced each year be calculated? How much labor, time and energy should be devoted to producing necessities; how much to experimenting and how much to the spiritual needs of men?

Under the present system, with all its faults, these questions are answered automatically by the process of the market in response to the individual demands of buyers. In the face of such obvious and fundamental difficulties, are we not justified in suggesting, they ask, that some more practical plan for socializing industry must be devised if we are to expect any diminution in the amount of poverty and dependency incident to the industrial organization of society?

The Marxian Bolsheviks of Russia declare their experiment answers most of these questions. They point out that after twenty years of their experiment, ten of which were spent in driving from their soil the armies of other nations and in overcoming their opponents within Russian society itself, they have established an economic order in which the standard of living of the mass of the people has been decidedly improved. They have done that in spite of the fact that, because of the destruction and demoralization consequent upon the Great War, and the Civil War which followed, they had to build a new economic and social order almost from the bottom up. They have a planning bureau called the *Gosplan* which works out the industrial and economic procedures five years in advance. They claim that it has not been difficult to plan what goods shall be produced, in what quantities, and for what purposes. They contend that under their system it is not difficult

to get the more menial tasks done. They depend upon a differential wage in the first place to secure such workers and in the next place upon psychological motivation through propaganda for the achievement of socialist construction. They have been able really to change the ideals of millions of the Russian people. The experiment is yet too new to enable us to determine with exactitude its results. Under great difficulties they have succeeded in raising the standards of living, in greatly enlarging the scope of education, of providing against unemployment and sickness and of giving comparative security for old age. They have done this in part by an exercise of force which would not be tolerated in our Western democracy, and in part by propaganda raised to a higher pitch than is to be found in any great Western democracy.

2. **Private Property under Public Control.** Even the most confirmed believers in privately owned industry hold that certain kinds of industry should be publicly controlled to the degree necessary to secure their use in the interests of society as a whole. On the other hand, there are certain people who have socialistic leanings who believe that some industries are not a menace to society even without public control.¹⁵

The great depression, introduced by the stock market crash of November, 1929, has lifted this whole question out of the realm of the academic into that of practical statesmanship. It is generally recognized that the depression resulted from the effects of the World War. In Western countries the whole economic structure was rudely shaken. In every nation the problem of control of private property in the interests of the general welfare became a burning issue. Germany and Italy attacked the problem in one way, the rest of the Western nations in other ways. Germany and Italy and states governed dictatorially placed the heavy hand of control on private industries. While Germany called its plan "national socialism" it really left the ownership of most of the great agencies of production in the hands of private individuals. It very strictly controlled, however, the way in which that private property was managed. The interest of the state became predominant over the profit motive. The same was true in Italy under Fascism. In both countries not only was private property taken in hand and directed by the policy of the state, but labor also was regulated in the interest of the national purposes.¹⁶

Other nations of Western Europe have attacked the problem of private

¹⁵ As an illustration of the first see Ely, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chapters VI, X-XIII; of the second see Tawney, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ von Beckwith, "Fascism," *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, p. 133; Davis, *Contemporary Social Movements*, New York, 1930, Book 5.

property in other ways. Following the lines marked out by what Dr. Ely has called "The Social Theory of Property" they have attempted to control private property in the interests of all the people. In Great Britain these methods have been chiefly taxation, labor legislation, and various kinds of social insurance for the protection of the working classes. In Great Britain and in the Scandinavian countries the cooperative movement has been encouraged by the governments. Certain laws provide protection for the cooperatives so that they shall compete on even terms with the great corporations and private owners.¹⁷ Also in a number of these states certain of the fundamental industries which have a quasi-social function, like the utilities, are owned and operated by the national or the local governments.

In the United States public ownership of utilities, and the cooperative movement have lagged behind the development in European countries. Taxation in this country also has been very much less used as a means of protecting the disadvantaged classes than in European countries. Until recently we have had very little social insurance of any kind. Even under the Social Security Act we are far behind most of the European countries in these matters. Under Roosevelt's "New Deal" attempts have been made to control industry and commerce to a larger extent in the interest of the welfare of all the people. The act regulating the stock exchanges was intended to do away with the possibilities of chicanery in the sale of stocks and bonds. The various special agencies set up under Roosevelt's administration, like the N.R.A. and the A.A.A., were intended to overcome the discrepancies between the incomes of certain classes, to spread work, and to control, in the interest of the worker, the profits of the owners of private property engaged in industry. Roosevelt's tax program was intended to correct some of the inequalities in income and to redistribute wealth, but did not get very far at the hands of Congress. The difficulty is that the people of this country have been brought up on the theory of "rugged individualism."

Under the doctrine of *laissez faire* somewhat tempered by social legislation the United States of America has become one of the most important nations of the earth. Until the depression the people of the United States were quite well satisfied with the results of that system. The discussion of the inequitable distribution of wealth and income was largely academic. The depression, beginning in 1929, shocked even the man on the street into a consideration of a system which leaves one out of five of the population of the country without employment and the control of most of the wealth of the country concentrated into comparatively few hands. The man on the street, however, is not prepared to think through in a careful manner what

¹⁷ Davis, *op. cit.*, Book 6.

changes are necessary in order to make the system work. How can we leave private property in the hands of individual owners but regulate the way in which that property is handled so that the benefits of the cooperative enterprise between employer and employee, the owners of great wealth, and the man who owns nothing but the labor of his hands or brain may be equitably shared? Before this problem can be solved in this country on any rational basis it will be necessary that the facts regarding the working of the system and programs for the alleviation of its evils be very much more widely discussed.

Among those who are frankly facing the problem of property in the United States there are roughly two groups. One of these, small in numbers, contends that the Government must own the agencies of production, leaving only consumers' goods as private property. The other, much larger in numbers, consists of those who believe that by government regulation, and by the development of cooperation, it is possible to remove the evils of the present system. The profit motive will remain intact, but its abuses will be done away with under government control.

The difference between these two groups is clear. Both agree that industry under *laissez faire* produces some bad social results. There arise, in some lines of industry, maladjustments when each man seeks only his own selfish interests. The former emphasizes more strongly the evils which are incident to large scale production under a system of profits. It believes that profit-seeking crushes professional spirit, while the latter, recognizing the evils which arise, yet believes that by limiting men's self-seeking propensities the present system produces results making for the general welfare. The advocates of private property regulated by government insist on the historical approach to the problem. They argue that there is much more hope of securing social results by proceeding step by step in the endeavor to eradicate the evils incident to our present system by measures which conserve the values resulting from the competitive system and yet limit men's self-seeking in the interests of the whole of society. If there were no hope of improving our social machinery so that the evils should be lessened, they argue, they would have to agree with the socialists, in demanding an overturn of our present system. But, they contend, experience shows that mankind has not made progress by breaking with the past, but by experiments in social adjustment based upon the present system in accordance with new ideals of justice.¹⁸ Men must be educated in the mass to appreciate new values. The profes-

¹⁸ The Webbs recognize that the changes they desire must come slowly along lines of historical development. Their book, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*, is the most carefully worked out scheme yet proposed.

sional sense cannot be brought about by a mere change in economic machinery. Along with changes in organization must go the growth of idealism, of an appreciation of social values. The socialization of industry to them does not mean, therefore, a radical readjustment of social organization merely, but the development of juster ideals. When those ideals are once possessed by men in general, when men come to see that they have not only rights but also responsibilities, the evils of the present system—indeed of any system—will be very much reduced. Radical change sacrifices too much. What we need now is, they argue, education of the people to recognize clearly both the evils produced by our present system of industry, and its values, and to devise methods of eliminating present abuses in the interest of the general welfare. They suggest as such methods legislation limiting autocracy in industry, taxation measures which promise to give a more just distribution of wealth, and limitations upon excessive profits,—the cultivation of industrial good-will, regulation of hours and wages under the police power in the interests of a decent standard of living, the development of a state of mind in laborers, employers, capitalists, and the general public which consults not only class interests but the welfare of all.¹⁹ Socialization of industry will become a reality, not by pursuing any one of these lines of approach to a solution, but by an integration of them all in the interests of welfare of all classes.

The other group, consisting chiefly of the socialists and the communists, while they do not agree among themselves on a program, insist that a much more radical program than that proposed by the advocates of the social theory of private property, should be put into operation. Both socialists and communists have been impressed by the results obtained by the Bolsheviks in Russia. The socialists are more impressed than the communists by what has been accomplished in Great Britain and some of the Scandinavian countries through legislation and the cooperative movement. The communists are very much more inclined to advocate the confiscation of the great wealth owned by private individuals and corporations, and to overturn the present social order by making all property, except consumers' goods, government property.

The probabilities are in this country that we shall follow the development already started for the control of private property in the interest of the general welfare while leaving its ownership in the hands of individuals, and adopt such further measures as will lessen the evils of private ownership. For the present and the immediate future there is very little prospect of a communistic revolution. If we were to make any radical changes in the

¹⁹ See Commons, *Industrial Goodwill*, New York, 1920; Ryan, *A Living Wage*, New York, 1906, for details.

control of property, it is much more likely that we should adopt some sort of a Fascist program rather than a communistic program. In my judgment both Communism and Fascism are undesirable for this country. To prevent the development of one or the other it will be necessary for us in the United States to devise better measures to control private property in the interests of all the people.

PROPERTY IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL WELFARE

Economic and social conditions, which produce poverty and dependency, are admitted by all to be undesirable, because they result in evils which imperil our civilization. They affect our democracy, they menace the home, and they touch the welfare of the individual and of society. They breed class conflicts, destroy social unity and threaten loyalty to the whole group. It is probable that some dependency and poverty are inevitable "costs of progress." No practical scheme has yet been devised which promises relief from the dependency and poverty incidental to poor native ability. A selective death rate which cuts off the naturally incapable is our only hope of a better race so long as we adopt no method of preventing the birth of physical and mental incapables. But the poverty and dependency incident to lack of proper education, unjust distribution of wealth, unequal taxation, autocratic control of industry, ruthless exploitation of our fellowmen in the interest of profits and lack of opportunity for ability to achieve, are subject to social control.

Every study made of the causes of poverty and dependency indicates that the factors subject to social betterment are the most important. The inefficiency, hopelessness, ignorance, and ill-health back of so much of our poverty and pauperism are largely due to social and economic maladjustment. Produced by social maladjustment they are subject to human control and are capable of adjustment. To believe that they cannot be changed by legislation and education is not only to fly in the face of experience, but to despair of human nature. To attempt to cure them by destroying the organization built up on the basis of past experience is to undertake the double burden of reorganizing our whole social structure and at the same time of cutting the ties of habit which bind us to much which experience has shown is good. These evils, like many others, have grown up under all kinds of political organization—Prussian autocracy, the limited monarchy of Great Britain, and the democracy of the United States. Experience in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries seems to suggest that readjustment on the basis of our present organization is not hopeless. In the meantime all earnest students of the problem will watch with great care and open-mindedness the

results of the experiment in Russia. That system has achieved certain results which demands admiration. The abolition of unemployment, the raising of the standard of living, although it is still very low, the emphasis upon universal medical care, security for old age and universal education, are promising. The next twenty-five years should show what system a society can produce in the management of property under government auspices or by cooperatives under government guidance for the welfare of all.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Socialist's Indictment of Private Property in Production. Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, in Bullock, *Selected Readings in Economics*, Boston, 1907, p. 668.
2. A Criticism of Classical Socialism. "Schaffle's Criticism of Socialism in Its General Economic Aspects," in *Ibid.*, p. 681
3. A Social Theory of Private Property. Ely, *Property and Contract*, New York, 1914, Vol. I, Chaps V. IX. XII.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What three principal factors are involved in the consideration of the causes of poverty?
2. What are the three theories of property? Criticize the social policies connected with these.
3. Discuss the various ways in which the social theory of property is applied to the prevention of poverty and dependency
4. Discuss the three meanings of "the socialization of industry." How may this best be made a reality?
5. Do you think that Mr. Eagan's plan to hand over to the workers his capital stock in the American Cast Iron Pipe Company of Birmingham, Alabama, is an instance of socializing industry? Why?
6. Suggest how you would socialize the anthracite coal industry of the United States.
7. Would a greater wage or a lesser number of hours have the greatest effect on preventing poverty and dependency?

CHAPTER XXXV

POPULATION AND POVERTY

THE problems growing out of population were first thoroughly treated by Robert Malthus in his *Essay on the Principle of Population*. Doubtless Malthus's interest in the poor laws was excited by their effects on the increase of the baser elements of the population in the period between 1750 and 1834.¹ During this period poor-relief legislation lost the repressive character it had hitherto possessed. A mistaken sentiment of humanity combined with the desire of political popularity produced a laxity in the administration of the poor laws which was subversive of sound policy. The so-called "Allowance System,"—granting poor relief in the home in aid of inadequate wages—crept gradually into poor law practice.² While several laws were passed which were aimed at the correction of abuses, in 1832 the Commission of Inquiry found that to a very large degree the poor laws were operating to destroy the independence of the English laborer and were putting a premium upon excessive number of children in the families of the most dependent and idle men, and were breaking down morals through subsidizing illegitimacy. The workhouse had been abandoned, idle people were supported in their homes, and repressive measures against able-bodied idlers were lacking in the practical administration. Says Aschrott, "Every inducement to make provision for the future was destroyed. Industry and skill in labor were only so much presented to the parish, which paid in accordance with a fixed scale, without regard to the results of the work. There was, moreover, a direct incentive to recklessness, especially in bringing children into the world. . . . In the case of girls, it tended to produce an increase of illegitimate births. Debauchery became a lucrative trade. It was not enough that, in this fashion, morality, the proper estimate of the dignity of labor, and the strength and skill of the existing generation were impaired; but, further, the demoralizing influence operated on the children reared in such circumstances, and thus, in constantly widening circles of the population, notions of right and wrong were obliterated. . . . The good workman

¹ Malthus devotes three chapters in his *Essay* to the "Poor Laws," Book III, Chapters V, VI, VII.

² Aschrott, *The English Poor Law System*, London, 1902, p. 16.

could only be disheartened at seeing that the lazy and careless man obtained a better living than was earned by all his own industry and skill. . . . By the Allowance System wages were lowered indirectly as well as directly, since the additional payment for each child was a distinct incentive to early marriages and to over-population."³

THE THEORY OF POPULATION

Malthus lived at a time when it was believed that a large population was desirable. The government of England wanted a large population to provide an army, a notion which we have seen regnant in modern Germany and which has been shared by other nations. The employers of England wanted a large population that they might have a plentiful supply of labor for their factories, again a phenomenon not peculiar to England.⁴ Moreover, the interest of Malthus was challenged by certain theories of human equality and ultimate perfectibility prevalent in his day. The particular incitement to consider the bearing of population upon this doctrine was the publication in 1793 of an essay by Godwin which he called *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness*. It was to this essay that Malthus replied in 1798 in his original *Essay on the Principle of Population*. His approach and his treatment excited so much interest that between that date and 1828 he issued six editions, each of which added further considerations resulting from his study and the criticisms called forth by his work. In the fifth edition he devotes three chapters to various systems of equality. His quarrel with them is that they supposed that society may be perfected without reference to the control of population. For thirty years, with British bulldog tenacity, Malthus labored on successive editions of the *Essay*, correcting statements which had led to misunderstandings, further clarifying his own thought and adding new arguments suggested by criticism and by his own further studies. The fundamentals of his original position, however, were unchanged.

Summary of Malthus's Theory of Population. While in the first edition he drew the melancholy conclusion that a perfect state of society is not to be hoped for in the light of universal evidence that population tends to outrun the means of subsistence, so that vice, famine, and war are needed to hold it in check, in the later editions he recognized the factor of "moral restraint" upon the passions, and thus weakens his argument against the perfectibility of society. Yet, in his preface to the second edition Malthus says, "To those who still think that any check to population whatever would

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31.

⁴ Haney, *History of Economic Thought*, New York, 1911, p. 193.

be worse than the evils which it would relieve, the conclusions of the former essay will remain in full force; and if we adopt this opinion we shall be *compelled to acknowledge that the poverty and misery which prevail among the lower classes of society are absolutely irremediable.*"

His general conclusion is that in all societies of which we have knowledge there is a tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence. His explanation of this tendency rests upon: (a) The strength of the sexual passion which in countries in which population is free to expand results in doubling the population at least in a quarter of a century; (b) the inability of mankind to increase means of subsistence forever in a like ratio. In other words, while population tends to increase in geometrical ratio, the means of subsistence increases at not more than arithmetical ratio.⁵ It must be observed that while the geometrical ratio for the increase of population and the arithmetical ratio for the increase of food supply were suggested by Malthus, these ratios were not intended to be exact, and the essential of his theory is to be found in his statement that, "It is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it."

Now, the tendency for population to outrun the means of subsistence raises up checks. Wars of expansion kill off large numbers and so prevent births. Undernourishment and want raise death rates. Moreover, when population so increases that it is difficult to make a living, many marry later and postponement of marriage often leads to vice, which again checks population. Or, if postponement of marriage does not result in vice, fewer children are born, so again growth of numbers is checked.⁶

Subsequent Modifications of the Theory. The theory of Malthus was based upon what has become known as the "law of diminishing returns" as it applies to cultivation. He saw clearly that it is impossible by means of adding labor and fertilizer to land to increase its return to any considerable degree after a certain point in such intensive treatment has been reached. He would not have denied, of course, that it is possible to expand manufactures. But it was food of which he was thinking primarily; hence, his conclusion.

Malthus has been severely criticized for minimizing, if not overlooking, some important factors which would materially delay population in the race with subsistence. Agricultural improvement, indeed, he did consider. His error lay in minimizing the extent of the possibility of improving agricultural methods, and in failing to anticipate that the improvement would continue in so many lines and with such great ingenuity. Such improvements do

⁵ *Essay on Population*, Bk. I, Chap. I.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Bk. I, Chap. II.

not affect the principle of population Malthus laid down; they only give subsistence a temporary advantage in the race.

Malthus did not recognize the possibility of the great development which has occurred in means of transportation, so that foodstuffs from the ends of the earth are imported into a nation in exchange for its manufactured products. In this way any country which has good communication with others may have a population much in excess of that possible to be sustained from her own soil. But, again, this consideration only internationalizes the operation of the principle. Since a time must come at last when every fertile acre is producing, poorer land must be resorted to and then the amount of manufactured product required to purchase the food will be greater so that manufacturing cannot support on as high a standard of comfort as many as when the cost of each unit of subsistence was less unless new methods of producing foods can be devised.

Malthus did not fully appreciate the decisive influence of the factor of "moral restraint," which he recognized in the second edition of his work, nor did he consider artificial birth control. Later studies have indicated that men are influenced by social and economic considerations which lead them to limit voluntarily the size of their families to a greater extent than Malthus ever anticipated. The maintenance of a standard of living for not only themselves but also for their children, certainly operates to limit the size of prudent families. It is, of course, a serious question how far it is effective in the lowest economic classes. It has been pointed out, however, that prudence need not operate in all classes of society to bring about a very decided limitation in the numbers born. If only a large part of the married are foresighted, not only will the number of births be lessened, but those who control the size of their families will set the standards of life, and in the long run check the fecundity of the lower classes.

Finally, Malthus' analysis of the population problem is too simple. The problem is not created by the relation of the population to the food supply or even to all the elements of subsistence. Whether a population is too great or too small depends not even on the richness or the resources of the country. A country may have poor natural resources but through transportation may obtain the raw materials necessary for the support of the people. Furthermore, population pressure depends also upon the way in which the people are organized for economic and social purposes. If the fruits of the productive processes are not distributed in an equitable way, there will be population pressure in spite of small numbers. Also, the standard of living will affect relative population pressure. If the standard to which everyone aspires is high, the available resources will have to be such as to supply

that standard and life will have to be organized in such a way that that standard may be reached by the mass of the population. Consequently, the variables in this problem of population are much more numerous than the discussions of Malthus would seem to imply.

Hence, while we may not ignore the principles enunciated by Malthus, we need not take such a gloomy view of the immediate future. On the other hand, we may not ignore the ominous fact that so far prudential considerations control the upper classes of society more than the lower, with the result that just those classes grow most rapidly which are least able to support large families. That there must be a controlled increase of population in the classes most likely to fall over the poverty line, if dependency is not to increase, cannot be gainsaid.

BEARING OF THE THEORY OF POPULATION ON POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Even without over-population there will be some misery among the defective elements; unless civilized society reverts to the barbarous practice of killing off the idiots, the insane, the crippled, and the aged, there will be dependents. The number will be smaller, however, than in a society in which competition is severe. In a society in which the means of subsistence are relatively abundant, the burden of these helpless upon the capable will be less than in one in which life is made hard by the pressure of population.

When the struggle becomes severe, a great number of dependents will tend to lower the standard of living for all. Malthus set forth how the presence of a large number of paupers operates to degrade the honest workers.⁷ Very much later Mr. Charles Booth observed the same thing. He says:

In an early volume ("Poverty," Vol. 1), I pointed out how great a burden to the community the poverty of the poor constitutes. Thousands of the lowest class are in every way wasteful. Though badly fed and clothed and housed, a considerable section is not self-supporting; what they earn is badly spent; and in spite of earning very little, they are comparatively unprofitable servants. In place of contributing to wealth they are a drain upon it.

I further pointed out that those most injured by the depressed poverty of others were those who are themselves only a little removed from the same condition; whose own life is dragged down by their unfortunate or weak or worthless neighbors—by the burden they constitute on the rates, by their competition in the labor market, by their ill-regulated conduct in their homes and in the street, and by the irresistible appeal of extreme distress that makes itself felt nowhere more strongly than on the character of those who are themselves poor. Humanly

⁷ *Essay on Population*, Bk. III, Chap. V.

speaking, the existence of this class, constituted so largely of the inefficient and worthless, may be inevitable, but economically their services are not wanted at all. The work of the world could be performed better and more cheaply without them; what they do could be easily done by the classes above in their own partly occupied time; and the money so earned be better spent.⁸

Therefore, if the struggle for existence is not to become in the end so intense that the weaker will pull down into dependency the economic classes just above them, and if the altruism of the strong is not to be destroyed by the excessive burden of dependents to be borne, society must by some means control both the numbers and the quality of the population in relation to the available resources and to the economic and social organization. Otherwise, selfishness will be intensified and the picture painted by Malthus will become a reality. We cannot suppose that society will allow the number of the dependent to increase *ad infinitum*. Already we hear grumblings about the cost of supporting the dependent and defective which leaves less to spend upon education and the general welfare. In both England and the United States the burden is becoming oppressive, whether that condition is due to over-population or to defective economic and social organization. The Bolsheviks of Russia claim there is no such thing as over-population; only a defective economic order.

METHODS SUGGESTED TO CONTROL POPULATION

Various methods have been suggested for the control of numbers. In general these suggestions may be divided into two general classes--those which propose that society wash its hands of the incapable and let them perish, thus decreasing the population, and those which suggest certain social limitations upon the birth rate.

Population Controlled by Nature. Strange as it may seem, Spencer, Bagehot, and Huxley have no thoroughgoing proposals for the limitation of population. Spencer and Bagehot were strong in their condemnation of the legal and charitable efforts to care for the poor. All three picture the struggle for existence, pointing out its good results in the survival of the fittest, in developing intellect, and in producing progress. Yet, even Spencer, who opposed so strenuously the poor laws and looked askance at charity, nowhere says that elimination of the poor is the method by which population is to be limited. He stopped short of that conclusion. He assumes that there will be "never ceasing pressure of population," but his only theory of

⁸ Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, Final Vol., London, 1902, pp. 206, 207.

how through that struggle population will be lessened is the supposition that through it there comes about a greater strain upon the nervous system, increased brain power, and draws the conclusion that "the particular kind of further evolution which man is hereafter to undergo, is one which, more than any other, may be expected to cause a decline in his power of reproduction."⁹

Bagehot nowhere argues that the control of population be left to the positive checks of Malthus, but adopts Spencer's theory that with increased strain on the nervous system comes decreased fertility in man.¹⁰

Huxley is convinced that "So long as unlimited multiplication goes on, no social organization which has ever been devised, or is likely to be devised, no fiddle-faddling with the distribution of wealth, will deliver society from the tendency to be destroyed by the reproduction within itself, in its intensest form, of that struggle for existence the limitation of which is the object of society."¹¹ Yet, Huxley believes that society "will secure a fair amount of physical and moral welfare" to the laboring population, and praises the work of such philanthropists as Lord Shaftesbury.¹² Thus, he goes farther than either Spencer or Bagehot in recognizing that society may limit the struggle for existence in the interests of the working classes and of society in general.

Limitation of Population by Social Measures. Scientists and economists thus agree that population in certain situations must be limited, if misery is not to result. On how such limitation is brought about by social measures the scientists gave no hint. Malthus in the first edition of his essay in 1798 held that it actually is brought about by the positive checks, while after 1803 he added the prudential check.

John Stuart Mill, the English economist, summarized the discussion of the limitations of population, and suggested certain economic and social checks which escaped the attention of Malthus. In no way minimizing the influence of the positive checks to population in backward societies, Mill emphasized the voluntary limitation of births. He says, "The starvation does not take place in ordinary years, but in seasons of scarcity, which in those states of society are much more frequent and more extreme than Europe is now accustomed to. In these seasons actual want, or the maladies consequent on it, carry off numbers of the population, which in a succession of favorable

⁹ Quoted in Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, New York, 1898, pp. 108, 199.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 189.

¹¹ *Evolution and Ethics*, New York, 1896, pp. 211, 212, in his essay on "The Struggle for Existence."

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

years again expands, to be again cruelly decimated. In a more improved state, few, even among the poorest of the people, are limited to actual necessities, and to a bare sufficiency of these; and the increase is kept within bounds, not by excess of deaths, but by limitation of births."¹³

How is the limitation of births brought about? Mill answered:

1. *Partly by prudent or moral self-restraint.* Given a certain standard of living to which laborers are habituated, they see that by having too many children they and their children will have to fall below that standard. They, therefore, by prudent regard for economic consequences voluntarily limit the number of children in their families. Mill cited in his edition of 1848 Norway and parts of Switzerland as the countries in which this prudential limitation had been most effective in controlling the birth rate. He very interestingly points out the results of such prudence. He says, "The average duration of life is the longest in Europe; the population contains fewer children, and a greater proportional number of persons in the vigor of life, than is known to be the case in any other part of the world. The paucity of births tends directly to prolong life, by keeping the people in comfortable circumstances; and the same prudence is doubtless exercised in avoiding causes of disease, as in keeping clear of the principal cause of poverty."¹⁴

2. *Postponement of marriage.* Mill cites some countries in which marriage is not permitted until the contracting parties have prospect of comfortable support. "Under these laws . . . the condition of the people is reported to be good, and the illegitimate births not so numerous as might be expected."¹⁵ But the Census statistics in the United States show that each decade people are marrying at a younger age.

3. *Lack of housing facilities for newly married couples.* Mill says that in England in the eighteenth century "the growth of population was very effectually repressed by the difficulty of obtaining a cottage to live in." It will be interesting to see what effect the present scarcity of houses will have upon the marriage and birth rates. Is it possible also that the prejudice against letting a house to a family with children may help to lessen the birth rate? But apparently the housing shortage in Russia has had little effect upon the birth rate.

4. *Certain customs operate in some countries to control population.* For example, in Norway and in some parts of England once it was the custom to engage agricultural laborers for a year, or a half year, at a time. Until one of the laborers with his family vacated the cottage in which he lived it

¹³ *Principles of Political Economy*, Ashley's edition, New York, 1900, p. 159.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

was impossible for another man to get married because he had no place in which to live. In some countries of Europe it was once the custom for a woman, before marriage, to prepare enough clothing to last her for many years. This custom delayed marriage in many cases.

In addition to these suggestions of Mill consider the following:

5. *Multiplication of wants which influence self-restraint.* Today we cannot depend upon the customs mentioned above, or upon the legal restraints to marriage, especially for defectives. However, experience has shown that there are numbers of people who for the sake of living better themselves, and providing their children with opportunities of education and position denied themselves, do limit the size of their families. It is the poorly paid classes of our laborers, hopeless to do anything better, either for themselves or their children, who multiply without restraint. If you have a society in which there is a chance to rise in life, and access to influences—educational and social—which create the desire for better houses in which to live, better food to eat, better furniture, more means of recreation, and some of the comforts or even luxuries of life, you bring into action prudential birth-control. Therefore, it is not accidental that increase of opportunities for education lessens the birth rate. It is conceivable that a period of full employment with high wages might have such an effect in habituating numbers of people to a standard of life much higher than that to which they had been accustomed, that their tastes would rise sufficiently to bring into operation self-control in propagation. It is said that in certain classes of our population automobiles, fine living quarters, and opportunities for more leisure time and social life have led to the reduction of the birth rate. It is certain that the desire for a higher standard of living has played some part in the gradually decreasing birth rate shown by the population of this country for the last fifty years or more.

6. *The growing political and industrial freedom of women* may have some influence upon the birth rates. Statistics do not yet enable us to say just what factors have produced the constant decrease in the birth rate which every modern industrial society has shown in recent years. We know that the birth rate has steadily fallen in the United States since the first census. We also know that with the entrance of women into industry and with growth of the higher education of women, divorce has increased. It is possible that woman's greater economic freedom may augment celibacy. It may result in limiting the number of children of some who do marry.

Certain Subsidiary Measures. Certain other measures have been suggested. Some are of subordinate importance, because they are limited in

their promised benefits to a certain country, others are of questionable value, if all that they entail be taken into account.

7. One of these is the *restriction of immigration*. In a country like the United States, which has received so large a proportion of its present population from other countries, the matter is of importance in this discussion. Earlier, when the country had much free land to be developed, immigration may have been a boon, although Francis Walker doubted that immigration had benefited the United States in the long run. At any rate immigration hastened the economic development of this country. In answer probably to the feeling of the laboring people that immigration created difficulties for the workers, the United States finally passed the Quota Act which limits the total number of immigrants per year to 150,000. In the course of time we shall be able to tell whether immigration to this country had any important part to play in the production of poverty and dependency.

8. *Birth control* has been suggested as an effective method of cutting down excessive population. Holland and some of the other countries of Europe are experimenting with the subject. In most of the states of this country, however, and in many countries of Europe to spread the knowledge of contraceptive methods is unlawful. Furthermore, it has been felt by some that such methods are immoral. To some minds they are analogous to abortion. To others such methods contravene the Christian religion. Others think that the spread of knowledge concerning contraception would result in an increase of immorality. Still others point out that a knowledge of such methods of preventing birth is possessed by the higher economic classes of society and is leading to what is known as "race-suicide." Into the controversy which has raged over the question it is unnecessary to enter here.¹⁶ The point in connection with our subject is that it is a method which, if carefully guarded, would tend to decrease excessive births without the evils now attaching to abortion.¹⁷ Avowedly it involves less self-restraint than voluntary control in the marriage relationship. It is much to be preferred to deferring marriage in order to limit offspring.¹⁸ Artificial restriction of birth

¹⁶ For a discussion of both sides of the controversy see Knopf, "Birth Control," *The Survey*, November 18, 1916; Ryan, "The Catholic Church and Birth Restriction," *The Survey*, March 4, 1916.

¹⁷ In Soviet Russia abortion has been the preferred method of controlling the size of the family. See Newsholme and Kingsbury, *Red Medicine*, New York, 1933, Chapter XIV; Fischer, "The New Soviet Abortion Law," *The Nation*, July 18 and 25, 1936. Russia in 1936 proposed to abolish abortion.

¹⁸ The history of the movement is traced by Professor James A. Field in "Publicity by Prosecution," *The Survey*, February 19, 1916.

is now taking place even in states having laws forbidding the giving of information on the subject. Some believe it would be much better that physicians should have the right to give advice on the matter rather than to have the matter in the hands of ignorant charlatans exploiting contraceptive methods for gain.

Prudential restraint should be mentioned here, although in the present state of morals, it probably would not operate effectively among the poor, who have the largest families and whose numerous children are of the greatest concern in a program for the prevention of poverty and dependency.

Measures to Limit the Propagation of Defectives. One is on quite a different footing in discussing the social limitation of births among defectives. There is less doubt here in the minds of most men. It was once believed that the feeble-minded tended to be more prolific than the non-defective. It was urged, therefore, that unless their reproduction was checked this defective stock would tend to swamp the population. Recent studies have cast doubt upon this theory. It is now believed on the basis of more recent studies that the superior fecundity of the feeble-minded, if that fecundity really is superior, is not because of the feeble-mindedness, but because of the economic and social class from which these defectives come.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the propagation of the mentally deficient should be restricted as much as possible in the interest of society. Since about half of the mentally defective are hereditarily such, proper measures should be adopted to control their increase. With those who are from defective stock yet have enough intelligence to appreciate argument, education will help to solve the problem. Some do, and more would, if its importance were brought to their attention, refrain from having offspring. Moreover, since, as Goddard has shown, many of the feeble-minded are under- rather than over-sexed, under proper tutelage many of them could easily be kept from marrying and having children. Furthermore, if an enlightened public conscience can be developed on eugenics, negative and positive, much greater control over the defective, both by public opinion and by legal measures, would probably occur. For the hereditary defectives sterilization promises a partial solution.²⁰

For the defective with vicious tendencies, segregation is necessary during the child-bearing period for women and probably for life in the case of men. Colony care and carefully regulated parole, experience seems to show,

¹⁹ For a summary of the evidence of this matter see Davies, *Social Control of the Mentally Defective*, New York, 1930, p. 163.

²⁰ Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, New York, 1930, p. 240.

will care for the others. The important thing is that they do not propagate. Here certainly there will be no debate on the desirability of limiting births.

That there are considerable numbers of people on the border line between mental normality and defect, every investigation shows. It is probable that these compose a large part of that class described by Mr. Charles Booth in his studies of London quoted in the first part of this chapter and referred to by Professor Giddings when he says, "Modern civilization does not require, it does not even need, the drudgery of needle-women or the crushing toil of men in a score of life-destroying occupations. If these wretched beings should drop out of existence and no others stood ready to fill their places, the economic activities of the world would not greatly suffer. A thousand devices latent in inventive brains would quickly make good any momentary loss. The true view of the facts is that these people continue to exist after the kinds of work that they know how to perform have ceased to be of any considerable value to society."²¹

Conclusion. No one knows now just how the population can be so accurately proportioned to the natural resources of a country and to the stage of organization of effort that the adjustment will be perfect. Fortunately such perfect adjustment is not necessary to remedy the disparity between population and subsistence. Even if we did know what the proportion should be, the last war has certainly taught us that in times of unusual industrial activity the number of laborers, even including the poorest, will be too small. In times of industrial depression, the number, even of the best laborers, will be too great.

Since it is not possible to diminish the number of laborers in accordance with the demands of industry, if the population problem is to be adjusted, there must be stabilization of industry. If that is achieved the checks to population already discussed will operate to reduce the number of people in a country to the level of its industrial development. If industry is stabilized, and the population is regulated to the demand, the amount of poverty and dependency will be very greatly decreased. Once the adjustment of numbers to subsistence resources is close enough to insure that capable stock is not degraded in its standard of living and that defective strains are prevented from propagating, then the struggle will be between the more capable elements of the population and the struggle will give a spur to the development of the better abilities. Whatever measures be expedient population must be controlled, both as to numbers and as to quality, if poverty and de-

²¹ *Democracy and Empire*, New York, 1901, pp. 82, 83.

pendency are to be prevented. Perhaps more important, society must so organize its economic and social life that the population so controlled may have a chance at a decent life.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Population and Dependency. Fetter, "Population or Prosperity," Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, Boston, 1916, p. 219.
2. The Significance of the Declining Birth Rate. "The Declining Birth Rate," Wolfe, *Ibid.*, pp. 79-117.
3. Eugenics in the Control of the Birth of Defectives. Wolfe, *Ibid.*, Chap. IV.
4. The Restriction of Immigration. Fairchild, in Wolfe, *Ibid.*, p. 387.
5. "An Adaptive Fecundity" in Relation to Poverty and Dependency. Ross, *The Social Trend*, Chap. II.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. State and criticize the Malthusian theory of population.
2. What is the bearing of the theory upon poverty and dependency?
3. What were the theories of Spencer, Bagehot and Huxley?
4. How may the limitation of population by social measures be brought about?
5. What has immigration to do with the problem? Birth control? Measures to limit the propagation of defectives?
6. What conclusion is inevitable as to the bearing of the population question on the problems of poverty and dependency?
7. What influences among the middle class of America account for the decrease in the birth rate?

CHAPTER XXXVI

SCIENCE AND THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

INTER-RELATIONS between Philanthropy and Sociology. Sociology is in part a science and in part a philosophy. It is concerned with the problem of ascertaining how human relationships were established—the causes, forms, processes, and products; with the development of social forms, ideals, and organizations—causes, processes, and results; and with an evaluation of social products in terms of an ideal of human welfare or progress. As a science, it must patiently gather facts which throw light upon origin, development, and results. On the basis of these facts it philosophizes. That is, sociology endeavors to interpret the facts in generalizations as to tendencies, similarities and differences in their occurrence. For example, if the sociologist finds that a certain form of the family arises amid certain industrial conditions and is able to show that there is no concomitant set of circumstances other than the industrial, he infers a high degree of probability that the industrial conditions and the form of family are closely related. He cannot be certain that one has caused the other to appear, however, unless he can find that that form of the family never develops unless those industrial conditions are present. If he discovers that when one is found the other also is always present, then the question to be determined is whether one causes the other, or whether both are the product of some other factor. If he is unable to find societies in which the inter-connected phenomena—in the example, the family and industrial conditions—are isolated, or if they are combined with other social features, but without modification of either family or industrial activities, he cannot reach absolute certainty concerning casual relationships. If, however, one factor varies while the other remains unaltered, he will suspect that one does not cause the other.

Now, in human society, so varied are the influences producing change, it is often very difficult to determine causation. Moreover, the difficulty of isolating phenomena, of varying the quantity of one factor while leaving the other unchanged is enormous. Hence, social cause and law are very difficult to establish. In some cases it may be done by a wide comparison of the

societies to be found in different parts of the world. In others it may never be possible. In any case, absolute certainty is remote; only a fair degree of probability is to be expected.

Social theory, therefore, as yet is largely in the nature of hypothesis to be verified by patient research.

BEARING OF SOCIAL RESEARCH ON SOCIAL THEORY

In certain fields of sociology, however, research and experiment are more promising than in others. Where there is a wide variety of social forms comparative study will reveal some relationships more or less constant. In such fields as the treatment of poverty, dependency, crime, and defect, experiments are being made in our highly organized societies. With these experiments can be compared not only the results of others in the same or different countries, but modern experiments can be compared with historic experiments. For example, if it can be shown that indiscriminate charity raises up a crop of beggars, while discriminate relief, coupled with adequate service, lessens pauperization, then experience has furnished a general principle of social policy. Also, if experience shows that severely repressive measures do not lessen the number of crimes committed, or do increase recidivism, it is clear that this treatment has failed and other policies must be tested before society can feel that it has discovered the principle of effective social treatment. Again, experiment has shown that children best develop socially in normal family life rather than in institutions. This discovery has resulted in the corollaries that children whose natural families have been disrupted should be placed in families, rather than be kept in congregate institutions; that probation for children is usually better than reformatories, especially for first offenders; and that children should be cared for by carefully administered "mothers' pensions," when poverty is the only problem in a disrupted home with the mother still living. Thus, the speculations of general sociology, psychology, and political science provide hypotheses which the social technician can test out in experience.

On the other hand, the testing of general principles by their application to particular social problems throws light back upon the generalizations of pure sociology. For example, experience in the treatment of the pauperized family has confirmed Spencer's generalization that domestic institutions vary in strength with the economic arrangements of the society in which the family exists. Spencer deduced that if the parent is relieved of responsibility by the state or by philanthropy, some parents will desert their children. The experience of the social worker has confirmed the theory. On the other

hand, Spencer believed that social progress is made only by allowing the weak and helpless to succumb in the struggle for existence. Social technology, however, has discovered that when we allow children and unprotected women to struggle with adverse circumstances, not all the incapables are wiped out. Some of them become parasitic by adapting themselves to the circumstances and survive in a socially useless and sometimes menacing mode of life, while some naturally capable are prevented from developing normally. Thus, the hypotheses of general sociology meeting the test of experiment are confirmed or exploded.

Hence, the study of methods of dealing with poverty and dependency has a direct bearing upon sociology. Social technology supplies in such fields the touchstone of experiment upon which all science rests. It takes the suggestions of the philosophical sociologists which have any bearing upon its problems and tests them by the results of their application, just as the mechanical engineer takes certain principles of physics and tests them in the field of applied mechanics.

Social technology cannot try out all the offerings in the general field of sociology. It can only test those which admit of being applied in the field of social adjustment. It proves them by applying them to the problems of poverty, dependency, defect, and crime, and reports the results. It modifies, confirms, or rejects in accordance with the findings of experience.

SCIENCE AND PHILANTHROPY

Social policies in the treatment of poverty and dependency antedated the birth of science. Very early in social development the group was forced to give attention to its needy members. When the blood-bound group was the chief social organization, the needy were helped by the family or the whole group. Until social and economic classes appeared dependency in the modern sense did not exist. In early historic societies, such as the early Assyrian and early Hebrew, various arrangements existed to provide for the support of the dependent. Slavery, polygamy, concubinage, remarriage, and adoption of children, were rough measures for the care of those who today would be called dependents. The relentless exposure of defective children was practiced. The aged were often killed. The insane and feeble-minded were outlawed or killed as possessed of some strange, occult and socially dangerous power. In these ways, the abnormal were exterminated. Thus, by a rough method, which probably often destroyed the sound with the unsound, the defective germ plasm was wiped out.

Even in these early societies, however, we see the beginnings of more

treatment. So much more rapid was the development of humane sentiments, humane, especially under the influence of kinship and religion, than the growth of science, that man came to interfere seriously with a selective death rate. The result was an accumulation of defective paupers. As we have seen, the Church added the religious motive in the pauperization of large numbers. When the conflict was between a ruthlessness, which let the capable perish with the incapable, and a charity which was indiscriminate, the Church and the moral sentiments inclined to the latter. It has remained for modern philanthropy to resolve the difficulty.

No realm of thought is immune from the infection of ideas from other realms. The great changes in knowledge and speculation characteristic of the last century and a half have affected the theory and practice of philanthropy. Before modern economic and scientific principles were worked out, philanthropy was possessed of proper impulses, but it lacked scientific discrimination.

Economics and Philanthropy. Some of the early English economists made serious attacks upon the English Poor Laws. Adam Smith gives very little attention to them. His only reference to their working is a criticism of the law of settlement which interfered with the free movement of laborers and so accounted for differences in wages in neighboring parts of England. With his belief in freedom of movement for laborers naturally he criticized these provisions.¹

The most serious attack upon the poor laws of England was made by Malthus in his celebrated *Essay on the Principle of Population*. Interested as he was in the limitation of the population so that the individual would be able to secure for his labor a return adequate to self-support, Malthus saw that the poor laws of his day resulted in pauperizing the lower class workers. He saw their spirit of independence undermined. He says, "The poor laws of England tend to depress the general condition of the poor in these two ways. Their first obvious tendency is to increase population without increasing the food for its support. A poor man may marry with little or no prospect of being able to support a family without parish assistance. They may be said, therefore, to create the poor which they maintain: And, as the provisions of the country must, in consequence of the increased population, be distributed to every man in smaller proportions, it is evident that the labor of those who are not supported by parish assistance, will purchase a smaller quantity of provisions than before, and consequently more of them must be driven to apply for assistance.

¹ *Wealth of Nations*, 5th Edition, Bk. I, Chap. X, Part II, Dublin, 1793, Vol. I, pp. 139 ff.

"Secondly, the quantity of provisions consumed in workhouses by a part of the society that cannot in general be considered as the most valuable part, diminishes the shares that would otherwise belong to more industrious and more worthy members, and thus, in the same manner, forces more to become dependent. If the poor in the workhouses were to live better than they do now, this new distribution of the money of the society would tend more conspicuously to depress the condition of those out of the workhouses by occasioning an advance in the price of provisions."²

He declared that, hard as it may appear in individual instances, dependent poverty ought to be held disgraceful. He believed the poor laws did not make it disgraceful. He held that they were "a set of grating, inconvenient, and tyrannical laws totally inconsistent with the genuine spirit of the constitution." He felt persuaded that if they had never existed in England, "though there might have been a few more instances of very severe distress, the aggregate mass of happiness among the common people would have been much greater than it is at present." He believed that they created "wide-spreading tyranny, dependence, intolerance, and unhappiness." So thoroughly convinced was Malthus that the poor laws were entirely vicious that he advocated their gradual abolition. He held that the poor had no *right* to public support and that if society were left undisturbed the natural affections of men for their wives and children were such that he could not believe that "there are ten men breathing so atrocious as to desert them."³

Malthus believed in the private charitable care of the dependent poor if the care was discriminating and personal. He says, "The discretionary power of giving or withholding relief which is to a certain extent vested in parish officers and justices, is of a very different nature, and will have a very different effect from the discrimination which may be exercised by voluntary charity."⁴ He held many principles which the social workers of the present time hold with reference to the way in which aid should be given. He contended that what is given to the poor under the poor laws is not charity, that any charity that is forced from the giver in any way does harm to both the giver and the recipient. "But it is far otherwise with that voluntary and active charity, which makes itself acquainted with

² Malthus, *The Principle of Population*, last edition, New York, 1890, Bk. III, Chap. VI. While his argument is vitiated by being based upon the now exploded "wages-fund theory," it still remains true that the dependent are a heavy burden upon the independent, and that poor laws or badly administered good laws tend to produce willing dependency.

³ *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, Chap. VIII.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Bk. IV, Chap. X

the object which it relieves; which seems to feel, and to be proud of, the bond that unites the rich with the poor; which enters into their houses, informs itself not only of their wants, but of their habits and dispositions; checks the hopes of clamorous and obtrusive poverty, with no other recommendation but rags; and encourages with adequate relief, the silent and retiring sufferer laboring under unmerited difficulties." The attack of Malthus was the most thoroughgoing and trenchant of any of the English Classical economists.

McCulloch differs from Malthus in thinking that charity is even worse in its effects upon the poor than the reception of help from the poor rates. He says, "It is idle, indeed, to talk about the independence of a man who is receiving charity; but it may be doubted whether an individual supported by the poor's rate can fairly be regarded as being in such a predicament. He is merely sharing in a public provision made by the state. . . . It may, therefore, be fairly presumed that the decent pride and independence of the poor will be more likely to be supported under a system of this sort than if they are obliged to depend, in periods of distress, on the bounty of others."⁵

He calls attention to another matter which shows that certain of the classical economists were not the outspoken enemies of philanthropy which they have sometimes been painted. He says, "An individual is unfortunate, perhaps, or he may not have been as thrifty or as prudent as he ought—but is he, therefore, to be allowed to die in the streets? It is proper, speaking generally, to do nothing that may weaken the spirit of industry; but if, in order to strengthen it, all relief were refused to the maimed and impotent poor, the habits and feelings of the people would be degraded and brutalized by familiarity with the most abject wretchedness; at the same time that, by driving the victims of poverty to despair, a foundation would be laid for the most dreadful crimes, and such a shock given to the security of property and of life as would very much over-balance whatever additional spur the refusal of support might give to industry and economy."⁶

A further indication of the fact that the classical economists were not hostile to poor relief in general is the fact already referred to, that Senior, with the assistance of Mr. Chadwick, wrote the Report of the Commission of Inquiry on which the great law of 1834 was based.⁷ They were opposed only to specific methods of relief.

⁵ McCulloch, *Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1864, p. 373.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁷ Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, London, 1910, Art., "Poor-Law History," Vol. III, p. 150. See also John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, edited by W. J. Ashley, New York, 1909, pp. 305, 306.

Bagehot, the banker and economist, goes beyond Malthus and the classical economists, in opposition to all help to the dependent. He says, "The most melancholy of human reflections, perhaps, is that on the whole it is a question whether the benevolence of mankind does most good or harm. Great good, no doubt, philanthropy does, but then it also does great evil; it augments so much vice; it multiplies so much suffering; it brings to life such great populations to suffer and to become vicious, that it is an open argument whether it be or be not an evil to the world; and this is entirely because excellent people fancy that they can do much by rapid action, that they will most benefit the world when they most relieve their own feelings, that as soon as an evil is seen 'something' ought to be done to stay and prevent it. One may incline to hope that the balance of good over evil is in favor of benevolence; one can hardly bear to think that it is not so; but anyhow, it is certain that there is a most heavy debit of evil, and that this burden might almost all have been spared us if philanthropists, as well as others, had not inherited from their barbarous forefathers a wild passion for instant action."⁸

The economists had not a little to do with the reform of the English poor laws. The service was reciprocated by Lord Shaftesbury and others of his time when the factory acts, which were generally opposed by the English economists, were put through the English Parliament largely at the instance of the philanthropists.⁹

The conflict between the economists and the philanthropists has now almost died away. The social workers are conscious of the evils of indiscriminate relief. They recognize that there are certain economic principles which must not be ignored by the administrator. But some who administer our poor laws have very imperfect conceptions of the fundamental nature of economic society and perhaps even less of the principles of modern social work. On the other hand, the modern economists have recognized certain social principles in the treatment of the poor which were not clearly seen by Malthus.

Psychology and Philanthropy. Between psychology and philanthropy there has been no such conflict as between economics and philanthropy. Psychology developed later than economics, and, moreover, it has not come so directly into contact with a witless poor law. Nevertheless, psychology might have criticized at some length the attitude of charity towards certain

⁸ Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, No. 5, Works, Hartford, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 566. He has been called the "Darwinian" in politics. McIntosh, *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd*, New York, 1899, Chap. XII.

⁹ Gibbons, *Industry in England*, New York, 1906, pp. 404-406.

paupers. Until recently social workers have been too prone to ignore the pauperism and poverty resulting from abnormal mental conditions. How often has the poor-law official and the social worker proceeded on the assumption that the economic adjustment of a dependent family was all that was required! How frequently, as we now see, is the inability to make a living and make a home due to mental deviation of one kind or another! Psychology, especially psychiatry, has thrown a great light upon the problem of poverty and dependency in those cases in which mental disturbance is a factor. Charity has profited by it, and public poor relief is beginning to write into the law provisions based upon an appreciation of the rôle of mental conditions in producing dependency. Moreover, psychiatry has thrown a flood of new light on the passions, mental conflict, feeling of inferiority, and other manifestations of disordered emotional life, which in turn helps the social worker to understand many cases hitherto obscure. He who would help his distressed fellowmen constructively must understand human nature in all of its varied phases. Modern psychology is assisting very materially in such an understanding and suggesting methods of changing the habits and the outlook of the individual and the family.

Moreover, social psychology has suggested to the social worker that even in the family where mental defect is not the main factor it is important in rehabilitation to consider the mental habits and ideals which economic depression and dependency induce. How often it is necessary to change the attitudes and habits which have established themselves in the poor! Something of that sort lies at the bottom of the contention of Malthus that dependency must be held disgraceful. Mental factors are kept in mind when social workers agree that relief should include only the necessities, that the condition of the dependent must not be better than that of the independent laborer, if pauperization is to be prevented. On the other hand, mental principles underlie the contention of McCulloch and of modern social workers that dependents and those on the border of dependency must be inspired with ambition and hope rather than be confirmed in despair. Emotional-social considerations lie at the foundation of the institution of the friendly visitor, who creates a neighborly bond between the poor and herself and tries to inspire the poverty stricken with her attitude towards life and its problems.

As psychology develops a science of human motives and a technique of guidance based upon a scientific knowledge of the emotions, of the intellectual processes and of the ways in which conduct-patterns are molded, more help will be available for the social worker. Such knowledge will condition her methods and assist her in dealing with the problems of human conduct among the poor and the dependent. How little we yet know scientifically

of human motivation in all those complex and delicate interactions which determine conduct! How much the social worker, that physician of deranged social life in home and community, needs all the help she can get from psychology, only those know who so often stand baffled before the difficult problem of rehabilitating the family and the individual.

Biology and Philanthropy. One searches the early English biologists in vain for an expression of opinion on methods of poor relief. One might suspect that Huxley would stand for a policy that would allow the poor to perish as a means of selecting out the undesirable elements in an overabundant population. But read these words of his: "Any full and permanent development of the productive powers of an industrial population, then, must be compatible with, and, indeed, based upon, a social organization which will secure a fair amount of physical and moral welfare to that population; which will make for good and not for evil. Natural science and religious enthusiasm rarely go hand in hand, but in this matter their accord is complete; and the least sympathetic of naturalists can but admire the insight and the devotion of such social reformers as the late Lord Shaftesbury, whose recently published *Life and Letters* gives a vivid picture of the condition of the working classes 50 years ago, and of the pit which our industry, ignoring these plain truths, was then digging under its own feet."¹⁰ The whole passage from which this is taken should be read if one wishes to see clearly how Huxley reconciles Science and Philanthropy.

When Huxley and his colleagues were writing, the theory of heredity was in its infancy. Since that time, Weissmann's and Mendel's investigations and speculations based upon them have become a part of biological thought. The development of biological theory in its bearing upon social problems, from the early radical to the later moderate, is sketched by J. Arthur Thomson in these words: "Needless to say, many of the inquirers who have become impressed by the facts have not been backward in making practical suggestions, which might be arranged if one had time, on an inclined plane. Some, more trustful in natural selection than in any human device, have taken up an extreme *laissez faire* position, which, as human society is constituted, is quite untenable. . . . Others, going to the opposite extreme, have advocated what may be called surgical methods for both sexes to a degree that is more than Spartan. Between these two extremes we find all manner of suggestions. We need only refer to the marriage examination and certificate system which is being increasingly discussed—to much profit, it seems to us—in Germany; the segregation schemes which suggest that those obviously unfit who have to fall back on the state (i. e., the relatively fit

¹⁰ *Evolution and Ethics*, New York, 1896, p. 217.

*citizens) for support should forfeit the right to reproduce, for which, again there is much to be said; and the wise and gentle constructive eugenic proposals with which Mr. Galton has made us all familiar."*¹¹

Among American biologists there is to be seen the same cautious attitude. Says one, "There is one grave danger connected with the administration of our humane and commendable philanthropies toward the unfortunate, for it frequently happens that defectives are kept in institutions until they are sexually mature or are partly self-supporting, when they are liberated only to add to the burden of society by reproducing only their like."¹² Another writes, "It is the personal duty of every member of society to aid in affording the opportunity and providing the proper stimuli to insure that out of the many possibilities of behavior which exist in the young at birth, those forms are realized which are best worth while to the individual and to society. And while we recognize that improved environment alone cannot correct human deficiencies we must nevertheless not relax our efforts to get cleaner foods, cleaner surroundings, cleaner politics, and cleaner hearts.

"Why go on alleviating various kinds of misery that might equally well be prevented? When one squarely faces the issue, surely the absurdity of our present practice cannot but be evident to even the most thoughtless!"¹³

Philanthropist and biologist have come together in concerted effort to solve the problem of dependency, each recognizing the point of view of the other, and each contributing his part to the program of treatment and prevention. The biologist has supplied the facts and theories which explain why some people are dependent, and has suggested the methods by which hereditary defect which produces some of the dependent may be cut off. The social worker and the sociologist, having studied the experiments in social institutions and the laws which have been followed in treating dependents, undertake so to order our social measures that the hereditary factors in dependency may be controlled. The knowledge of both biologist and sociologist is still incomplete. Further experience must be had before we can be sure that we have discovered the best ways to abolish pauperism due to defect. The hopeful aspect of the matter is that biology and sociology are working hand in hand on the problem.

Medicine and Philanthropy. Between the doctors and the philanthropists there has been no such conflict as between the economists and the philanthropists. Modern medicine, however, since the formulation of the germ theory of disease, has modified philanthropic practice. Prevention has

¹¹ *Heredity*, London, 1912, p. 533.

¹² Walter, *Genetics*, New York, 1914, p. 253.

¹³ Guyer, *Being Well-Born*, Indianapolis, 1916, pp. 337, 338.

become a dominant note in both medicine and philanthropy. The study of the causes of illness has led the physician to recognize both the inherent weaknesses of the individual and the factors to be found in living and working conditions. It was quite natural, therefore, that the physician should bring to the problem of poverty and dependency caused immediately by illness his knowledge of the hygienic factors in human life. Moreover, his contact with social workers is so close that he can sympathize with their difficulties. This puts them on a friendly footing and enables the doctor to educate the social worker without exciting hostility.

On the other hand, the practising physician has come to recognize in recent years the important part which the social worker bears in the treatment and prevention of disease. This recognition is to be found not only in the department of social work established in connection with hospitals, but in the cooperation with organized charity in charitable cases.¹⁴

Political Science and Philanthropy. Spencer was outspoken against public poor relief in England. He says, "When under the new Poor Law provision was made for the accommodation of vagrants in the Union Houses, it was hardly expected that a body of tramps would be thereby called into existence who would spend their time walking from Union to Union throughout the kingdom. It was little thought by those who in past generations assigned parish pay for the maintenance of illegitimate children that as a result a family of such would by and by be considered a small fortune, and the mother of them a desirable wife; nor did the statesmen see that, by the law of settlement, they were organizing a disastrous inequality of wages in different districts, entailing a system of clearing away cottages, which would result in the crowding of bedrooms, and in a consequent moral and physical degeneration."¹⁵ His animus is connected with his political philosophy. He does not believe in English poor relief because it subverts his theory of the functions of the state. That his opinion did not arise primarily from the evil results the poor law produced is shown by his words in his essay replying to Huxley's position in the latter's essay on *Administrative Nihilism*.¹⁶ Here he argues that sympathy for one's fellows has led to

¹⁴ Cabot, *Social Work; Essays on the Meeting-Ground of Doctor and Social Worker*, Boston and New York, 1919, Introduction, Cannon. *Social Work in Hospitals*, New York, 1917, Chaps. I-VI; Sydenstricker, "Next Steps in Public Health," *Next Steps in Public Health*, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund Held on March 26 and 27, 1916, at the New York Academy of Medicine, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1916, p. 12.

¹⁵ Spencer, *Essays, Scientific, Political and Speculative*, London, 1858, "Over Legislation," p. 321.

¹⁶ Essay on "Specialized Administration," *Recent Discussions in Science, Philosophy, and Morals*, New York, 1873, pp. 272, 273.

charities and other voluntary means of help for the unfortunate very superior to the poor laws before their reform in 1834. Spencer combines the *laissez faire* political economy, the politics of Bentham, and the philosophy of the "natural selectionists" in science, and draws conclusions as to government, in this case as related to the relief of the poor, based upon the premises of Malthus and the theory of the "struggle for existence" made famous by Darwin, Huxley, and himself. He held that the function of government was to protect society from external foes and to limit itself to the establishment of justice within its borders. Consequently, he was much opposed to the extension of governmental activities for the control of private business enterprises and of charitable work. He believed that if private initiative were left alone, all of the needy would be cared for by the active sympathy of private organizations. Since his day, however, the *laissez faire* theory in government as in economics has been exploded. Experience has shown that by perfecting governmental machinery much can be done to guide private initiative and to protect individuals unable to protect themselves. Consequently, in recent years, whether for good or ill, governmental control of private activities has very greatly increased. Mr. Charles Booth said at the end of his great work: "With regard to progressive administration, still shaping its ideals and fretting against restraints, the day of reckoning and disappointment is not now, and, though it will surely come, there is in that no reason for holding our hands. The failures may be many, and the success that can be won may take some unexpected shape, but at least the effort to attain it must be good in stimulating the consciousness and vigor of common life."¹⁷

Governmental control has been growing very rapidly in relief of the distressed and certain aspects of charity work, as we have noticed in a previous chapter. In the control of private charities dealing especially with helpless humanity it has become absolutely essential to protect the wards of the state. Also, in some of the most advanced countries and the most progressive states of the United States the government has instituted agencies for the comparative study of legislation and administration. The purpose is to secure a knowledge of experiments in social control of poor relief and charity in order that previous mistakes may not be repeated. Such study has saved the taxpayers' money and has suggested better methods of the treatment of the dependent. Moreover, since many of the conditions which produce dependency are state-wide and others are even nation-wide, the power of the government has been invoked to undertake preventive measures. This may be seen in our public health departments—city, state, and national—

¹⁷ Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, Final Vol., London, 1902, p. 203.

in our public schools, in labor legislation, and in state and national measures for social security.

Social Case Work and the Case of the Distressed. Thus, the new movements of modern life have touched philanthropy and government in the care of the dependent in many ways. The great movements in science, politics, economics, and religion characteristic of the last half century have reacted upon philanthropic thought and practice. Consequently, modern charity is possessed of an entirely new spirit and follows quite new practices. Based upon the observation of facts, full consideration of the psychology of human relationships, and taking into account the results of modern science in every field, it endeavors to help the unfortunate members of society to readjust themselves to normal relationships and to bear their part in the work of the world. Its purpose is no philosophical dream of human perfectibility such as Plato and Godwin advocated, but an adaptation of our knowledge of all human relationships practically to improve the delicate social adjustments on which human independence and happiness so much depend. In its philosophy it is meliorative and preventive; it uses methods which have been approved by experience; it refuses to be turned aside from its task of helping distressed human beings with the best methods it has been able to discover. It will not be diverted by doctrinaire discussions of socialism, communism, or any other "ism" aiming at social perfectibility. One foot is placed firmly upon the solid ground of individual case work, the other is upon the equally solid ground of the improvement of social machinery slowly and gradually as experience shows the way. Mr. Charles Booth has said: "While the whole of life might well be lifted on to a higher plane, we cannot dare to wish that the struggle should be avoided. And light breaks through the darkness. Destitution degrades, but poverty is certainly no bar to happiness. If we permit our minds to dwell upon the masses in London who exist under its disabilities, we may think also of the thousands of poor but wholesome home-, of husbands and wives happy in working for each other and rejoicing in their children—of whom in this world it may be said, 'Of such are the Kingdom of Home.'"¹⁸

With a background of all these historic experiments in the aid of the distressed and of the results of modern science and philosophy, social case work undertakes its task. It learns from the mistakes of the past. It finds guidance in the suggestions of philosophers, theologians, and legislators and administrators in the work of helping those in misery. Its technique is based upon all that both history and science can contribute. Its motive is the same ancient one of sympathy for those in distress, and the social premise of

¹⁸ Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, Final Vol., London, 1902, p. 201.

readjustment and rehabilitation in order that each individual may occupy a useful and happy place in the social order. In a previous chapter the definition and technique of social work was given. Here it is only necessary to point out that the informed and skillful social worker is endeavoring by the best means known to him to understand the causes which led to distress and to apply every device which experience has suggested to remove those causes and to bring to play upon the distressed individual the economic, psychological, and social factors in his environment to make him a useful member of society.

Moreover, the social worker is not blind to the necessity of prevention. What reforms in legislation and administration has he not sponsored! What devotion of spirit has he not brought to the solution of these complex and difficult problems! True, he makes mistakes; he is human. He knows that the world cannot be remodeled in a moment. He works with the best machinery he has available. Ancient survivals of legislation and tradition encompass him about and impede his progress. He does the best he can and works for a better order in which many of the factors now existing to thrust down the individual or the family shall be removed. In the meantime he does the best possible for his clients and for society.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Social Work and Modern Medicine. Cabot, *Social Work*.
2. Psychiatry and Modern Charity. Cabot, *Social Work*, Chaps. IV-VI; Taft, "Use of the Transfer within the Limits of the Office Interview," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1924, p. 307; Taussig, "In a Family Case Work Organization," *Ibid.*, p. 442.
3. Biology's Relation to Charity. Thompson, *Heredity*, Chap. XIV; Guyer, *Being Well Born*, Chaps. VII-X; Walter, *Genetics*, Chap. XI; Poponoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics*, Chaps. IX, X.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What can sociology contribute to the care of dependents?
2. How can the results of human behavior as seen in the dependent and the defective throw light upon sociological principles and social psychology?
3. Illustrate the bearing of social research on social theory.
4. What bearing has modern science upon policies of treatment of dependents and defectives?
5. What was the relation between the early English economists and the philanthropists of their day?
6. What modification in ancient charitable practice has been made by modern economic theory?

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7. What light has psychology thrown upon the problems of poverty and dependency?
8. Point out the bearing of modern biology upon philanthropy.
9. Show how modern medicine has modified philanthropic practice.
10. Show how modern social work has modified medical practice
11. Characterize the purpose, philosophy and modern methods of dealing with the defective.

CHAPTER XXXVII

A PROGRAM OF TREATMENT AND PREVENTION

TURN and look for a moment at the course we have covered. Like a hiker who has climbed a mountain, laboring steadily up through ravines, under tall trees which shut out the view, over rocks and fallen logs, at the top looks back at the scene in the valley, one may profit by retrospect. It gives perspective. Certain features fade out of the picture; others stand out with clarity and distinctness. In this study so far we have covered centuries in human history. Yonder in the early stages of social development mutual aid of one's fellows directly given was the means of relieving distress. With the rise of civilization new means had to be adopted. Slavery, concubinage and polygamy served to take care of certain classes who would otherwise have been dependent. In the classical civilizations clientage and patronage grew up to meet the problem. Religion came in to play its part in strengthening the philanthropic impulse. Christian Church and Jewish Synagogue developed means to care for their members in distress. Then in the Western World feudalism grew up on the basis of the wreck of the Roman Empire. In the course of time the relationships between serfs and masters were so worked out that the needy were cared for. The Church expanded its relief work. Hence between the Feudal system and the Church the distressed were looked after. With the breakup of feudalism, and the rise of cities and states, another system had to be devised. Municipal authorities took over certain of the problems which had become too heavy for the Church. Finally the State itself intervened, and we have our poor laws. As it became clear that the distressed individual was not entirely responsible for his condition, that health was not a personal matter, that economic conditions were not entirely under the control of the individual, preventive measures were introduced. Experience showed that mechanical methods of caring for distressed individuals by mass treatment are not effective. Gradually as the factors in the situation were analyzed, as science threw its light upon some of the causes of poverty and dependency, it became clear that the old theories of the causation of poverty and dependency were outworn. Equally

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clear was the inadequacy of the measures of relief based upon those theories. How inadequate today in the light of what we know seem some of the relief measures of bygone days! How stupid seems the practice of putting children into orphanages as the almost universal method of caring for the dependent child; or the repressive measures against beggars; or the requirement that each needy person must be aided in the community where he resides, although he have no residence! How foolish appear the former methods of caring for the insane, the mental defective, the crippled, the blind, the deaf! At the time, however, that these methods were devised they seemed beneficent. We have the advantage of living in a time when science and the results of experience enable us better to understand the problem.

TREATMENT AND PREVENTION MUST BE BASED UPON A STUDY OF CAUSATION

It is clear with the present knowledge that poverty and dependency result in part from conditions in the individual himself and in part from conditions playing upon the individual which he is not able to control. Any program of treatment and prevention must rest solidly upon those two presuppositions.

Only by understanding the personality of the individual in distress can we know how he came into that situation and what measures to take in order to enable him to rehabilitate himself. Every bit of knowledge which throws light upon human motivation, which explains fear, anxiety, loss of morale, confusion in the face of difficulty, and various devices to escape from difficulties rather than face them courageously and intelligently, must be used, would we understand some of the difficulties of the poverty-stricken and distressed. Likewise, the life-experiences which have made a significant impression upon the individual whom we are considering must be understood. So far as possible the way in which the person reacted to these experiences must be ascertained. They throw light upon the way in which the individual reacts to situations. They indicate in a broad way the treatment. Further, the student who is applying a program of treatment of poverty and dependency must observe carefully the results, and like the doctor, must modify the treatment accordingly to the patient's reaction. Experimentation, when new and untried policies are applied, must be accompanied by close observation of the results. The social as well as the natural sciences must be invoked.

Treatment must be based upon careful analysis of the individual and of his total situation, and upon careful observation of the results of the methods used in the case. Instead of breaking up a family which has been deprived of

the breadearner, the effort is now made to keep the family intact by means of a mother's pension, if the mother is adequate to her task. Instead of providing in the law for a suit for damages for one injured in an industrial accident, we now have workmen's-compensation. Once it was believed that if anyone was injured it was his own fault, or else an act of God. Now we recognize that it is not a matter of personal fault alone or of the inexplicable dispensations of Providence, but that for even the individual incapable of so ordering his life under favorable circumstances as to escape poverty and dependency, his destitution is the result partly of his constitutional makeup and partly of the way he has been conditioned while his personality was developing. Both of these factors are largely beyond his control. He is the product of his heredity and of his conditioning. It has also become clear that many capable individuals fall into poverty and sometimes become dependent because of the circumstances over which they have no control. Cataclysms of nature, sickness, accident, and economic maladjustments are often beyond the control of the most capable.

Quackery is to be found in social treatment as well as in medicine. There are those who assume that poverty and dependency are the results of our social and economic organization alone. They believe that with a change in our economic structure poverty and dependency will disappear. From our analysis it is clear that there is some truth in that statement. But it is not all the truth. There is no evidence in the experience of the past that in the near future we shall be able on the basis of some philosophical system to abolish entirely poverty and dependency. We have seen that even by the application of the most Spartan methods of eliminating the defective germ plasms in the present population it would require many generations to wipe out the defective genes from our human stock. Likewise the elimination of the features in our economic and social order making it difficult for individuals to obtain social security is a matter of time and persevering efforts. True, we can adjust the circumstances under which people live to their capacities. We can remedy certain physical disabilities which handicap individuals. We can educate men to overcome at least to some degree those personal handicaps which interfere with their economic activities and often disturb them emotionally. We can build morale in some of the cripples, the blind, the deaf. We can assure economic security to the aged, the dependent child, the widow, and to a degree to the unemployed. Perhaps we can devise measures to diminish accidents and disease. Nevertheless, for a very long time, so far as we can see at present, any society is bound to have a certain number of people who are unable to support themselves. The changes in economic and social organization are not made in a day. In-

capables are not supplanted by thoroughbreds in a generation. Yet, the task is not hopeless.

The treatment of the poverty-stricken and the dependent should be handled according to all the knowledge we have: (a) Knowledge concerning the personal factors which contributed to their poverty or dependency; (b) knowledge concerning their methods of responding to life-experiences; (c) knowledge of methods of restoring their morale; (d) and knowledge concerning social and economic arrangements which will restore them so far as possible to some independence.

Without a clear conception of what factors are involved in the formation of a socially inadequate personality, and what factors in the social environment contributed to his distress, we shall be pursuing a haphazard method of adjustment, which instead of restoring morale, stimulating ambition, and inciting courage, may produce self-pity and aggravate his dependency complex. In the treatment of the poverty-stricken and the dependent, diagnosis is as important as in the treatment of the sick. Without careful diagnosis designed to uncover to our understanding every factor which contributed to the making of the dependent, we shall do what the doctor did in the old days, give a dose of calomel for almost every disease. Likewise, as the skillful physician endeavors to understand the effect of the experiences of sick persons upon morale, in treating the dependent we must carefully ascertain what effect the experiences of life have had upon the morale of the person who has become economically dependent. Do they hate being dependent and have a hearty desire to be assisted to get upon their own feet again, or do they quietly acquiesce in the situation? Again, as we assist the helpless we shall carefully observe the results of our efforts. Are they still further disturbed by what we attempt to do for them, or are their fears quieted, their anxieties relieved, and their fighting spirit for independence quickened? Do our efforts inspire hope or stimulate dull despair? Do we still further deepen the pattern their demoralizing experiences have produced, or do we cultivate the belief that they can fight through to a satisfactory adjustment?

Finally, we shall bring to our aid every bit of knowledge we can command concerning the social and economic arrangements which will restore them to normal conditions. If medical or surgical assistance is what they need we shall endeavor to have this supplied without increasing the anxiety they already have. If it is a job they lack, we shall try to enable them to find one in which they can make a living. If they are young and without proper vocational preparation, we shall try to supply that. The chief aim of treatment is to restore these people to a self-supporting, independent attitude.

A PROGRAM OF PREVENTION

The historical survey we have given in previous chapters has shown that with increasing knowledge of causation and with more exact observation of the effects of past methods of treatment, increasing emphasis has been placed upon prevention. Witness the change in attitude towards the sick, one of the most important causes of poverty and dependency. Once the major emphasis of the physician was upon the treatment of the sick. Today, while efforts are made to cure the sick, much greater emphasis is placed upon preventive medicine.

Any adequate program of prevention will consider all of the factors contributing to the individual's abnormal situation. The human stocks from which he was born will be considered. Eugenics, negative and positive, to insure a sound stock will be applied—negatively by eliminating defective stock, either by segregation or by sterilization, and positively by encouraging young people to find proper mates. While human breeding cannot be controlled as in animal breeding, much more attention can be given to this matter of heredity than we are giving at the present time. No program of prevention will entirely ignore this phase of the matter.

Probably much more important than the stock is the early conditioning by which people develop their personalities. Modern psychology helps in that aspect of the matter. While there are limits to what can be done by early training, there is not much question that even persons from somewhat defective stock can be better trained to meet life's situations. We know today that even those of sound heredity often are spoiled for successful adjustment to life by early mismanagement. The importance of early conditioning from birth to maturity is now well recognized. It has much to do with the physical welfare of the individual. A certain proportion of those who are ailing are such by reason of their early experience—their feeding, habits of sleep, recreation, and the way they are taught to react to their ailments.

Further, we now know that sound mental health is very dependent upon the way in which the child is handled by his parents during his early life. The projection of the parents' wishes upon the child sometimes affects both his physical and his mental health. He becomes the dependent, helpless individual, or the resistant, negativistic personality opposing every suggestion made as to his behavior. Again, these early years mean much to his later social adjustment. By proper handling, within limits it is possible to teach the child as he grows up to adjust himself to difficulties of every sort. Or on the other hand, it is possible by improper handling to make him a misfit in the social organization in which he lives. All of this points to the im-

portance of parents understanding the important parts they play in producing capable, upstanding individuals "with a heart for any fate." Too closely sheltered and protected from the buffetings of the world children grow up without learning how to meet the difficulties of life in a constructive and hopeful way. Therefore, any program of prevention of poverty and dependency must center upon educating parents for their tasks.

Any intelligent program of prevention must emphasize the proper training of teachers and other adults, who come in contact with the child and the youth, to handle him in such a way as will result in a personality adapted to meet the conditions of life. Attention will also be given to the character of his associates among his own age-group. In this group often all the work of wise parents is undone. The leisure time of the developing child is as important as his work or his home.

Again, a program of prevention will recognize as of the greatest importance those economic and political arrangements which prevent poverty and dependency—measures to provide for the care of health both physical and mental, an educational system preparing for livelihood and life, economic security against the hazards to health, to family life, to employment, and to old age. Attention must be given to a political organization in order that it may provide safety to person, to status, and to property. Graft cannot be tolerated if political organization is to serve the needs of all the people. Wealth and influence must not blind the eyes of justice. Political pull must not handicap the individual without it. Opportunity to advance and achieve commensurately with capacity must be open equally to all. Education must be as nearly free as it is possible to make it. Economic opportunity must be open to each according to his ability. Political and economic arrangements should be made whereby the distribution of wealth and income is sufficiently even-handed to encourage effort to make the most of one's capacity. Favors to one class at the expense of another cannot be tolerated. All that science can contribute in any field should be applied to insure a system of human relationships fitted as well as possible to the capacities of the various individuals in a population.

Standing out preëminent among the economic factors contributing to poverty is the present maldistribution of wealth and income. We have the capacity in the United States to produce with present plant and existing methods 20 per cent more than effective demand can consume. Our people can consume much more than their present incomes can buy. This defect in our arrangements must be corrected. If the contention of Malthus and his associates should prove to be correct, then profits and greater consumption by the masses would be friendly collaborators instead of enemies in the

*economic process.*¹ The alternatives are (1) uncontrolled exploitation of the resources of the country—natural and human—with a few growing richer, the many poorer and less secure; (2) control more or less effective through legislation and the development and acceptance of a new code of business ethics by the business leaders of the country—a control over profits and the concentration of economic power in few hands; (3) an attempt to distribute excess wealth by taxation; and (4) revolution such as occurred in (a) Russia confiscating the property of the wealthy and violently turning the economic pyramid upon its apex; or (b) Fascism or Nazism, such as arose in Italy and Germany which in both cases drove down the standard of living for the common people and brought the wealthy classes to the feet of the dictator.

In this country we can try to work out our problems under the system of private property by controlling wealth in the interests of all the people. Or, we can allow things to drift along and court revolution. In the latter case we shall ultimately probably land in a dictatorship either of the proletariat or more likely of the propertied classes headed by some puppet militarist. Under either the common people will suffer. Witness Russia, Italy and Germany. No class war will solve these problems under our present system. The solution will come, if at all, by a cooperative effort at an equitable system of distribution of the joint product.

The prophets of panaceas gnash their teeth at the suggestion of a program based upon what they call "patching up the old, outworn machine." They have one medicine for all diseases, one answer to all questions. They have a panacea—even for the solution of the most complex problems. They are victims of the fallacy of over-simplification both in theory and practice. The single tax will do the job. The dictatorship of the proletariat will cure all the evils of Capitalism. The "totalitarian state" under the proper Führer, is the answer to all of Germany's ills. The "corporative state" under the Duce restores distraught Italy. All of them are zealous; all are splendid rabble-rousers. All of them, leaders and earnest followers, belong to the Ancient and Honorable Order of For-God's-Sakers. ("For God's sake let's do this!" "For God's sake let's do that!") Zealous? yes, but not always "according to knowledge." They are perfect examples of salvation by "direct action."

Not only the prophets of panaceas but also the profiteers do not like such

¹ Moulton, "Economic Progress without Economic Revolution," *Fortune*, November, 1935, p. 77; Leven, Moulton, and Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume*, Washington, 1934; Nourse and Associates, *America's Capacity to Produce*, Washington, 1934; Moulton, *The Formation of Capital*, Washington, 1935; Moulton, *Income and Economic Progress*, Washington, 1935.

a program. So busy seeking their own gains by any device just inside the law, they will cry down proposals, whether legislative or moral, for control in the interests of all the people as "academic," "high-brow," or "impractical." With a devotion to profits worthy of a better cause they prate of the wonderful success of private, uncontrolled business. Their state of mind was well represented by George Baer, president of the Reading Railroad, who before a Congressional Committee declared that God had given the anthracite coal mines into the hands of the owners, people who because of their money were therefore best able to manage them properly. Like the men possessed by devils in the days of Jesus, their slogan is "Let us alone."

He who sees the evil and the good in our present organization, who is level-headed in the presence of the storm of fanatical outcry for revolution on the one hand, or of selfish indifference to the public welfare on the other, tries to eliminate the evil and save the good. He is stampeded neither into vociferous revolution nor into a cynical indifference. He refuses to dismiss the ambulance, and to deny the existence of the precipice. But with full knowledge that changes in human arrangements are slowly made, because they are grounded in tradition and custom, he proceeds to build new fences around the top of the gorge.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

SCIENCE AND THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

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